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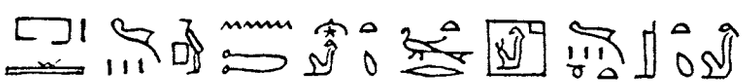
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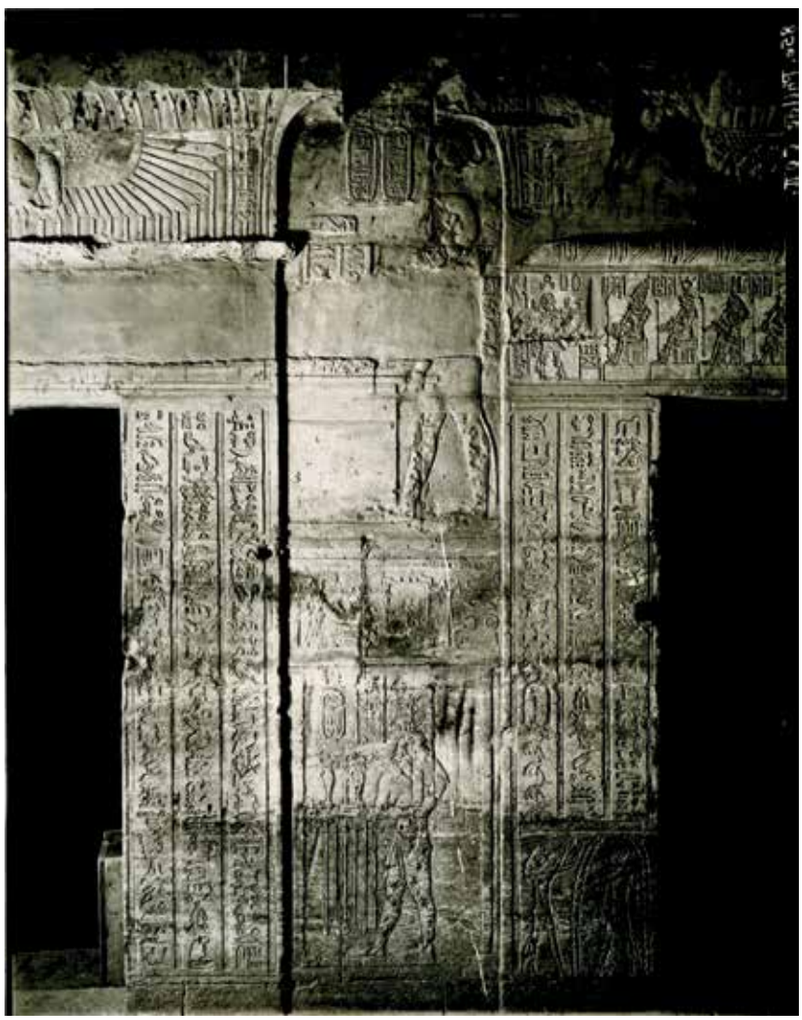
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It is the library of Seshat the great, the mansion of records of Isis.

Philae library dedication, J. F. Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 1844, Vol. I, p. 193.



Berlin Philae 856, Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften

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ESSAYS FOR THE LIBRARY OF SESHAT

Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday

edited by
ROBERT K. RITNER

This celebratory volume is underwritten by
Marjorie M. Fisher
in honor of her colleague, mentor, and friend Janet H. Johnson

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Publications of Janet H. Johnson

John A. Larson, University of Chicago

In addition to her authorship of the monographs, articles, reviews, and on-line publications listed in this bibliography, Jan has influenced and contributed to the scholarship of the field by her service as the Director of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project, the Director of the Annotated Egyptian Readingbook Project (Mellon Foundation), and in her work on the re-publication of the so-called Demotic Chronicle. From 2008 to 2009, she served as Associate Editor of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*.

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Introduction

In 1972, Janet Johnson both received her PhD from the Department of Near Eastern Languages at the University of Chicago (on "Demotic Verbs and Dialects") and became an assistant professor in the same department and institution. This remarkable transition was preceded by her appointment to the formal rank of instructor (1971–1972) while she finalized her dissertation. In time, she would hold various posts within and beyond the university and its pivotal research institution, the Oriental Institute. A small selection of these posts include co-excavator (with her husband Donald Whitcomb) of the Quseir (1977–1981) and the Medieval Luxor (1986) projects, deputy and acting chairman of the department (1991–1997), director of the Oriental Institute (1983–1989), vice president (1990–1993) and then president of the American Research Center in Egypt (1993–1996), and chairman of the Committee for the Annual Egyptological Bibliography (1996–2003). It is all the more remarkable that her early achievements were attained at a time when women in academia faced exceptional hurdles. Arguably her most significant scholarly role has been as editor of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (CDD) project (1976 to present), which is discussed further below. Janet Johnson is now the Morton D. Hull Distinguished Professor of Egyptology (2003 to present), but for those who have known, studied under, and worked with her over the years, she is the less formal, and easily approachable, Jan. Always willing to interrupt her own work for the student or colleague hovering in her (almost invariably) open office doorway, Jan continues to be a student favorite and a confidant sought out by colleagues for matters of serious or simply pleasant reflection.

The tone for Jan's presence in the Oriental Institute was established in her earliest days of appointment, as fondly remembered by her first set of students. The name she posted her new office door was not "Professor Janet H. Johnson," but "Janet Johnson, G. E.," with the following initials explained as "Girl Egyptologist." In her friendliness and engagement, Jan remains G. E. to this day. As recalled by Peter Piccione in an email (3/21/12):

> She was my first Middle Egyptian teacher in her first full year teaching in the department back in 1973. She was young, exciting and excited to be in her position. I vividly recall that in her teaching the arcane and complex Egyptian grammar, she still remembered what it was like for herself as a student, and she seemed to put herself into our place, seeing it through our eyes for the first time, and she taught from that perspective, understanding how new it was for a beginner, anticipating our questions, and oh so patient. She will always be for me "Janet Johnson, G.E."

Jan had replaced her retired Demoticist mentor, George R. Hughes, and her initial project became the revival of a long-stalled Chicago dictionary of Demotic Egyptian, to which Hughes had once contributed. Announced in the *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1976–1977*, the new Demotic Dictionary Project made use of the papers of Hughes' teacher William F. Edgerton, and the original library, photographs, hand copies, and notebooks of Wilhelm Spiegelberg, scholarly "father" of Demotic studies and Edgerton's own teacher. These Demotic materials "had been left to Edgerton with the understanding that the Oriental Institute would publish a Demotic Dictionary using them as a core."[1] Although work on the project had lapsed since the early 1950s, through Jan's determination "it was felt that the time to resume the general Oriental Institute commitment to a Demotic dictionary had come."[2] Jan's official reason was "because the Oriental Institute now has the largest core of Demoticists — faculty, retired faculty, and students — of any institution in the United States, and perhaps in the world." It was an honor for me personally to have been one of those students and contributors to the dictionary for many years, and, while Demotic studies has expanded greatly over the years, Jan's original assessment remains true.

In 2014, that dictionary project is essentially completed, and extraordinary access is now possible for the primary language and script of Egypt from the Saite era (ca. 650 BC) through the Roman period (fourth century AD). The dictionary is a treasury of Egyptian sources on religion, economics, and social and political

[1] See Janet H. Johnson, "The Demotic Dictionary Project," *Oriental Institute Annual Report 1976–1977*, pp. 45–46 (Chicago, 1977).

[2] Ibid., p. 45.

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history, essentially all aspects of later Egyptian culture. It is to this treasury that the title of the volume refers, taken from the designation of a critical section of the temple of Philae: the library of the goddess of writing, the record office of Isis. Although this inscription is not in Demotic, it seems fitting to offer to Jan on her seventieth birthday a relevant, late text first copied by Champollion.

We no longer need to joke, as we once did, that when traveling to conferences we should not use the same airplane lest all of American Demotic studies be put at risk. That Demotic has become such an important subfield of Egyptology, particularly for American students, is owed largely to Jan Johnson. Her published study of the Demotic verbal system, her introductory grammar of Demotic Egyptian, and the dictionary through which Egyptology students have been trained have all made this possible, with the field less arcane, and her former dictionary assistants now hold positions throughout the United States and England.

Despite my emphasis on her Demotic contributions, Jan's research interests are far broader, as is indicated by her bibliography included in this volume: gender studies and marriage, bureaucracy, Egyptian grammar of all periods, and computer applications to Egyptology, to name a few. It is a pleasure for her students and colleagues, in many aspects of Egyptian studies, to offer this Festschrift as a sincere birthday present for years of scholarship and friendship.

Following Oriental Institute publication policy, editorial changes have been limited to matters of fact so that each author is responsible for his or her conclusions.

Robert K. Ritner
September 9, 2014

The manuscript was closed in 2014. Institutional requirements delayed the appearance of the publication beyond the control of the editor and authors.

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1

The ABCs of Painting in Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Terminology and Social Meaning

*Betsy M. Bryan, Johns Hopkins University**

Jan Johnson's Egyptological career can hardly be contained within any single descriptor, and we are all grateful for this whether we read her contributions on language, law, women, or ethnicity — or whether we benefit from her career project, the Demotic Dictionary. It is with sincere admiration and appreciation of Jan's dedication to our field and its breadth that I venture to submit this discussion that combines art, social history, and philology.

Theban tomb 92 was built around 1425 BC for the royal butler of Amenhotep II, Suemniwet. The tomb is located at the southern end of Sheikh Abd-el Qurna and is on a third terrace level situated above TT 96 of Sennefer and TT 93 of Kenamun in what could be termed an Amenhotep II neighborhood. That small mountain was the afterlife home to many of the most prominent officials of Egypt's Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1550–1300 BC. I chose the chapel of Suemniwet because it is an unfinished tomb, the painting of which was in progress, but which was sufficiently incomplete to leave evidence of work process in many locations.[1] Eighteen walls have paintings that can be visually examined and each is completed to a different degree.[2] Analysis of the pigments and binding media has been partially completed, and Blythe McCarthy of the Freer Museum's Conservation Laboratory published the results of red and yellow pigments analyses.[3]

The field of painting studies has changed over the last years, and now techniques and processes of painting are discussed as much as iconography, religious ritual, or style. Scholars[4] have moved the field forward in remarkable ways that will provide new information for many years to come. In 1993, due to the opportunity of examining unfinished paintings in TT 92, I developed an approach that sought to describe the steps by which the ancient artisans approached the wall, combining those observations with the scientific results to describe the materials and the processes at work.[5] The incomplete paintings best allow one to follow the painting operations in the tomb of Suemniwet, and the analysis of the pigments has added information about the pigments and layers used. Figure 1.1 shows a gridded plaster surface with red line sketches of Suemniwet and his wife or sister. Paint has been applied in broad blocks without necessarily keeping to the sketched outlines. A bright whitewash was used beneath the two figures except beneath the wigs; the layers of paint above it were emphasized as a result. This method was most common on walls opposite the doorway where privileged figures were placed.[6] (It continued to be used and further exploited throughout the New Kingdom and was used on the focal walls in the Twentieth Dynasty Hierakonpolis tomb of Hormose as well.) Red was then applied, followed by pink, which covers the red in various places. The lady's skin is an ochre-based wash over white. The single yellow strip on her arm is ochre laid atop the wash to achieve the honeyed tone. All of her skin would have appeared this color had the painting been completed. A second white layer was used

* This article is a brief summary of an investigation of the vocabulary applied to painting in the period coterminous with the tomb of Suemniwet. It was presented at a conference in 2008 in Montepulciano, Italy, organized by Francesco Tiradritti with the assistance of Valerie Angenot. I am grateful to them for supporting such a useful gathering. The full publication of the ostraca discussed below and others, as well as additional lexical items, are to appear in a volume concerning painting combined with the publication of Theban tomb 92 of Suemniwet.

[1] Bryan 2001, pp. 63–72.

[2] The ceilings were left unfinished in the front room. They show a pattern of work organization distinct from the walls. It will be discussed in the monograph.

[3] McCarthy 2001.

[4] Leterme, Hartwig, and Vandenabeele 2009; Laboury 2012.

[5] Bryan 1995, 1999, 2000, 2001.

[6] Hartwig 2004.

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Figure 1.1. Unfinished focal wall detail of Suemniwet and Iuna, TT 92; paint layers in process. Photograph by author

around the lady's hair to adjust the wig shape, and another is seen around the male to define the torso. The brush strokes of these white adjustments are visible over the background white and were likely added at the time the kilt and dress were blocked in. The layering here created both color and tone, but the painting remained unfinished without a final outline.

Careful observation of the painted surfaces revealed that several organizational methods were used and differed between the front and rear rooms. The front hall (some 7 × 4.5 m), where family visited the tomb after burial and held banquets on feast days, was the product of workers painting atop gridded and sketched wall registers (fig. 1.2). In this room, the painters worked from bottom to top in their finishing work — contrary to the remainder of the tomb. The southern half of the room was far more complete than the northern. The walls were divided into zones that could be identified by palette changes, grid changes, and, where very incomplete, by drafting differences. The front room was nearly entirely gridded, with the exception of one zone on the west end of the north wall, attributed to a master painter who did not need the formal guidance of the grid to proportion his registers of New Year's Gifts to the King (fig. 1.3).[7]

In the transverse hall, on the west side, three grids were used for the figured scenes, but none for the offerings (fig. 1.4). Work proceeded from top to bottom throughout. Drafting zones were identifiable by examining the proportioning of figures on the grids. It was thus possible to identify the work of different draftsmen on opposite sides of a large double scene. Likewise, the organization of workers to apply paint was reflected on this west wall, where colors were nearly completely applied on the south end but not begun on the north. The work in the northern zones was being done along the wall by color; the red and white had been applied everywhere, except the final small scaled scene, while the yellow had not passed across the entire area when

[7] Bryan 2001, pp. 63–72; Robins 2001, pp. 60–62.

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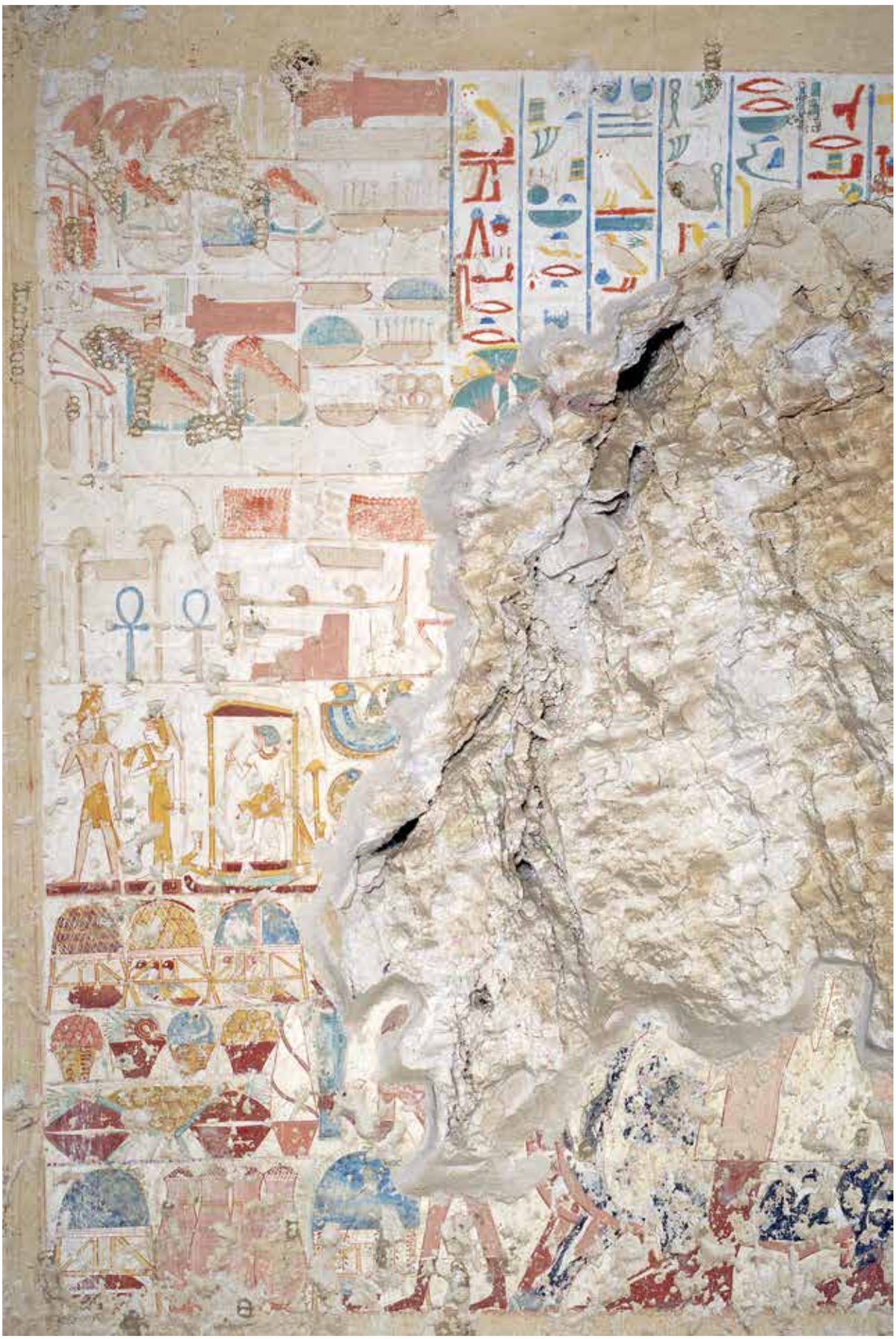


Figure 1.2. North wall, west end, of TT 92 showing bottom to top paint outlining. Zone at left is ungridded; that to the right uses a separate palette. Photograph by author

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Figure 1.3. Detail of north wall, west end, of TT 92; New Year's gifts for king showing ungridded background on figure to left. Photograph by author

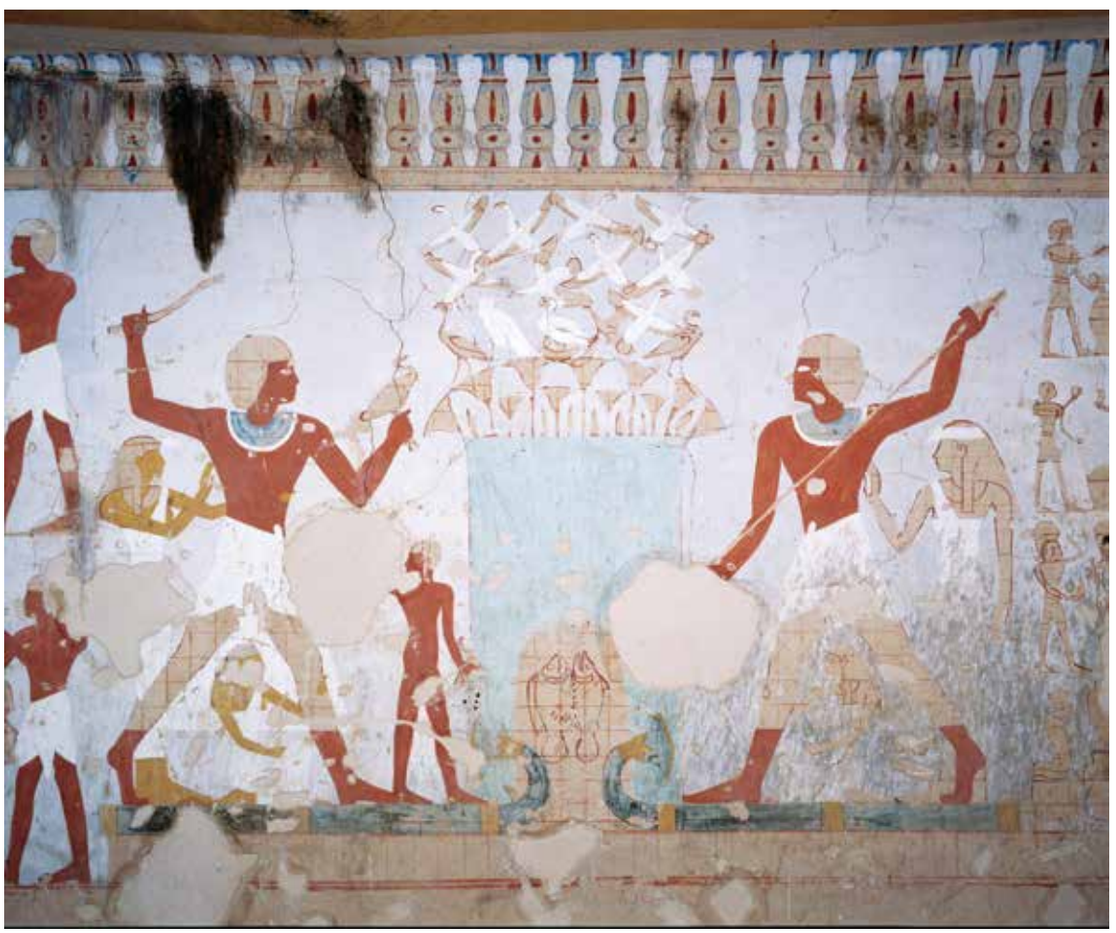


Figure 1.4. West side of transverse hall showing paint application by zones from south (left) to north; grid for figures to left is separate from center and right. Photograph by author

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Figure 1.5. East side of transverse hall showing paint application by zones sequentially from south (right) to north. Line showing where a second layer of background paint has been applied is visible between the offerings and the unpainted figure to the left. Photograph by author

work stopped. The technique of Egyptian painting required the application of several layers of paint, mostly not intended to suggest tones, although on occasion that too was done. The painting type is tempera, also sometimes referred to as distemper, using mineral-based materials formed into cakes or bricks and used by mixing with water and a binder: in the case of the tomb of Suemniwet, a vegetable gum.[8] This required frequent mixing to retain viscosity, and it is perhaps for this reason that we see the application of a single color across a long wall so that all of the mixed pigment was utilized before evaporation hardened it. Modern water-based paints still behave in this fashion: Mayer commented in his *Artists' Handbook* that "[u]nfortunately, watercolors formulated only with gum arabic and water have significant drawbacks. Excess paint in the mixing well will dry to a hard, glassy block that is very difficult to dissolve again. In fact, early 19th century watercolors, formulated with gum arabic only, were sold as small resinous bricks that had to be *rubbed out* each morning — laboriously dissolved by rubbing them on a shallow saucer or mixing cup containing a little water — before the paint could be used."[9] It is also relevant to note that gum arabic loses emulsifying and viscosity properties as temperature rises, with optimal levels between 10° and 30° C.[10]

The opposite east wall in this narrow hall was being painted in a different manner, where three sections were being painted consecutively (fig. 1.5). The zones are identifiable by the visible paint lines; the nearly finished first one had received an extra coat of blue background color; the second, the sketch of which slightly overlapped zone 1, had a single coat of background paint; and zone 3 had been laid out with sketches on guidelines and no background. It also overlaps zone 2. The southern half of this narrow transverse hall was still in process of work, since it also housed the main burial shaft, probably still being excavated. Here the plaster was being applied to fill in wall imperfections and provide a finished surface for decorating; the mark

[8] Bryan 2001, pp. 69–70; Pitthard 2006, pp. 37–39; Bryan 2010b.

[9] Mayer 1970, pp. 330–78, 393–414; MacEvoy 2008.

[10] Rideal and Youle 1891, pp. 610–22.

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Figure 1.6. Corridor of TT 92, south side. Echeloned figures showing coloring errors that illustrate paint application in patches of pigment. Photograph by author

of this work is crudely apparent. The rear long hall, or corridor, shows similar techniques to the transverse one, but it's interesting to note the number of coloring errors in this room — perhaps associated with less skilled workers but also resulting from the method of block coloring. The application of the yellow color was particularly sloppy, while in one instance two figures painted with alternating red and light brown skin colors have been given upper bodies of one color and lower ones of the other (fig. 1.6).

More recently, I have sought the Egyptian vocabulary applied to the painting process. Most of the documentary evidence for painting and painters has derived from Deir el Medina and dates to the Ramesside era.[11] Further, although such scholars as Cathleen Keller, Tamás Bács, and Kathlyn Cooney have demonstrated that the village artisans did decorate tombs for private persons, both within Deir el Medina and in the elite necropolis to the north of the town, the frequency of their work outside the walls remains uncertain.[12] In any event the documentation contains little relating to the vocabulary of work process beyond the general designation seen on the Ramesses IV tomb plan papyrus. In addition, because the artisans were reorganized by the crown after the Amarna era, there is no means of saying whether the Eighteenth Dynasty artisans also had right and left crews.[13] No documentation has emerged to suggest that they did or did not. To study painting in the Eighteenth Dynasty therefore demands other sources of information.

The powerful elites of the early New Kingdom were charged with the oversight of new monument building — in the temples of Karnak, in the funerary temples of the kings in Thebes, and in the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings.[14] These same elites began to prepare tombs for themselves, and in their roles as overseers

[11] Andreu 2002, pp. 164–233.

[12] Keller 2001; Bács 2001, 2011; Cooney 2008.

[13] Valbelle 1985, pp. 21–25.

[14] Lipińska 1967; Andrássy 2007.

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Figure 1.7. Exterior view of TT 71 of Senenmut during excavation. Several ostraca were found in the forecourt area of the tomb. Photograph courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art (photo M16C176)

of work for royal monuments were able to direct artisans to build and decorate their own houses of eternity. In particular, a group of ostraca excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art refers to the building of a tomb that is presumed to be the upper one of the royal steward Senemut, ca. 1471 BC.[15] Ostraca CG 25662–25669, despite being found at Deir el Medina, appear to belong to the Deir el Bahri corpus.[16] Other ostraca, some concerning the lower tomb of that great steward, some the funerary temple of Hatshepsut, Djeser Djeseru, a few the high temple Djeser Akhet built by Thutmose III, and others without certain direct reference are among those published.[17] These texts, undoubtedly of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,[18] and spanning the period of 1479–1430 BC, nearly coterminous with the tomb of Suemniwet, contain a number of terms relating to building and decorating tombs and temples.[19] To these may be added other Eighteenth Dynasty vocabulary for pigments, materials, and artisans. My study of these ostraca has looked at the lexical meaning of painting terminology in two contexts: (1) the actual processes described by the terms and the identification of examples of them in existing tombs or temples; and (2) the extended cultural connections of the terms and the meaning of painting. The discussion below gives new translations of only three of the ostraca that include the terms to be discussed. The total of approximately twenty-five will be published in the forthcoming volume.

[15] Hayes 1942, p. 4 for findspots; Dorman 1991, pp. 77, 161; fig. 1.7.

[16] Valbelle 1985, p. 22, citing Hayes; see also Marciniak 1978, 1979, 1980, 1983.

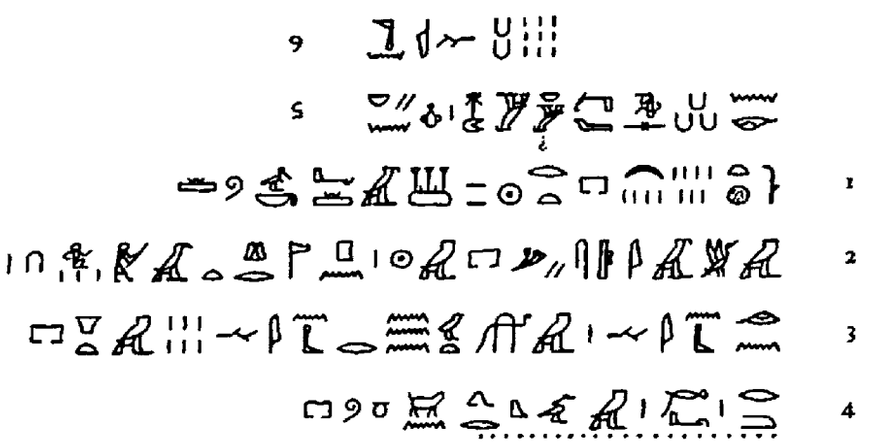
[17] Černý 1935; Černý and Gardiner 1957; Hayes 1960.

[18] Valbelle 1985, pp. 21–23.

[19] I am grateful to the Egyptian Department at the Metropolitan Museum and to Dorothea Arnold and Diana Craig Patch for permission to peruse the nearly 400 ostraca excavated by the Museum's expedition and to publish those relevant to the study of tomb decoration.

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Deir el Bahri Ostraca



Ostracon 62 (Hayes 1942, p. 21, pl. XIII)

1. *ḥsb.t 7 ꜣbd 4 prt sw 2 šꜣʿ bꜣkw*
2. *m pꜣ ỉsy m hrw pn ḫrtyw-nṯr 11*
3. *ỉr n nbỉ 1 m mḏꜣwt r nbỉ 6 m wsḫt*
4. *r-gs mḥ 1 m ʿq r ḫnw*
5. *nty ḥr ḫꜣꜣ.t s 30 ỉr n*
6. *nbỉ 29*

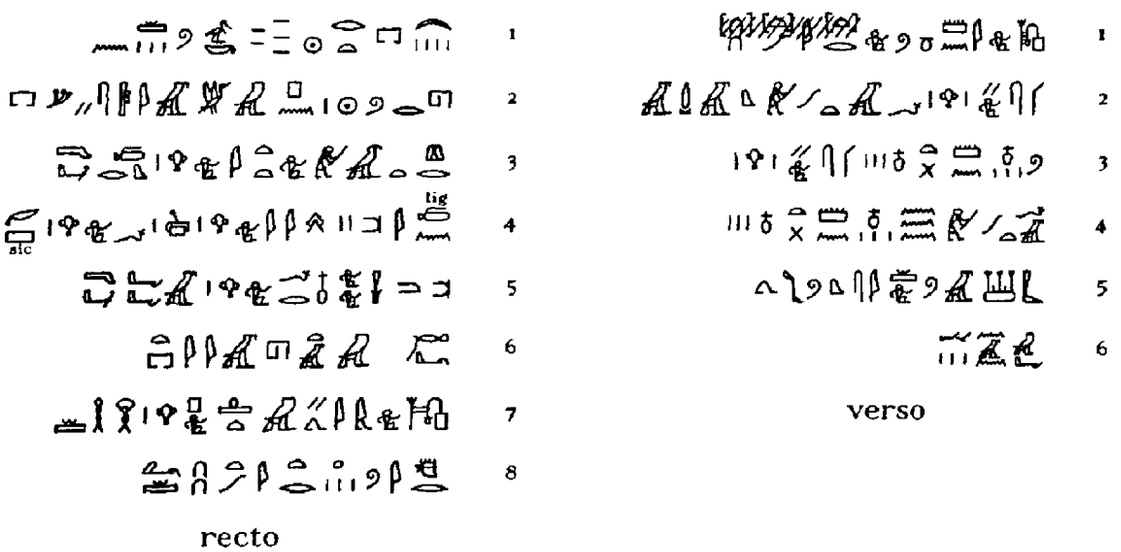
1. Year 7 month 4 of Peret day 2: beginning work
2. in the tomb on this day. 11 tomb artisans[20]
3. did 1 *nbỉ* rod[21] in depth by 6 rods in breadth
4. besides 1 cubit in entering the inner room [sanctuary].
5. Those who were picking:[22] 30 men amounting to
6. 29 *nbỉ* rods.

[20] *ḫrty-nṯr: Wb.* III 394, 14–395, 3; Meeks lists, for example, "travailleur de la nécropole, carrier" (Meeks 1982, p. 232), no. 79.2350. I have chosen to translate as "[tomb] artisan" based on the specific context. The ostraca show these men performing a wide variety of artisanal roles, including. as shown below, applying paint. The translation of "stone masons," used by Hayes (1942, p. 21), is too narrow in meaning.

[21] The meaning of *nbỉ* has been frequently discussed, but its identification as a length of between 65 and 77 cm is persuasive for these ostraca, where the writing always contains the wood determinative (Gardiner M 3). Hayes notes that figures given in ostraca 62, 69, and 73 are cubic measurements, although he considered the word itself to mean "a rod" of the length of an ax handle (pp. 36–37; *Wb.* II 243, 7–10, may contain the citations for the same word). Simpson (1963, p. 76) describes the challenge of understanding measurements such as these: "The obvious choice lies between considering the dimensions as those of a ground plan of a chamber or else as those of a wall surface, an elevation." This is the problem here, where scholars such as Legon (1994, 1996) have concluded that the *nbỉ* was a cubit basket volume. His view stands in opposition to that extensively propounded by Elke Roik (1993), who advocates a wooden staff length that varied between 65 and 77 cm. It was used from as early as the Early Dynastic and continued alongside the cubit measure for building purposes. An article by Claire Simon (1993) utilized the plan of a corridor and intended burial chambers (?) of TT 71 of Senenmut on an ostracon published by Hayes (1942, p. 15, pl. VII, nos. 31–32), showing hieratic lengths and widths of the corridor, as well as dots marking the sizes of chambers. Simon (1993, p. 169) concluded that the *nbỉ* of 70 cm was employed for these measurements: "Or, ce dessin a eté trouvé en même temps que la majorité des ostraca qui font connaître le mot *nbỉ*. II est donc plausible que ces données expriment des *nbỉ* et non des coudées, ce qui permettrait de déterminer la valeur métrique de cette mesure."

[22] That is, "to excavate with picks" (Meeks 1981, 77.2960). Valbelle (1977, pp. 12–13; p. 15 n. 14) translates *ḫꜣ* as "pick," and *ḥmw ḫꜣ,* as "quarry workers"; Janssen (1975, pp. 312ff.), refers specifically to excavating tombs from the rock. Compare *ḫꜣỉ* (*Wb.* III 223).

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Ostracon 63 (Hayes 1942, p. 21, pl. XIII)

Recto

1. *ꜣbd 4 prt sw 5 bꜣkw n*
2. *ḥrw pn m pꜣ ỉsy*
3. *ḫrtyw Ttỉ ḥr dqr*
4. *dnỉ 2 Ḥʿpy-ḥr-sꜣ=f ḥr. šʿd*
5. *dnỉ gs Sn-nfr ḥr ꜣʿʿ*
6. *mḥ m tꜣ hꜣyt*
7. *sš ỉIy-m-ḥtp ḥr. wꜣḥ*
8. *ḏrỉw tryt 20 grḥ* Recto

Verso

1. *sš ỉImnw* [*t*]*r*[*yt 2*]*0*
2. *Nḥsy ḥr fꜣt qꜣḏꜣ-*
3. *w mnt 3 Nḥsy ḥr*
4. *fꜣt mw mnt 3*
5. *Bꜣšꜣw ỉsḳw*
6. *m-ʿ nꜣ n ḫtw*

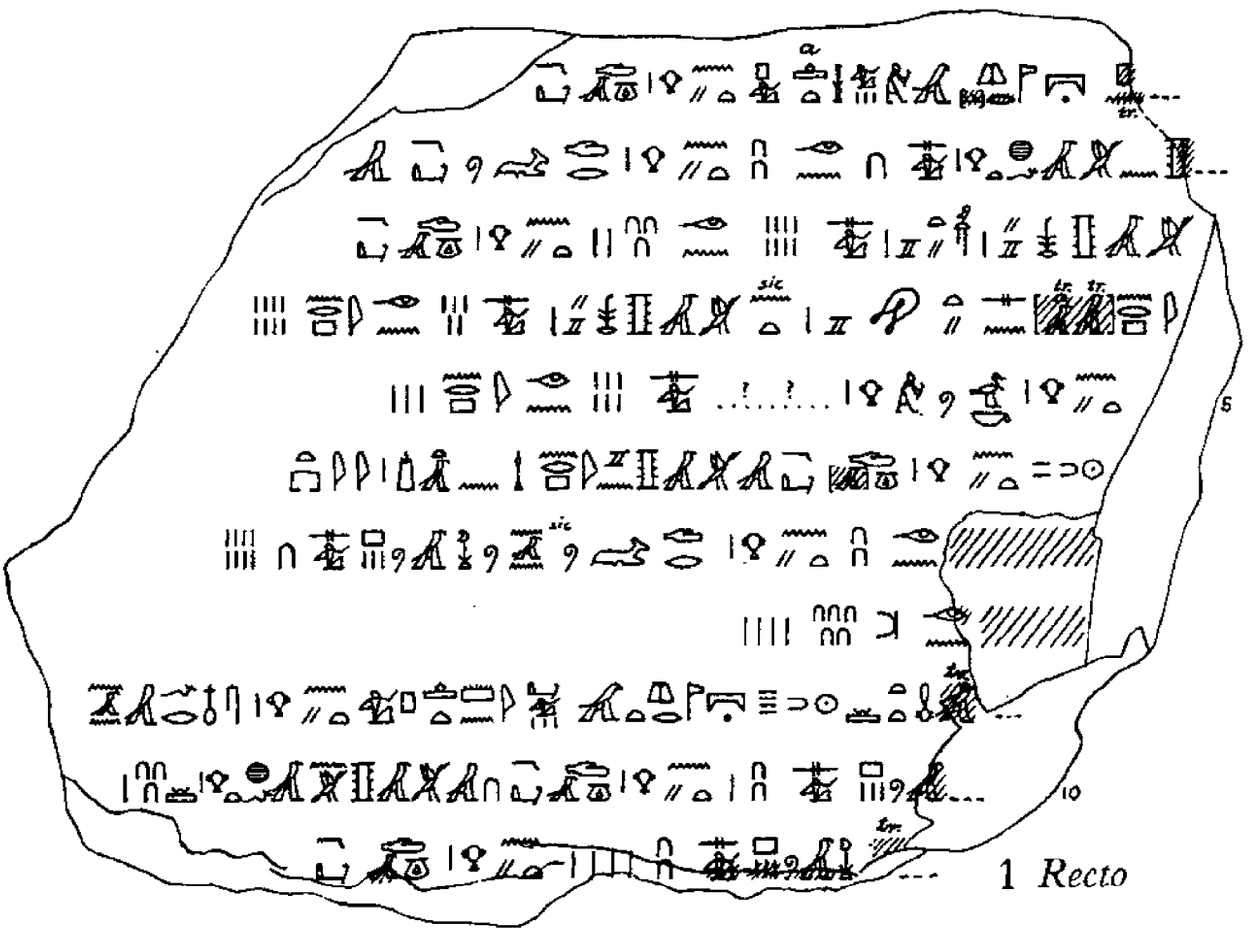
1. Month 4 of Peret day 5: work on
2. this day in the tomb:
3. the tomb artisan Teti applied background paint:
4. 2 *dnỉ*[23] -mural sections. Hapyhersaf trimmed
5. a half of a *dnỉ*-mural section. Sen-nefer plastered
6. a cubit in the front room.
7. The scribe Imhotep laid out
8. pigments. Red ochre: 20. Completed.

Verso

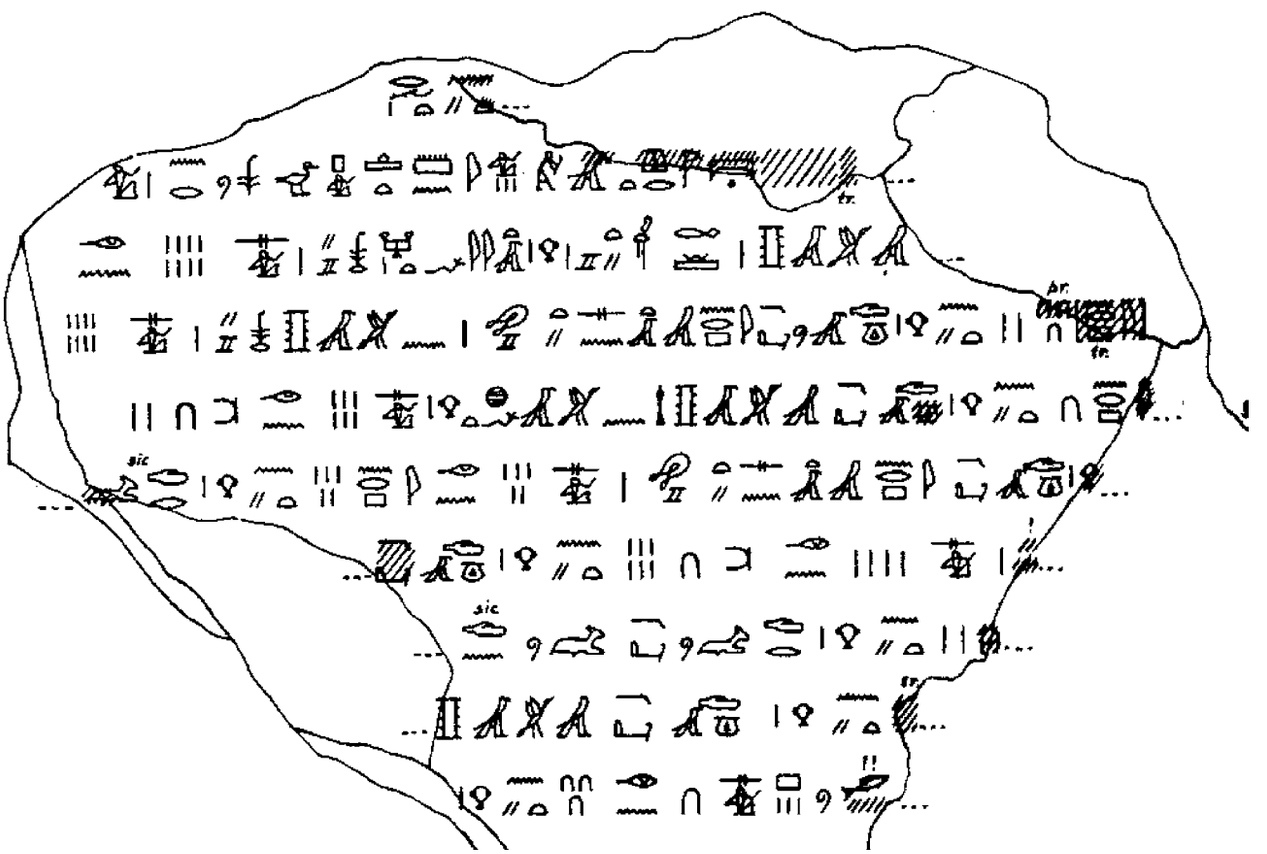
1. The scribe Amenu: red ochre: 20?
2. Nehesy transported plaster:
3. 3 jars. Nehesy
4. transported water: 3 jars,
5. Basha was delayed
6. with the wood.

[23] *Dnỉ* (*Wb.* V 465). Hayes (1942, p. 40) identifies it as a linear measurement of indeterminate length. Given its usage in the ostraca, I suggest that it may be a two-dimensional equivalent of the cubic *nbỉ*-rod of 65–77 cm in length used to distinguish wall surfaces rather than excavated areas.

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1 *Recto*



Ostracon Gardiner 7 (Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. 22a, 1)

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Recto

1. *///pn ḥry ḫrtyw-nṯr Sn-ḥtp nty ḥr dgʒ*
2. *ỉnb n pʒ ḫft-ḥr s 10 ỉr n 20 nty ḥr drỉw m*
3. *pʒ ỉnb rsy ỉmnty s 8 ỉr n 32 nty ḥr dgʒ*
4. *ỉnr m tʒ snty nt pʒ ỉnb rsy s 5 ỉr n ỉnr 8*
5. *nty ḥr bʒkw ḥr ///s 6 ỉr n ỉnr 3*
6. *sw 12 nty ḥr dgʒ m pʒ ỉnb n ỉnr ḥḏ n tʒ ỉwnyt*
7. *////ỉr n 20 nty ḥr drỉw nʒ n wḫʒw s 18*
8. *///ỉr n dnỉ 54*
9. *//m mỉtt sw 14 ḥry ḫrtyw-nṯr ʾImn-ḥtp nty ḥr snfr m nʒ n*
10. [*wḫ*]*ʒw s 21 nty ḥr dgʒ 10 m pʒ ỉnb n pʒ ḫft-ḥr 31*
11. *//*[*w*]*ḫʒw s 24 nty ḥr dgʒ*

1. [Report on] this [day of] the chief tomb artisan Senhotep. Those who were applying background to
2. the wall of the forecourt:[24] 10 men, amounting to 20.[25] Those who were painting in
3. the south wall west: 8 men, amounting to 32. Those who were applying background to
4. stone from the foundation of the south wall: 5 men, amounting to 8 stones.
5. Those who were working on///: 6 men, amounting to 3 stones.
6. Day 12. Those who were applying background on the wall of white stone of the pillared hall[26]
7. [x men]///amounting to 20. Those who were painting the columns:[27] 18 men
8. ///amounting to 54 *dnỉ*-sections.
9. Likewise, day 14: the chief tomb artisan Amenhotep. Those who were finishing the
10. columns: 21 men. Those who were applying background: 10 on the wall of the forecourt: 31.
11. //columns: 24 men. Those who were applying background/////

Verso

1. */////nty r ḫt*
2. *///ḥr ḫrtyw-nṯr ʾImn-ḥtp sʒ Swnr*
3. *m pʒ ỉnb ʿʒ ỉmnty ḥr tʒy.f wʿt rsy s 8 ỉr n*
4. [*ỉnr*] *32 nty ḥr dgʒ ỉnr m tʒ snty n pʒ ỉnb rsy s 8*
5. *ỉnr 10 nty ḥr dgʒ m pʒ ỉnb ḥḏ n pʒ ḫft-ḥr s 6 ỉr n dnỉ 12*
6. *ḥr dgʒ ỉnr m tʒ snty s 5 ỉr n ỉnr 5 nty ḥr drỉw*
7. */// s 4 ỉr n dnỉ 16 nty ḥr dgʒ*
8. [*1*]*2 nty ḥr drỉw ỉwdn///*
9. *//nty ḥr dgʒ m pʒ ỉnb///*
10. *ʔw s 10 ỉr n 30 nty ḥr//*

Verso

1. Those who were accompanying
2. the chief tomb artisan Amenhotep, son of Suner.
3. in the great western wall, on its southern side: 8 men, amounting to
4. 32 stones. Those who were applying background to blocks in the foundation wall of the southern wall: 8 men.
5. 10 blocks. Those who were applying background on the white wall of the forecourt: 6 men, amounting to 12 sections.
6. [those who were] applying background on the foundation wall: 5 men, amounting to 5 blocks. Those who were painting
7. ///: 4 men, amounting to 16 sections. Those who were applying background
8. //[1]2 [men]. Those who were coloring the floor[28]
9. ///. Those who were applying background on the wall////
10. ///: 10 men, amounting to 30. Those who were/////

[24] *ḫft-ḥr* (Wilson 1997, p. 725).

[25] Based on recto 8 and verso as the measurement here and throughout.

[26] *ʾIwynt* (Hannig 1995, p. 35; *Wb.* I 54).

[27] *nty ḥr drỉw nʒ n wḫʒw s 18 ///ỉr n dnỉ 54.* For "columns," *wḫʒw* (*Wb.* I 352, 12–13; Wilson 1997, p. 254).

[28] "Floor," written as both *ỉwtn* and *ỉwdn* (Hannig 1995, p. 37).

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The first ostracon (O. 62) informs us that work was going on in the seventh year of Thutmose III's reign when Queen Hatshepsut, as his coregent, was the dominant force in Egypt. Although it has been assumed that this ostracon refers to the very first day of work in the tomb, this is clearly not the case, since they are already busy in the inner room, or rear corridor.[29] Rather this means, as one can see from Deir el Medina examples, that either a hiatus in work had occurred, or the oversight of work has moved from one person to another.[30] Hayes's ostracon 63 and Gardiner's 7 provide important terms regarding actual work process. Following is a discussion of several terms that help to identify stages in the production of tomb paintings. Before beginning it is noteworthy that despite Hayes' assumption that the ostraca themselves represent sequential activities, that view cannot be substantiated, since internally it is clear that the workmen are not located in the same chambers but are addressing walls in various stages of process. (Compare the work ongoing in TT 92 on walls in three different rooms.) Operational sequence is very difficult to establish.[31]

Terms for Decoration Process

1. ỉ‘/ỉ‘

The conflation of two words, *ỉ‘* and *ỉ‘* with the meaning of "to plaster" (found in Hayes's ostraca numbers 63, 64, 65, 66, and 69) was apparent early on, but a separation was nonetheless maintained in the Wörterbuch.[32] Nonetheless, the word is not nearly as commonly attested as one might assume for such a mundane activity. Some usages of the word suggest something more specific than simply spreading plaster, however, for they refer to filling in to transform other surfaces. In the Reisner Papyrus II, Section B, 13, *ỉ‘* was used of a last stage in preparing a boat for transport. The verb would there refer to filling and covering wooden ship hulls whose planks were tied and not nailed.[33] There the verb probably meant to plaster with bitumen and then gypsum, after the planks had swelled with water and expanded to fill cracks. On the Later Boundary Stela at Amarna, the final sections vow that the stela will never be allowed to disappear. Here it is said that "it (the king's oath) will not be washed away, it will not be mutilated, it will not be *ỉ‘* with plaster."[34] In this instance the word meant to "plaster over" in the sense of hiding the inscription. An additional example of the word in reference to a building construction occurs in a Kawa Stela of Taharqa, with the meaning, as in the Amarna text, of "to cover over; hide" — here with mud, written ‘.[35] It would be difficult not to translate, with others, "smeared" or "coated."[36]

In the tombs we are looking at, *ỉ/ỉ‘* likely referred to several roles of plaster as the finisher of the walls that were frequently cut in such poor rock that large hunks of limestone fell out when the mallet hit. They then needed to be filled in — first with mud and stone chip and then with gypsum or calcium plaster[37] (fig. 1.8). Theban Tomb 75, ca. 1410 BC, of the second priest of Amun Amenhotep provides a fine example of these uses of plaster, but they are visible as well in TT 71 and 92 (fig. 1.9). In these and numerous other tombs, *ỉ‘* would refer both to filling with mud plaster and to spreading thin calcium based plaster before painting.

2. š‘d

The term *š‘d* "to trim" (appearing in Hayes's ostraca 63, 64, 65, and 67)[38] refers to the last stage of wall preparation before painting. According to the *Wörterbuch* is not attested until the New Kingdom.[39] It may have replaced the earlier

[29] Hayes thought this was the beginning of work on the hillside, but his own translations argue against this view: *ḫnw,* "inner room" (Hayes 1942, p. 7); also of interiors of temple and palace (*Wb.* I 369).

[30] Valbelle 1985, pp. 21–25; Dorman 1991, p. 161.

[31] Bryan 2001.

[32] *Wb.* I 2, 40; Gardiner 1948.

[33] Simpson 1965, p. 38; Section B pl. 5.

[34] Helck 1955–1958, 1986, pp. 3–5. Cited *Wb.* I 40, 6, with the meaning of "plaster." The word is spelled *ỉ‘,* probably as a pun on the word, "washed," *ỉ‘*, that occurred in the previous phrases.

[35] Macadam 1949, pp. 15, 18 n. 24; pls. 7–8, line 11; *Wb.* I, 40/6.

[36] Gardiner 1948, pp. 16–18.

[37] In addition to those of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty date studied here for work process (TT 71, 92, 93, 101, 85, 75, 76, 91, 116, 165), a list of others is given by Fuchs (1986, p. 92 n. 44).

[38] *š‘d* can also be found in Hannig 2003, pp. 1286–87.

[39] *Wb.* IV 422–423; 422, 13.

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word for "to cut," *š*ʿ,[40] but its use in construction contexts frequently refers to the precise cutting of wood, stone, and materials such as faience.[41] The question in the tomb ostraca is to see exactly what is being trimmed or cut finely or precisely. A word written identically refers to carefully cut wood of specific lengths.[42] Janssen demonstrated that these could refer to wood pieces of various sizes, small to large.[43] Hayes's discussion of the word in these ostraca concluded that it meant "to trim the limestone walls" of the tombs.[44] However, only the limestone at the base of the hill of Sheikh Abd-el Qurna is strong enough to be cut and squared off by trimming the stone. Examples of such tomb chapels are TT 55 of Ramose, TT 56 of Userhet, and TT 192 of Kheruef, but the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty tombs that could have concerned these ostraca (such as TT 71 and 92) are located high on the hill in the very poor stone where stone chip, mud, and plaster were needed to finish the walls. Dorman, for example, discussed the condition of TT 71 of Senenmut referring to the poor stone as a contributor to the loss of original wall decoration.[45] The process of such fill plastering created a wall that was, however, uneven. The tomb artisans then cooperated in a final work stage. The plasterer used a fine calcium-based plaster to even the wall surface, and the trimmer cut and smoothed it as it dried, using a straight-edged tool of metal or wood to "fine trim" (*š*ʿ*d*) the plaster, perhaps a version of a plastering trowel.[46] In conjunction with Janssen's finding, perhaps the tool itself was referred to as a *š*ʿ*d,* being a narrow flat wooden plank finely squared for the purpose. The marks of this process are frequently visible in the tomb of Suemniwet at an angle to the wall surface. If analogous to modern plastering trowels, then these marks were left as the result of wear to the trowel's

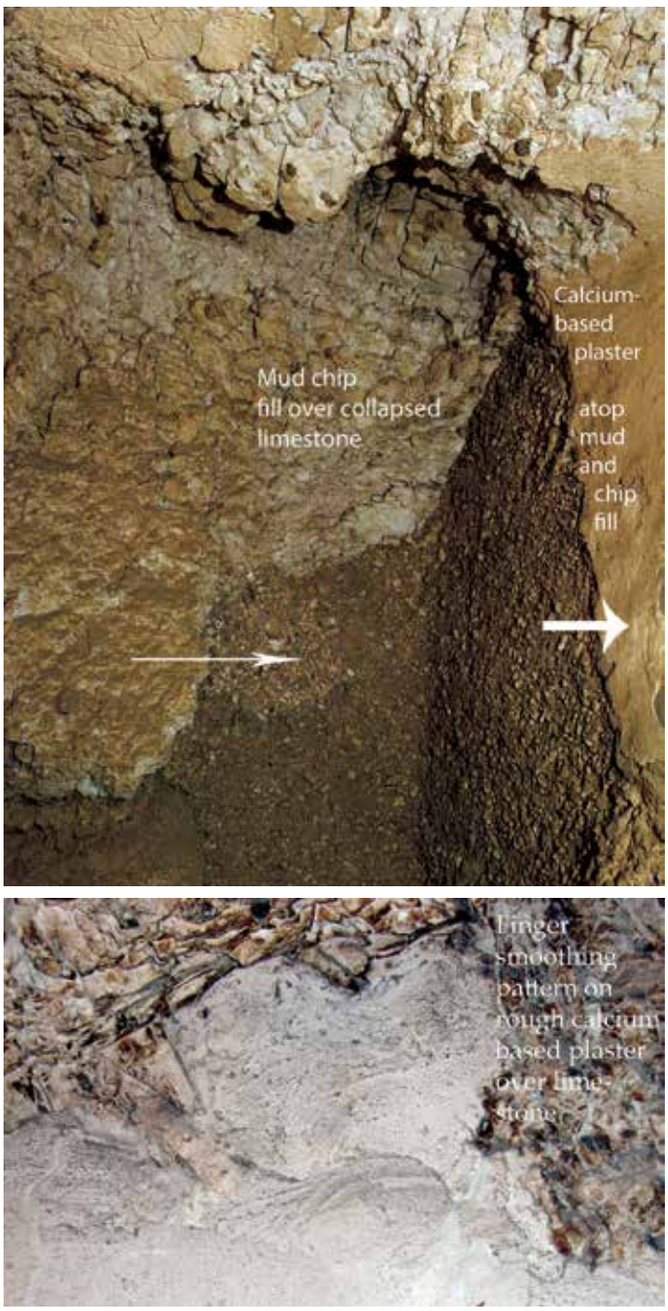


Figure 1.8. (top) T 75 of Amenhotep-si-se showing unfinished end wall of front room with mud, chip, and calcium-based plasters used to fill and finish poor limestone surfaces. Photograph by author

Figure 1.9. (bottom) TT 92 detail of layer of calcium based plaster over roughly finished limestone. Photograph by author

[40] *Wb.* IV 415–416.

[41] Meeks 1981, p. 370; Meeks 1982, p. 285; Grandet 1994, II, #82 n. 301. *Wb.* IV 422–423; 422, 13, "zurechtschneiden" (stone and wood); Hannig 2003, pp. 1286–1287, "abschneiden." It was also frequently used of cutting down trees, as in the Annals of Thutmose III (Sethe 1909, p. 689) and on the Lateran obelisk of Thutmose IV (Helck 1955–58, p. 1552). It occurs in a broad group of settings in the New Kingdom where its meaning may include cutting flesh and meat (Lesko 2004, II, pp. 110–13.)

[42] *Wb.* IV 423, 6; Meeks 1980, p. 364; Meeks 1982, p. 285.

[43] Janssen 1975, pp. 371–72; Kitchen 1979, p. 279.

[44] Hayes 1942, p. 39.

[45] Dorman 1991, pp. 68–69, 163.

[46] Compare the application of gypsum plaster to walls in modern restoration projects where the craftsman uses the rectangular trowel to carry, spread, and then smooth the plaster. The edge of these trowels are also thin and sharp (The DIY School 2007).

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edge (fig. 1.10). The marks were rubbed away by the final smoothing, but on unfinished and undecorated areas they are still apparent. In figure 1.11 the border between the area that had been plastered only and that which has been trimmed and smoothed is also visible.





Figure 1.10. (top) TT 92 detail of fine calcium based plaster in process of trimming and smoothing. Marks of the trimming tool visible.

Figure 1.11. (bottom) TT 92 Detail of incomplete trimmed and smoothed plaster. Photographs by author

3. *dqw/dqr/dgȝ*

The word *dqw/dqr/dgȝ,* "to apply background paint,"[47] covers a number of words in English translation, all of them relating to "covering," and in the ostraca we find the workers carrying out this activity on wall areas or on blocks. Although Hayes translated *dqw* as "to plaster" in the ostraca, this is not a meaning otherwise known for it.[48] The word, as a verb, most commonly has been translated as "to overlay, to cover," and even "to hide," and it applied in New Kingdom texts to "covering the ground with trees (and thus making the land green)"; to overlaying buildings, ships, and staves with gold; and to covering limbs with medicinal poultices.[49] As a noun the word alternatively refers to powdered mineral substances, such as alabaster dust and natron salt,[50] but it also frequently occurs as a substance with both powdered and adhesive properties,[51] for powder and pulverized meals,[52] "to be sticky"; "to adhere; be adhesive." BD 165 (a late spell) contains a recipe for a blue pigment made of "lapis lazuli" (blue frit) *sš m ḫsbd ḥr mw nw qmiw* "drawn with lapis lazuli with water of gum" as the binder.[53]

The blue paint described by BD 165 would have been particularly effective as an adhesive covering layer for an inscription, designed to "cover" (*dqw/dgȝ*). When combined with a calcium-based powder, the recipe is identical to the background paint in TT 92 and elsewhere. Background paint in the tomb of Suemniwet was applied around the under sketches where patches of color were applied, and an adhesive character was necessary to cover the grids and other dark red underpainting (see fig. 1.5). The background paints in TT 92 are blue frit-based pigments, where the vitreous material has been ground finely (not powdered) before mixing with water and gum, such that the grains of frit still adhere well.[54] In fact, Mayer observes that even in more modern

[47] Ostraca 63, 64; Gardiner 7, 42; Leipzig 13. *Wb.* V 494, 15–496,4; 499, 7–14. The word covers two entries and is cross-referenced (Lesko 2004, p. 143; Hannig 2003, pp. 1482–83; 1995, pp. 988–989), "überziehen (Grabwand mit Verputz) [cf. *dgȝ*.]," after Hayes.

[48] Hayes 1942, p. 41.

[49] *Wb.* V 499, pp. 10–14. For the meaning of "to plant" and "to cover, overlay, plate," see also citations in *Late Ramesside Letters, Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, and other New Kingdom sources, collected by Lesko 2004, p. 143. See also entries under both *dqr* and *dgȝ* by Meeks 1980, p. 440, as "appliquer; planter"; Meeks 1981, p. 435, "appliquer, couvrir."

[50] Harris 1961, p. 221.

[51] *Wb.* V pp. 494, 15–495, 5.

[52] Ibid., 496, 4; 499, 14.

[53] Lepsius 1842, pl. LXXIX; Quirke 2001, pp. 189–90, for blue pigment.

[54] Mayer 1991, pp. 152–54; Blom-Böer 1994; Le Fur 1994.

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tempera-based paints, inert pigments, such as whites and chalk, are often added to the colored pigments, in order to increase their bulk and to improve their brightness or opacity.[55] The other mentions of *dqw/dgꜣ* in the ostraca refer to temple stones and walls, which were covered with a fine layer of ground white minerals, such as gypsum in a thick binder — a calcium-based whitewash. This was applied even if the stone was later painted, in which case additional ground was applied with the other colors (see ostracon Gardiner 7 above; fig. 1.12). One medical recipe required three different white minerals in powdered *dqw* form to make an adhesive salve.[56] This would have been a luxury equivalent to the white grounds on temple stones and was used by high-born ladies to lighten their complexions. Due to their adhesive properties, these white and blue grounds have frequently been found to persist, in well-preserved contexts as at Deir el Bahri as well as in wet environments such as at South Karnak.[57] It is likely that this adhesive ground layer has often been mistaken as a base of plaster, but the ostraca indicate otherwise.[58]

4. *wꜣḥ ḏrỉw*

The compound term *wꜣḥ ḏrỉw*, "lay out pigments," is found in ostraca 63, 64, and probably 66, where it was carried out by scribes. The meaning of *ḏrỉw* as "pigments" is well known for all periods of ancient Egyptian history, but its combination with the common verb *wꜣḥ* has been little discussed.[59] Harris concluded that it meant "the application of colour" contrasting with *mḥ ḏrỉw*, which he took to mean "filling in of outlines."[60] The *Wörterbuch* has been most commonly upheld, indicating inlay of color.[61] The compound *mḥ ḏrỉw* is found on the tomb plan papyrus of Ramesses IV, where labels note "carving with chisel" and "filled with pigment," *mḥ m ḏrỉw*.[62] In texts describing royal monuments, "*mḥ*" is frequently used, and scholars agree that it means "inlay" because it so often refers to precious materials, such as "precious stones" or "lapis lazuli" — that is, the real stone, or the glass equivalent.[63] In the Ramesside period both exterior and interior walls were frequently carved with sunken relief and then filled with thick pigment mixtures that emulated the inlay with more precious materials. The Ramesside tombs in the Valley of the Kings provide numerous examples in an array of colors as indicated by Ramesses IV's Turin plan. However, when combined with the verb *wꜣḥ*, the pigments are not inlaid but laid out by design. A parallel usage from the tomb-robbing papyri referred to a tomb layout: *wꜣḥ nꜣw ỉṯꜣw ḏrt ḥr pꜣy mr n pꜣy nṯr ỉwꜣḥ ỉsy ỉm.f* "The thieves located this pyramid of this god where the chamber was laid out."[64] The term, *wꜣḥ ỉhy*, is known from the reign of Thutmose III referring to "laying out an encampment."[65] That the meanings have to do with the conceptualization as well as the placement of buildings may be deduced from the meaning of "institute" that Grandet noted in the Harris papyrus, where offerings were "re-instituted," *wꜣḥ m-mꜣwt*.[66] O. Gardiner 133 from the reign of Ramesses II refers to a price for a *ḏbꜣt wꜣḥ m ḏrw* "a sarcophagus covered with paint."[67] Janssen commented that the price of 12 ½ deben was very low for a sarcophagus and concluded that this was the value of the decoration rather than the box itself. Cooney has shown that this type of sarcophagus was of a rectangular non-anthropoid type and noted the far higher value of the outer box than the coffins within.[68] The ostracon thus provides the price for laying out the inscriptions and scenes on a large rectangular sarcophagus in a manner analogous to the design of tomb walls. In the Deir el Bahri ostraca under consideration, the term is followed by the number of red ochre ink

[55] Mayer 1991, pp. 152–53.

[56] Westendorf 1999, II, p. 747; also P. Smith Rs. 21, 6–8, and P. Ebers 715.

[57] Lipińska 1967; Bryan 2010a.

[58] Fuchs 1986, p. 87.

[59] *Wb.* V p. 601, 6–10.

[60] Harris 1961, p. 157 and n. 12. Harris cited Brugsch's copy of an Edfu inscription (Brugsch 1883, p. 266, 14), where *wꜣḥ ḏrỉw* was among the steps describing the decoration of a court at Edfu by Ptolemy Philometer. Brusgsch translated, "die farben auflegte" (Brugsch 1883, p. 268, F.). He doubted that it also meant "the filling of sunken hieroglyphs etc. with a coloured paste which he deemed to be an uncommon technique" (Harris 1961, p. 157). Wilson translated *m wꜣḥ ḏrwy* as "inlaid 'with colour,'" citing the Edfu reference that Brugsch identified.

[61] Wilson 1997, p. 1243; *Wb.* V p. 601, 6.

[62] Kitchen 1983, pp. 58–59. The Turin papyrus drawing of the tomb of Ramesses IV; see also the *Onomasticon* references (Gardiner 1947, 71*). Room descriptions in the tomb include dimensions followed by: *sšw-(m)-qd ḫtj m mḏ3t mḥ m ḏrww*, identifying the order of drawing, carving, and filling with color.

[63] Grandet 1999, #76. The Harris Papyrus provides fifteen examples of "incrustation" for the meaning of *mḥ* in the papyrus — all with stone and/or *ḫsbd,* frit.

[64] Peet 1930, pl. V, 3, 8.

[65] Sethe 1909, p. 655.

[66] Several examples; Grandet 1994, #35.

[67] Janssen 1975, p. 239.

[68] Cooney 2007, p. 22.

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cakes used by the scribes, demonstrating that this was not the application of the various pigments.[69] Rather the work was the sketching of scenes at the preliminary stage, and we also learn that this operation was carried out by scribes, not tomb artisans (fig. 1.12; see also figs. 1.4–5).

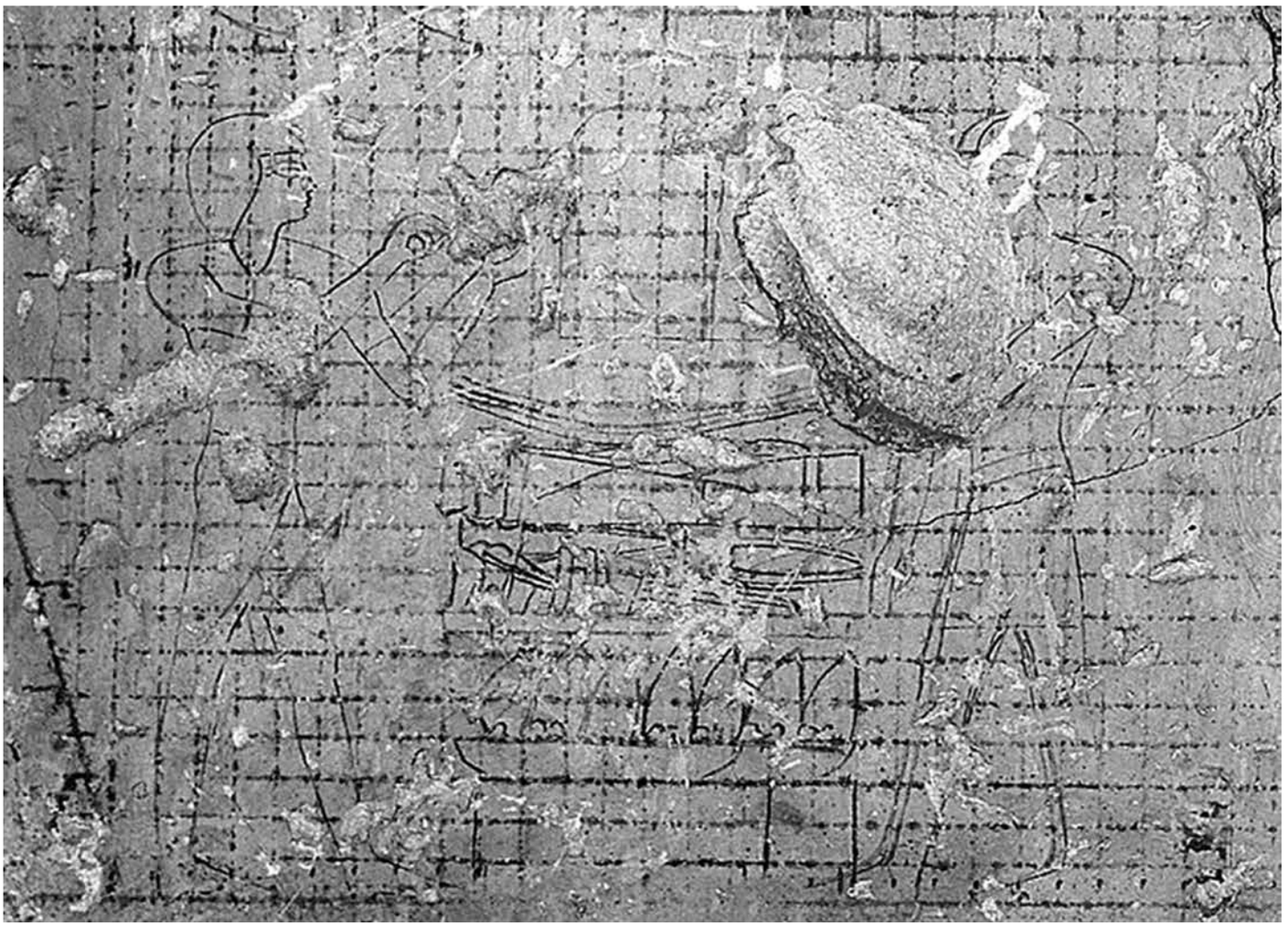


Figure 1.12. TT 92 Figures sketched on gridded wall illustrating the "laying out of pigment." Photograph by author

5. *dr*ỉ*w/dr*

The word *dr*ỉ*w* "to paint/color"[70] occurs on one Eighteenth Dynasty ostracon, Gardiner 7, but it is attested also in the tomb of the vizier to Thutmose III, Rekhmire (see below). However, it is an ancient word used in the Old Kingdom (written *dr*) where it described the coloring of floors and statue bases with gold and color.[71] A likely variant of the word written as *trw* is found in the Harris Papyrus, where it described statues as "painted,"

[69] Despite the view preferred by Harris for *ḏr*ỉ*w* as blue or green frits and also a general designation of pigment (Harris 1961, pp. 157–58). The word for ink/pigment, *ryt*, occurs in many contexts: (*Wb.* II p. 399) (Janssen 1975, p. 218; Hannig 1995, p. 459; Meeks 1981, pp. 218–19), "couleur, encre." When not otherwise designated as "green" or "black," it designates red ochre pigment. Sydney Aufrère calls it "encre rouge" (Aufrère 1991, pp. 655–56).

[70] *Wb.* V p. 475, 14.

[71] Sethe 1933, p. 181, 8–10. Frandsen was hesitant to translate the passage, but noted that *s*ỉ*t* was a variant writing of *s*ỉ*tw*, "earth, ground, floor, paving" (Frandsen 1978, pp. 28–29). He did suggest that "[*dr*] in some way describes the actual process involved" (p. 29). In the texts Frandsen was concerned with, the process was one of overlaying with precious metal; he also cited six Eighteenth Dynasty examples, including the Rekhmire reference. However, this Old Kingdom reference makes no mention of precious materials.

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alongside those made of stone and metal.[72] The word *trw* has been drawn into relation with a number of other terms with similar phonemes and in late texts is associated with the word for blood, thus suggesting a red color.[73] In the Twentieth Dynasty Harris Papyrus, however, Pierre Grandet noted that *trw* indicated that "les statues mentionées dans la présente section de liste étaient peintes."[74] It seems quite likely that *trw* was here a variant writing of *dr*i̯*w*.

In Rekhmire's tomb, the word denoted coloring/covering the floor of a temple with gold "in the likeness to the horizon of the sky" *Ms ḥmty sṯt i̯n.ḥm.f m nḫt ḥr ḫ*ꜣ*st Rtnw r wḏḥw*[*y*] *n sḥ-nṯr n ỉmn m Ipt-swt s*ꜣ*wt.f drw m nbw m snt r* ꜣḫt *nt pt.*[75] This latter qualification likely indicates that the gold was reddened, since the horizon was particularly that glowing area at sunrise and sunset when the sun sets beneath the horizon.

In this instance *dr* no doubt means "to clothe; to cover" as much as "to color." In this meaning of "to clothe" it could also refer to covering divine statues with both garments and jewelry.[76] In the ostracon, tomb artisans carried out the activity, *ḥr dr*i̯*w,* on walls, columns, and floors. The verb would then describe covering with color in large or small patches (see figs. 1.1, 1.4). With the identification of this word, we finally have a verb that can be translated as "to paint," but it is important to note that for the Egyptians the meaning would have been closer to "to color," for *dr*i̯*w* did not imply any of the skill of the draftsman. It signified the application of patches of pigment atop the preliminary sketches. As such it contributed to the making of a complete painting and could be done by all artisans, literate or not.

6. *sš*

The verb *sš* meaning "to draw" appears to occur on Thutmoside ostracon 12 rto found near the entrance to the lower tomb of Senenmut.[77]

1. *smỉ n p*ꜣ *10 n sš*
2. *qdw n p*ꜣ *sš*
3. [*t*]*ryt 15 n* ///
4. *hrw ḥrw* ///
5. *ḥn*ꜥ ///
1. Report of the 10 scribes
2. of form (draftsmen) because of the drawing.[78]
3. Red ochre: 15 cakes for ///
4. by day and ni[ght]
5. and ////.

As a noun *sš* is the common word for "scribe," and when coupled with the word *qd*(*t*), "form," it was the title for a draftsman and is known already in early eras of Egyptian history, referring to those people who decorated monuments.[79] As a verb, however, beyond the literal meaning of "to write," *sš* is found also to refer to the activities of the draftsmen, but scholars of Deir el Medina have disagreed whether there is a distinction between *sš* and *sš-qd* when used as an activity.[80] Only the Eighteenth Dynasty evidence will be considered here. Both *sš* and *sš-qd* are found with frequency in the religious literature,[81] including the rubrics to Book of the Dead Spells. In these both the noun and the verb refer to images that must be done by line or outlined

[72] Harris Papyrus (Grandet 1994, Vol. 2, pl. 41, line 10. II; p. 157 n. 626). See also ibid., pp. 154–55 n. 619, where Grandet refers to the Gebel Silsila Nile Invocation offering list. Grandet translates it as "en couleur" (Grandet 1994, Glossaire, 199).

[73] Harris 1961, pp. 154–58; Wilson 1997, pp. 1168–69.

[74] Grandet 1994, II, p. 157 n. 626.

[75] Sethe 1909, p. 1150, lines 11–14. "Presenting Asiatic copper which his Majesty brought from victory over the country of Retenu for door leaves for a sanctuary for Amun in Karnak, its floor being colored/covered with gold in the likeness of the horizon of the sky." Frandsen considers the *"f"* after *s*ꜣ*tw* to refer to "door leaves" in the previous line. However, that word is either dual or plural and would not have been referred to by the 3rd masc. singular. Rather the "*f*" refers to *sḥ nṯr*. Frandsen translates *dr* here as "overlaid" (1978, p. 28).

[76] Wilson 1997, p. 1203.

[77] Hayes 1960, p. 39, pls. 11–11A.

[78] Hayes translates "(and) of the scr[ibe] (?)," but notes that the ostracon is apparently complete, and there is no room for a name after *sš*. The sign is very faded.

[79] *Wb.* III p. 480, 11.

[80] Keller 1984, p. 124 n. 67; Janssen 1975, p. 215 n. 63; Grandet 1994, p. 163.

[81] Dziobek 1994, p. 84, from the short version of the Amduat. Also in KV 34 (Thutmose III) and KV 35 (Amenhotep II; Hornung 1987, pp. 14–15).

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drawing.[82] For example, Spell 130's rubric reads in part: *ḏd(w) ḥr wiꜣ Rʿ sšw m stỉ ḥr ḏmʿ wʿb* "to be spoken over the boat of the sun god, which is drawn in yellow ochre on a clean papyrus."[83] Accompanying the chapters in the Book of the Secret Chamber, called the Amduat, are rubrics that add, for example, "These are to be done in this form (*qd*), like this image which is drawn (*sš*) in the secret place of the netherworld, on the east side of the hidden chamber."[84] Quite a number of such examples exist and always indicate the production of an actual image, that is, something with form, which can only mean for the Egyptians, an outlined drawing. When a color is not indicated, as in the Amduat, it is because the images are drawn in black or red ink, as would normally be the case in writing. Otherwise the color is specified by pigment — not by the word for color, *ỉwn* or *ỉnw.*[85] The Book of the Heavenly Cow, carved and painted in the tomb of King Sety I, ca. 1300 BC, described the cow as follows: "This spell is to be said over a cow, the Heh gods being around it. Her cubit and four palms are of *ryt* (red ochre), nine stars being upon her belly. A tail is at the rear upon her thighs. The god Shu is under her belly, he being made of orpiment, his two arms grasping beneath the stars."[86]

In Ostracon 15 from Senenmut's lower tomb, the ten scribes of form are reporting on behalf of the drawing, *sš,* and using, as we saw with "laying out paints," the (*t*)*-ryt* red ochre or ink. Since the verb *sš* can consistently be linked to the making of drawings, whether of ink or other pigments, it seems unlikely that here it would mean something other, such as "to color."[87] We have seen that "coloring/painting" was expressed by *ḥr dr̀w.* Thus I suggest that a meaning of "to draw" is compatible with all other contemporary examples of the word *sš* referring to images. In contrast to *wꜣḥ ḏr̀w* in ostraca 63, 64, and 66, however, I would suggest that *sš* refers to the final outline drawing done on tomb figures and texts following the coloring. Only more examples will tell if there was a consistent distinction between *wꜣḥ ḏr̀w* "lay out pigments" as "preliminary drawings" and *sš* "draw" as "outlining" to complete a drawing, but this would certainly not conflict with the material at hand.



Figure 1.13. Papyrus of Nu, BM 1888,0515.4.27, rubric and vignette for Spell 100. Courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.

[82] Lapp 1997, spells 144, 162. In BD 162 an image of a cow, *nty m sš,* is done on papyrus and placed under the head of the deceased.

[83] Ibid., pl. 50; see also Spell 100's instruction: *ḏd(w) ḥr sšmw pn nty m sšw sšw ḥr šw wʿb;* Naville 1886, p. 235; Lapp 1997, pl. 80.

[84] Hornung 1987, Hour 7, p. 67; Hour 8, p. 75; Hour 9, pp. 79–80; Hour 10, p. 85; Hour 11, p. 89; Hour 12, p. 93; Conclusion, p. 95.

[85] *Wb.* I p. 52, 10–17.

[86] Hornung et al. 1982, pp. 14–15.

[87] Drawing with pigments (that would include ink as in *wꜣḥ ḏr̀w*) is cited by Harris: *m sš m ḏrwy* (Harris 1961, p. 157), after J. Dümichen, *Geographische Inschriften* II, p. 18.

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Conclusions Concerning Terminology from the Ostraca

We find that we have a series of operations, heretofore unknown from the documentation, and agreeing with what is seen on tomb and temple walls. All these processes are separate from the excavation of spaces or construction of buildings:

1. Plastering to fill in wall gaps, hide rock deficiencies, and create a surface for decoration. Done by tomb artisans.
2. Trimming to cut the damp plaster with a sharp edge for a smoothed surface. Done by tomb artisans.
3. Background painting with a blue frit mixture with emphasized adhesive qualities to cover any visual inconsistencies. Also means the adhesive whitewash used on blocks. Done by tomb artisans.
4. Laying out of preliminary sketches for scenes with red ochre. Done by scribes and sometimes on grids, sometimes not.
5. Application of paint in patches of color upon the preliminary sketches. Done by tomb artisans.
6. Final drawing of outlines and details with red ochre or other inks to complete the images. Done by scribes.

The Cultural Meaning of Painting

As noted above, some of the terms used for painting were also used to describe over- and in-laying with precious materials, such as gold, silver, electrum, and precious stones. In the Harris Papyrus royal and divine statues were described and were made of numerous types of hard stone and wood overlaid with gold, silver, and inlaid with stones. Painted statues were listed alongside these, so we may observe that painting represented an artistic medium just as it does in Western art, and other examples can be cited.[88]

The vocabulary associated with Egyptian art demonstrates that technical excellence, *ḥmt rḫt,*[89] and effectiveness (ritual/magical), *mnḫ* or *ꜣḫ,* were the esthetics of highest priority, although monuments were also consistently praised for their *nfrw*, "beauty" or "perfection."[90] Representing the requirements and desires of elites, such esthetics likewise demanded precious and exotic materials as appropriate substances for objects required in magical uses.[91] Yet pigments were also specified in religious instructions, as has been noted earlier. Paint may not have had as great absolute value, but as the Harris Papyrus indicates, it was clearly an alternate means of endowing both beauty and effectiveness to an image. For example, red and yellow ochre or the rarer yellow orpiment and orange-red realgar could be effective replacements for gold, valued for its durability and its solar color.[92] Green, as ground malachite or frit, had an equation with green stone, but also turquoise, and was associated with water, vegetation, and fertility. Blue pigment, referred to with the name of lapis lazuli, *ḫsbd*, was most often made from ground Egyptian blue frit or azurite.[93] It could be very dark or lighter and had a range of meanings. When very dark it was used to paint starry skies that alluded to celestial and netherworld waterways. It was also used to paint clumps of grapes to invoke wine and watery fertility. White, a major element in the calcium-based wall plasters, replaced a group of substances including natron

[88] Harris 1961, p. 157 n. 626; Grandet 1994, II, pp. 154–55; *Wb.* V p. 386, 12–15.

[89] Amenhotep son of Hapu uses this term to describe the statues of quartzite fashioned under his oversight for Amenhotep III (Helck 1955–1958, p. 1833, 3).

[90] Egyptologists have been reluctant to refer to Egyptian art as "art," as the absence of any vocabulary discussion in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* entries indicates. For example, Erika Schott wrote that there is no word for art, while writing an entry on artists (Schott 1980, p. 83). More recently, scholars such as John Baines have corrected this view, although there is surely room for further discussion (Baines 1994).

[91] CT 83 prescribes carnelian for a sphinx forepart; BD 133 specifies malachite for a boat image; BD 155–160 all prescribe materials: 155 requires gold for a *djed*-pillar, 156 red jasper for a *tyet*-knot, 157 gold for the vulture on the deceased, 158 gold for a collar on the neck, 159 and 160 feldspar for papyrus amulets (Andrews 1994, pp. 100–06; Faulkner 1985, pp. 122, 154–55).

[92] Lee and Quirke 2000, pp. 104–20; Aufrère 1991; Andrews 1994, pp. 100–06; Bryan 2010b, pp. 990–91.

[93] Harris 1961, pp. 148–49.

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and alabaster. Huntite, a brighter white mineral, was used increasingly to enhance white details.[94] As in the modern era, white was associated with cleanliness — but also with the sun god. The word for "white," *ḥḍ*, was also the word for "silver," underlining the tendency for pigments to substitute for more expensive materials.[95] The symbolic meanings of pigments and the colors are well known.[96] Much, too, has been written about the significance of minerals, notably Aufrère's *L'univers minéral*, in which he considered the extended meanings of all inorganic materials, as particularly expressed by temple texts.[97] Aufrère notes that *ryt*, the word for red ink or pigment so often demanded for drawn images in spells, may also be a word for blood, such as that of the god Seth.[98] But it was blood in the service of life, and used as a means of destroying enemies, existing or potential. In the medical texts, *ryt* may also have alluded to blood and unclean substances, such as pus and excrement.[99] The use and invocation of such negative materials was the means of ridding oneself of them. The associations of these pigments and their colors was not simply a symbolic reference to the creative quality of the sun god, the life-giving aspects of Osiris, or even the potential dangers of Seth in his red aspect of rage and chaos. They additionally reference the expected result of the use of those pigments in a variety of settings that included ritual, magic, and medicine.

The semantic realms of the words specifying painting operations (*ỉr.ˁ, dqw, dr, sš*), and that of the pigments used, are those of medicine and magic: *dqw*, as a pulverization of stones mixed with resins or other adhesive materials, was frequently part of medical prescriptions. For example, in one that many Egyptian women must have rushed to purchase, a recipe for "making the face beautiful: *nfrw*" consisted of the pulverization of alabaster, natron, and another salt, mixed with honey and applied as a salve.[100] In other prescriptions the *dqw* is applied as a poultice for festering wounds.[101] Indeed it is the healing aspect that is specifically emulated in the magical usage too, such as in BD 100, where the spell "for making a soul worthy and permitting it to go aboard the boat of the sun god" is directed as follows: "to be said over this image which is a drawing, drawn on an empty and clean papyrus using a pulverized coating (*dqw n ḥmwt*) of green frit mixed with water of incense. To be placed on the breast of the blessed dead without allowing it to touch his flesh."[102] In this emulation of preparing and applying a poultice, the purity of the papyrus and the materials in the drawing can counter the putrefaction of the flesh itself, thus producing the desired outcome. Likewise, the similar attributes of background paint, also a *dqw* that covered any deficiencies, might protect the deceased in his afterworld home.

The word *dr/dr̀w*, which we have seen refers to the application of color as a painting operation, is also used in inscriptions that describe coloring or covering floors and temple parts as part of a means of protecting them. Other basic meanings for the verb *dr* include "to eliminate" or "to drive off," and in the temple can refer to removing uncleanliness and impurity, which could disrupt the ritual effectiveness.[103] Covering the floor with silver or with pigment was thus a means of removing this impurity, and numerous examples from the Ptolemaic era exist where, in addition to the floors and walls, the limbs of temple statues were covered with mixtures of pigments and incense as such protection. In the medical texts, *dr* is the most common verb to describe what a physician did: he drove off illness, which was a form of impurity.[104] The result of medical treatment was therefore health and cleanliness.[105]

The materials, as well as the vocabulary used in medicine, are found in the realm of painting. The ochres, both red and yellow, were used frequently in prescriptions for diseases of the eye: red ochre, *mnšt*; yellow ochre, *stỉ*.[106] Yellow also was used for the tongue and throat, while orpiment, an arsenic-based pigment, was used in a fumigating treatment for coughing.[107] Red ochre was also used for ear, finger, and toe ailments;

[94] Heywood 2001.

[95] *Wb.* III pp. 204–10.

[96] Harris 1961, pp. 224–29; Andrews 1994, pp. 100–06; Quirke 2001.

[97] Yet he references magical, medical, and religious texts as well (Aufrère 1991).

[98] Aufrère 1991, pp. 655–56.

[99] Ibid., p. 656; Von Deines and Grapow 1959, pp. 322–23.

[100] Westendorf 1999, II, p. 668 (87, 1–3): Ebers 715.

[101] Von Deines and Grapow 1959, pp. 582–583. P. Edwin Smith, recto, col. 16, 4. Readable photographs in Allen 2005 (p. 102; trans. 103).

[102] Lapp 1997, pl. 80; Naville 1886, p. 235; Taylor 2010, p. 47.

[103] *Wb.* V pp. 473–75; Wilson 1997, pp. 1202–03; nn. 23–25 above.

[104] Westendorf 1999, I, pp. 342, 483–484; Wreszinski 1913, pls. 10–27. Westendorf's summary of the physician's duties and methods. See, for example, Ebers 30–96 (10, 9 to 24, 9), where numerous prescriptions for removing illnesses use the verb *dr* (Wreszinski 1913, pls. 10–26).

[105] Allen 2005, pp. 9–10.

[106] Von Deines and Grapow 1959, pp. 247, 468.

[107] Ochre for tongue, throat, and teeth (1959468); orpiment and realgar, *qnỉt, ỉwt-ỉb* (1959520; 3) are both used as inhalants for cough.

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white stone recipes were used in wrappings, salves, and magic to treat snake bites.[108] The association of white with cleanliness reinforced its use in medical-magical spells also; for example, natron was used in a recipe (Ebers 840, 97, 15–16) to eliminate fleas from a house.[109] Malachite (*wꜣḏ*) and galena (*msdmt,* known for use in eye paint) were also common in prescriptions of all types. Malachite was fundamental to eye prescriptions, having been used as eye paint since the Neolithic.[110] Galena probably was only used occasionally in painting for black pigment, but it was the most common eyepaint.[111] Blue pigment and real lapis lazuli (*ḫsbd mꜣʿ*) were used in prescriptions for eyes; the exact mineral designated by *ḫsbd* or *ḫsbd mꜣʿ* remains ambiguous.[112]

Having established the practical and cultural connections between the painting and magico-medical professions, one may inquire whether the draftsmen artists recognized these associations. Ostracon Berlin Inv. P 11247 from Deir el Medina partially reads as follows: "The draftsman Pay says to his son, the draftsman Pare[mheb]: Do not abandon me, for I am not well. Do not be mea[ger] with your tears for me, for I am in the [hand] of my master Amun who [has turned away] from me. Bring for me a little honey for my eyes, and some yellow ochre which has been freshly ground, and some real galena. [Pay] attention! Pay attention! Am I not your father? I am weak. I look for my eyes, but they no longer exist."[113] Indeed, the medical papyri, as well as the Deir el Medina texts, confirm that eye disease was very common in Egypt and must have been particularly frustrating for the artist population. Only one physician is so far attested in the village documentation, and he was a simple member of the tomb crew and thus may not have been highly trained, but was able to mix medicinal recipes.[114] Obviously, however, the connection of the pigments to the cure of diseases was known to the artisans, and this may now allow us to look back at the tomb as a space transformed by these artists with plaster and paint.

Conclusion

In the front room of the tomb of Suemniwet, the tomb owner appears seated observing several smaller registers of people preparing beer and food for festivals (fig. 1.14). The text before him begins by stating that he is *mꜣ* "seeing" the products, and the word is written with a blue sickle and an eye of red and white (the outline of the eye was dark red ochre but is hardly visible now). Although not uncommon in painting, the pigment choices are hardly realistic. Yet the materials used are those just discussed with reference to medical prescriptions, and they are frequently associated with the senses: sight, hearing, taste, as well as protection of the body from danger and uncleanliness (e.g., snake bite or pests). On the opposite wall from this scene, we again see Suemniwet, this time standing, but again seeing the preparations of food for the king (fig. 1.15). Here again the eyes are prominently red and white, and the other colors are those recognizable from the medical texts. The analyses done of the pigments here showed us that the yellow used was not ochre but rather orpiment,[115] a material used to treat respiratory disease, reflecting another means of combating potential illness.[116] In addition, the *pr* hieroglyph, representing a house in plan view, is painted entirely white inside. The bright huntite-white floor made the hieroglyph stand out,[117] but it also illustrates the painting activity described above: covering the floor of a temple or tomb with gold, silver, or paint, *dr/dr̀w*, in order to repel impurity or illness.

In Egyptian cultural terms, the result of painting the tomb was to transform it into a dynamic environment. The images and texts on the walls were part of a traditional canon that facilitated the creation of the deceased into a member of the blessed dead community and sent him or her on to the next world. The protection of the deceased's body was paramount to achieve this aim, as the scenes and texts attest. The tomb was required to be ritually pure for the effectiveness of the magic on the walls and in

[108] Westendorf 1999, especially I, pp. 258–77.

[109] Sethe 1983, pp. 57–58.

[110] Harris 1961, p. 143; Von Deines and Grapow 1959, p. 126.

[111] Harris 1961, pp. 174, 234.

[112] Von Deines and Grapow 1959, p. 404; Harris 1961, pp. 124–25, 148–49; divided between mineral and pigment.

[113] Andreu 2002, p. 134 no. 76. With photos of recto and verso. Pigments are mentioned on verso. Translation in McDowell 1999, pp. 55–56.

[114] McDowell 1999, p. 53.

[115] McCarthy 2001.

[116] Von Deines and Grapow 1959, p. 520, 3.

[117] Heywood 2001.

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the papyri.[118] And it is this pure and healing setting that the painting supports. The paints repel illness and evil and also offer healing to those senses that, as the Instruction of Ptahhotep indicates, were at an ebb as death descended:

> "Age is here, old age arrived . . . Eyes are dim, ears deaf, . . . the mouth, silenced, speaks not, . . . the bones ache throughout. Good has become evil, all taste is gone. What age does to people is evil in everything. The nose, clogged, breathes not, [painful] are standing and sitting" (Lichtheim 1975, pp. 62–63; Žába 1956, pp. 15–17).

Like religious rituals, painting was a means of guaranteeing the divine order. And as a Middle Kingdom inscription indicates, the renewal of decoration also provided that pure and healing environment. In the inscription of the priest Ameny-seneb (Louvre C 12), the vizier commands the renovation of the temple of Osiris at Abydos:

> *mk wḏ.(i) swʿb.k pȝ r-pr n ȝbḏw rdi(w).n.k ḥmww r nt-ʿ.f ḥnʿ wnwt ḫwt-nṯr nt tȝ spȝt šnʿ n ḥtp-nṯr ʿḥʿ n swʿb.n.i sw m pr ḫry pr ḥry m inbw.f ḥr-sȝ m ḫnw sš-qdwt ḥr mḥ m ḏrwy m tit m imw m smȝwy irt.n.nsw-bity Ḥpr-kȝ-rʿ mȝʿ-ḫrw*
>
> "Behold, I command that you purify the temple of Abydos. Craftsmen will be given to you according to its stipulations, together with temple servants of the nome and the workhouse of divine offerings. 'Then I *purified* it, the lower house and the upper house, its walls and afterwards the interior, *draftsmen filling with paint, whether sign or form, as a renewal* of what king of upper and lower Egypt Kheperkare, vindicated, did . . . '"[119]

Thus, by means of its beauty and effectiveness, the work of painting was also the work of "purification" and "renewal."



Figure 1.14. TT 92 Suemniwet overseeing production of beverages for a festival. Hieroglyphs in outlined box represent pigments used in medical prescriptions. Photograph by author

[118] A primary reason for curses left in Old Kingdom tombs was the threat of impurity (Strudwick 2005, p. 41).

[119] Sethe 1983, p. 76. Ameny-seneb functioned in the reign of Khendjer. *ʾImw* is taken to mean "form, shape" as a contrast to *ti.t* (*Wb.* I, p. 78, 1) rather than "clay" (p. 78, 2), although the walls were likely to have been of mudbrick; *ti.t* may refer to the hieroglyphic images (*Wb.* III, p. 239, 2; Wilson 1997, p. 1125). A variety of contexts is cited by the *Wörterbuch* (*Wb.* V, pp. 238–239).

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Figure 1.15. TT 92 Suemniwet overseeing palace food preparations. Orpiment and other pigments used in healing are seen in hieroglyphs. Floor of house sign is pigmented to purify and protect. Photograph by author

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Abbreviations

BD	Book of the Dead
CT	Coffin Text
KV	Valley of the Kings
Wb. I–V	Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1926–1931.

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2

Yellow Is Not a Metaphor for "All [That]'s 'Fair' in Love and War"

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I am pleased to dedicate this article in honor of Jan Johnson, who, as a newly appointed member of the faculty, fearlessly placed a plaque on her Oriental Institute office door that read, "Janet H. Johnson, G.E.*" (*Girl Egyptologist).

The idea that colors, in Egyptian art, have a one-to-one relationship with specific things or beings is prevalent in the general literature of Egyptology. Colors are also described as if they can symbolically represent abstract concepts that are inherently associated with those subjects.[1] This article challenges several proposals that have previously been made linking the color yellow to female flesh and by extension to status, lifestyle choices, and such qualities as submissiveness, cowardice, sexual availability, and even the ability to give birth.

In polychrome renditions of ancient Egyptian texts, hieroglyphic signs that depict parts of the human body (Gardiner's Sign List D1–D63), arms, legs, hands, and so on were colored red.[2] We are told that this is in keeping with gender status considerations since Egyptian males, who are commonly described as being "conventionally" depicted as red in a two-color (red/male, yellow/female, binary sex system), were "primary"[3] in status and thus "the male [red] was always the default or dominant setting."[4] The phenomenon of two signs that represent the human head, one in profile view, the other fully frontal, is an intriguing exception, therefore, because the former is usually painted red, whereas the latter is usually painted yellow. Myśliwiec has reasoned repeatedly[5] that the color distinction between the two (which, if following the "convention" mentioned above, would have necessitated that both signs be painted red) must have had a symbolic motivation. He has argued that the yellow, frontal face (the hieroglyphic biliteral *ḥr*, which can mean the preposition "upon" or "above," can signify the noun for the human face, and can also substitute for the falcon hieroglyph) should be identified with the god Horus,[6] and that the profile, red face (the hieroglyphic biliteral *tp*, which is also the preposition for "on," and the noun for the human head) should be identified with the god Seth.[7] In addition to the biliteral sign *ḥr* being a homophone for the Horus falcon hieroglyph, Myśliwiec sees the color

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[1] See Wilkinson 1994, pp. 106–10 and 116; Hartwig 2001, p. 1; and Robins 2001, pp. 291–93.

[2] Wilkinson 1994, p. 118.

[3] Robins 2001, p. 293.

[4] Eaverly 2004, p. 53 (following Robins). Williams (1932, p. 65) noted a few exceptions, however, where "at Medum, there is clear and abundant evidence for both yellow and red as conventions for men's flesh color" and that even by the Fifth Dynasty when "the Egyptians had an almost fixed convention of red for the hieroglyphs depicting human members," the use of yellow continues to appear "in a sign or two" such as (p. 66) "the hieroglyph of the human head in front view."

[5] Myśliwiec began his investigation of these hieroglyphs for his master's thesis and has published his ideas in: Myśliwiec 1972, pp. 85–99; 2004, pp. xii–xiii, 29–33; and 2006, pp. 225–38.

[6] Myśliwiec 1972, pp. 90–97; 2006, p. 228.

[7] Myśliwiec 2006, p. 230.

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yellow as being appropriate for a hieroglyph that signifies the falcon god Horus because "wherever polychromy is preserved in Egyptian temples and tombs, on coffins, stelae, papyri and other objects, the body, or at least the head of the falcon embodying any divinity is painted either white or yellow."[8] The yellow color of the frontal face, if identified with Horus, would moreover, according to Myśliwiec, impart "effeminate"[9] qualities to Horus, whereas the red would befit the more aggressive, "masculine" traits of Seth, subliminally reminding the viewer of the myth of "The Contendings of Horus and Seth"[10] in which Seth sexually dominated Horus.[11]

This tantalizing interpretation raises a number of issues that warrant discussion. The first to be addressed is that neither in Egyptian art nor when the falcon is used as a hieroglyph do falcons *always* appear either white or yellow. This may be the case only when the artist meant to represent a gold or gilded cult image of a falcon (such as in the vignette accompanying BD Spell 77, Chapter for Being Transformed into a Falcon of Gold[12]). In polychrome inlay work, the god Horus can be shown with a turquoise avian head. A lovely example is on the corselet of Tutankahmun (JE 62627) where the god Horus appears with a red, anthropomorphic body but a falcon head of turquoise-blue. In other, painted, representations, falcons can be quite colorful, as is the ornamental falcon hieroglyph from the tomb of Ramesses IX selected as an example by Houlihan to demonstrate how vivid colors were arranged in stylized patterns to depict this imposing bird,[13] whose tail feathers do not, however, naturally appear as checkerboards in black and green as depicted in this example.[14] Nevertheless, the "greenish or bluish tinge to the African subspecies of lanner"[15] "falcon (*Falco biarmicus*) [that] is precisely the bird depicted in New Kingdom painting"[16] appears to be naturalistically depicted as in such examples as the falcon from the Book of the Dead of Hunefer (BM EA 9901/1).[17] Such a bluish/greenish tinge then might reflect nature and complement the description of the falcon in BD Spell 78[18] that describes the falcon into which one might transform as having "wings of green stone."[19] As van Walsem wryly observed, a literal translation of this would result in an ironic impossibility: stone wings would have defeated the very purpose of flight.[20] The reference, then, to stone wings, must rather have meant to imply that such feathers had the appearance of *wꜣḏ-šmʿ* (green [stone] from Upper Egypt), which has been identified as green jasper,[21] thus incorporating all the qualities of the shimmering blue/green color that the Egyptians associated with the rays of sunlight reflected on the body of a divine bird whose wings could span the very heavens.[22]

The analogy of the yellow *ḥr* hieroglyph to the yellow faces of Third Intermediate Period bead net shrouds "as a reminiscence of Horus"[23] must also be challenged because these beaded faces occur in other colors besides yellow (green, red, and blue[24]). The very identification of these faces with the *ḥr* sign has, indeed, been called into question because the oftentimes striped element beneath the chin of these faces, which has been identified as a beard — as it most definitely is on the *ḥr* hieroglyph (marking it as male) — is not necessarily so on the beaded faces, but has been alternatively identified as an abbreviated broad collar.[25] Thus, the red or yellow, or green or blue, beaded faces that were placed over the faces of wrapped mummies *in lieu* of funerary masks should not, unquestionably, be interpreted as Horus or as the deceased as Horus,[26] but rather more likely as the deceased in the more traditional transfigured role as the sun god or Osiris.[27]

[8] Myśliwiec 2006, p. 229.

[9] Myśliwiec 2004, p. xiii.

[10] See Griffiths 1960, pp. 41–46.

[11] Myśliwiec 2004, pp. xii–xiii.

[12] Faulkner 1994, pl. 24.

[13] Houlihan 1986, p. 46 and fig. 61, which is regrettably in black and white.

[14] Ibid., p. 48.

[15] Kozloff 2012, p. 60.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid., fig. 5.2.

[18] Faulkner 1994, pl. 25.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Personal communication, René van Walsem, October 2006.

[21] Aufrère 1991, p. 545. The association of this green stone with Upper Egypt "agrees with the modern observation that the largest quantities of Egyptian jasper are located in the area of the Eastern desert to the northwest and west of Quseir"; see Nicholson and Shaw 2000, p. 29.

[22] Ibid. See also Aufrère 1991, p. 256, [f].

[23] Myśliwiec 2004, p. 33. See also detailed discussions in Myśliwiec 1972, pp. 96–97 and 2006, p. 229.

[24] Myśliwiec (2006, p. 229 and nn. 23–24) himself cites, for green bead-faces, Bosse-Griffiths (1975, p. 120; 1978, p. 103): "similarly shaped faces are occasionally green, rust-red and even blue." The bead net "mask" is actually part of a larger bead net shroud that covered "the mummy entirely from the top of the head to the ankles" (Aston 2009, p. 292); it is also cautioned that "it is only comparatively recently, however, that bead nets have been studied in detail" (Ibid., p. 290).

[25] Chapman, 2010, pp. 35–44.

[26] See n. 23 above.

[27] Bosse-Griffiths 1978, p. 103.

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With respect to the color yellow being appropriate to Horus because it references a "womanization" of Horus in the encounter between Horus and Seth, one must note, overall, that this narrative was not a tale about gender transformation but of a power struggle that emphasized the conflict between order and disorder. The theme of the story is the ultimate triumph of the rightful ruler.[28] It is not therefore necessary that the "yellow [i.e., "womanly"] coloration of the skin" [of the ḥr hieroglyph] . . . be seen as a logical consequence of the role played by Horus in the homosexual episode."[29] Rather, I would agree with Parkinson's interpretation of the encounter such that "the context of the mythical events and Seth's character suggest that this is intended to be a negative portrayal of male [active] desire for another male"[30] in which case, however, both hieroglyphic signs might more appropriately have been red (as ḥr is in exceptional cases).[31]

Precisely why the *ḥr* and *tp* signs were typically colored yellow and red, respectively, remains therefore a mystery, as does the answer to the question of "why the artist responsible for the prototype chose precisely the yellow colour for the ideogram of the [frontal] face, and not, e.g., one of the other colours contrasting with the red (e.g., white, blue, green or black)."[32] Numerous subtexts may have been at play, but none accounts for the yellow color selection in every context. We must keep in mind, in any case, that with the signs *ḥr* and *tp* we are dealing with morphemes, not depictions of the actual human body or, as Myśliwiec himself defined them: two hieroglyphs that "often appear together and constitute a semantic unity"[33] and *not* the gods themselves.

"Men Who Give Birth"

The association of yellow, women, sexual accessibility, weakness, and cowardice has, however, also been put forth by O'Connor[34] and Warburton.[35] O'Connor's statement that "male foreigners in their terror and helplessness can even be transformed into women giving birth (Edgerton and Wilson 1936: 73 n. 23e [*sic*]), an event implying pharaoh had metaphorical sexual access to them,"[36] was reiterated in a 2003 presentation at the American Research Center in Egypt's 54th annual meeting in which he discussed the transmutation of Libyan men (whose yellow/pale skin is one of the "distinctive ethnic features associated with Libyans in New Kingdom art")[37] into women capable of giving birth and as "being sexually accessible to other males."[38] Subsequently, he has identified a decorative program of a "sexualized dimension" at the mortuary temple of Ramesses III, Medinet Habu, which he suggests achieved conceptual unity by contrasting (imagined) acts of homosexual rape committed by the king (an interpretation he projects upon the traditional smiting scenes depicted on the exterior of the Eastern High Gate) with the playfully intimate scenes of pharaoh with female members of his court on its interior walls.[39] O'Connor would further have us believe that the florid, textual description of the physical state of captured Libyan enemies (employing the word *ḥdy* determined by the sign for childbirth)[40] means that "they metaphorically experience the uniquely female event of childbirth."[41]

The conclusion that the Libyan enemy's subjugation "results in the replacement of their masculinity by femininity"[42] is not, however, the only possible interpretation of the state of the Libyans. Edgerton and Wilson suggested that the use of the determinative for childbirth with the word *pgȝ*, used to describe the Libyan chieftain Meshesher's pose, was "to show the distress of the enemy,"[43] and that the state of *ḥdy* (mentioned above), determined by the same sign, is also not meant to convey that Meshesher (or his soldiers) were

[28] Cf. Te Velde 1980, cols. 25–27.

[29] Myśliwiec 2004, p. 33.

[30] Parkinson 1995, p. 71, italics added.

[31] Myśliwiec 2006, pp. 225–26 n. 7, cites two examples where the *ḥr* sign is "red or green."

[32] Ibid., p. 227.

[33] Ibid., p. 225, and cf. Myśliwiec 2004, p. 29. The configuration is, however, aesthetically related to the discussion of the use of color to discriminate between two similar figures in close proximity (see below).

[34] O'Connor 2005, pp. 439–54.

[35] Warburton 2008, pp. 244–46.

[36] O'Connor 2003a, p. 157.

[37] Taylor 2004, p. 334. See also the yellowish-tinged flesh of a Libyan captive on a prisoner tile excavated at Medinet Habu, JE 36457.

[38] O'Connor 2003b, p. 61.

[39] O'Connor 2005, pp. 445–52.

[40] Ibid., p. 451.

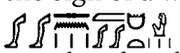
[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Edgerton and Wilson 1936, p. 79 n. 23e.

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metaphorically in labor as a result of having been "made available sexually to pharaoh"[44] but meant simply, that they were "spread out,"[45] or "made limp."[46] The further analogy, that the terrifying power of pharaoh "reduces the mountains of Libya *and* the Libyans themselves to the helpless travail of childbirth,"[47] relies on the occurrence of the determinative of a woman giving birth for the word *sʿy* in the description of pharaoh's impact on the Libyan terrain and, presumably, Edgerton and Wilson's translation, "so that the (very) mountains ⌜are in travail⌝."[48] But the more logical conclusion is not that a geological feature was being gynomorphized but rather that the word *sʿy* was used here to be read as a metaphor for "quaking." In fact this was suggested by Edgerton and Wilson with respect to their translation (above) which they admitted was perhaps "too specific"[49] and that in contexts when the word *sʿy* was used to refer to enemies, they offered "tremble, be in pain, be brought low,"[50] as alternatives. That the childbirth determinative for the words *pgȝ, ḥdy*, and *sʿy* created idioms for "quaking" or "trembling," presumably in fear of pharaoh's might, was a reading ignored or rejected by O'Connor in favor of a more provocative interpretation.

An epithet that presents similar idiomatic potential occurs in the Victory Stela of Piankhy, where Libyans are rightfully considered "impious and ritually unclean"[51] by Egyptian standards because they are uncircumcised and they eat fish. Nevertheless, the assignment to them of "effeminate" qualities, if based on the literally translated statement "these kings and counts of Lower Egypt who came to behold the beauty of His Majesty, their legs were like the legs of women"[52] seems to lack pejorative impact. Rather, one might consider the phrase in the same context as the Medinet Habu texts and that "the legs of women" referenced those other epithets determined by the sign of a woman in childbirth. In his definitive work on the Piankhy stela, Grimal translated the phrase  as "leurs jambes (tremblant) comme des jambes de femmes."[53] This translation lends support to the idea that the phrase "the legs of women" might well be a shortened variant of the Medinet Habu epithets referencing the "trembling" legs of a woman, squatting to give birth, that became an idiomatic phrase for "quaking in fear," not from an arbitrary sense of sissiness, but from the very real and terrifying travail of childbirth, and that such trembling corresponded to the physical state of Libyan rulers in true panic at the prospect of confronting His Majesty.

With respect to the idea that pejorative epithets for Egyptian enemies were related to women, homosexuality, or homosexual rape, one might cite Parkinson, who traces the etymological origin of the derogatory term *ḥmjw*, *Wb.* III, 80.7, to the word *ḥm* (*Wb.* III, 79, 1–21), which means "to retreat," although he suggests that, more literally, "to turn the back" is one who is open to being sodomized.[54] He clarifies that neither *ḥmjw* nor *ḥmty*, a later pejorative for an enemy, is related to the word for woman, *ḥmt,* yet suggests "some punning association between *ḥmjw* and *ḥmt* may, however, have been made."[55] Griffiths, on the other hand, had earlier pointed out that "whether it [*ḥmjw*] was originally *homosexual* in meaning is doubtful. There is a distinction between the scornful appellation, in a vague sense, of a man as 'womanly' and the more specific designation of him as being put to sexual uses in place of a woman."[56]

Although the events in "The Contendings of Horus and Seth" referenced above imply a belief that sodomy was considered a means to humiliate one's *rival,* Griffiths proffers that there is no evidence in an ancient Egyptian context to "suggest the connexion of homosexuality with war."[57] If such acts as O'Connor suggests had, in fact, been perpetrated by pharaoh (or the Egyptians on their defeated enemies), however, the characterization of the denigrated enemies as "transformed in gender, completely feminized"[58] would actually have conflicted with the military machismo of rape as a violent act of one *male* upon another *male.* Such acts of violence function rather as "expressions of power"[59] to flaunt the subjugation of one's enemy. The scenario

[44] O'Connor 2005 p. 451.
[45] Edgerton and Wilson 1936, p. 81 n. 32d.
[46] Ibid., p. 81, italics added.
[47] O'Connor 2005, p. 451, italics added.
[48] Edgerton and Wilson 1936, p. 12.
[49] Ibid., p. 12 n. 11b.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ritner 2008, p. 306.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Grimal 1981, p. 176, lines 149–150.
[54] Parkinson 1995, p. 66.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Griffiths 1960, p. 44, italics added.
[57] Ibid., p. 43; and, further, pp. 43–44.
[58] O'Connor 2005, p. 451.
[59] Parkinson 1995, p. 74. In modern times one can reference the degrading sexual abuse and torture of male prisoners at Abu Ghraib prison by American soldiers of both sexes (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Ghraib_torture_and_prisoner_abuse).

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would not represent a homoerotic or transgender encounter. Alternatively, *if* the smiting scene represents pharaoh raping a fallen enemy, as O'Connor has proposed, such an act would be a crime of war representing the violent subjugation by the (male) victor of a (male) enemy and did not necessitate the "feminization" of the enemy.

Whereas "a constellation of ideas linking weakness, [cowardice], defeat and sexual passivity"[60] exists in these contexts, there is no reasoned connection linking the yellow/pale flesh of Libyan foreigners, weakness, cowardice, defeat, sexual passivity, and women. On the contrary, the ancient Egyptians' respect for women as warriors is evidenced by the earliest known battle relief in Egyptian art wherein foreign women bravely fended off Egyptian troops assaulting their fortified town,[61] and by the commemoration of New Kingdom queens, such as Ahhotep, for their active roles in Egyptian military exploits.

In Warburton's argument for the word *rwḏ.w* rather than *dšr* as the original color term for red, he states, "I note that men are 'strong,' *rwḏ*, as opposed to women who are *nb.w* gold and painted yellow."[62] Although he never explicitly defines women as "weak," one might well draw that implied analogy from his conclusion, "thus we have a colour opposition and a use of words in opposition."[63] Serious linguistic concerns aside,[64] if one were to unilaterally characterize the ancient Egyptian categorization of women as weak, such a conclusion would not be supported by texts or artistic representations.

Yellow/Red

One might well speculate, though, if red is generally associated with birth/rebirth and regeneration because of its identification with the feminine in terms of menstrual blood (e.g., BD Spell 156) or the blood associated with the process of childbirth, why did the Egyptians not associate the flesh of women with the color red? Predynastic figurines of female figures are red (e.g., Brooklyn Museum, Museum Collection Fund, 07.447.505) and magico-medical figurines of women from the New Kingdom Mut Complex are painted in red, blue, black, and white.[65] Nevertheless, from the Old Kingdom onward, one of the most noticeable characteristics of the human figure in Egyptian art of two or three dimensions is that men are painted reddish brown and women yellow. This custom (and I do not call it a rule because there are too many exceptions) has been unconvincingly defended as a representation of the natural world.[66] One still hears repeated the only recently modified statement by Baines,[67] citing Fischer, that the distinction in color was used "to say something about ideals of beauty, in which women were paler probably because they led a more indoor life."[68] This quaintly Victorian idea that male/female color variance was rooted in the vigorous, outdoor lives of men and the sheltered, hearth-based world of women that resulted in sun-darkened flesh tones for men and the fair-complexioned flesh tones of women is indefensible.[69] We have no representational, nor any textual evidence that ancient Egyptian women were forced to stay indoors as an

[60] Parkinson 1995, p. 67

[61] Petrie 1898, pp. 5–7 and pl. IV.

[62] Warburton 2007, pp. 244–46. Also argued in Warburton 2008, pp. 1923–24.

[63] Warburton 2007, p. 244.

[64] See Warburton 2007, p. 245 n. 155. Warburton himself admits the "controversial" nature of his interpretation of the color *rwḏ.w.*

[65] Waraksas 2009, p. 102.

[66] I am rejecting the hypothesis that this alteration in color was due to the higher hemoglobin value in men than in women that results in the skin tone of men being uniformly darker than that of women, which was first mentioned in this context by Morenz 1962, p. 8, and to whose article was appended one by Umdritz 1962, pp. 10–20. Although it continues to be an issue that scholars find intriguing (see Kozloff 2013, p. 54), I do not believe that such a phenomenon, if observed by the ancient Egyptians, would have been relevant to or compatible with the color choices they made in art.

[67] Baines 1985, p. 288. This article was republished in Baines 2007, pp. 240–62. A refutation of this assertion is the alleged focus of a 2013 monograph by Eaverly that unfortunately offers little that is satisfying with which to replace it (see reviews by Jackson [2016], Corcoran and Albertson [2015], and Bianchi [2014], among others).

[68] Fischer 1963, pp. 17–22.

[69] I first challenged this statement in 1988 (Corcoran 1988, p. 56 n. 27). Catheryn Cheal, who holds a doctorate in classical archaeology, has astutely observed that "indoor/outdoor distinctions may be more of a modern theoretical concern, based on scholars familiar with Classical Greek (particularly Athenian) social practices" (Cheal 2004, p. 59). The argument also finds its adherents among those who propose an anachronistic "Oriental" preference for light-skinned females.

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ideal lifestyle.[70] If color were a reflection of lifestyle, one might have expected both men and women of the lower classes, who labored outdoors, weaving, farming, making bread and beer (e.g., as illustrated in Tomb 60, the mastaba of Ti at Sakkara), to have had darkened flesh, whereas both elite men and women who lived a more sheltered life performing administrative, scribal, priestly, domestic, or temple chores might have been depicted with lighter skin, but such a differentiation in flesh tones based on social status does not occur. The explanation, therefore — that their respective levels of outdoor activity motivated the decision to differentiate flesh tones based on sex — is not supported by the lifestyles of men and women of equal social status.

Moreover, numerous exceptions to the painting of Egyptian males red/brown and females yellow occur in Egyptian art to challenge those who wish to establish canonical rules for representation based on a binary gender system that would use color to categorize individuals as a reflection of the essential character of one or the other sex. Women appear in flesh colors other than yellow, and Fischer, for example, examined those cases where men were painted yellow.[71]

Goddesses (perhaps a special category that should be linked with a discussion of deities) are most often associated with yellow or gold flesh but can have light blue flesh in inlaid jewelry (examples from Tutankhamun's collection include JE 61944 and JE 61948). Manniche explains these light blue bodies as the result of an aesthetic choice because depicting female figures with yellow or gold flesh "would not have contrasted sufficiently with a setting of gold."[72] Queen Ahmose Nefertere was represented with yellow, black, red, and, possibly, green flesh.[73] Pink flesh is rarely mentioned as an alternative female skin color but was also used on the statuary of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri.[74] In fact, scholars have been so indoctrinated to think of yellow flesh tone with respect to images of women in Egyptian art that they actually published these statues as having yellow skin "against the witness of their eyes."[75] The most iconic image of a woman from Egypt is the Neues Museum, Berlin, bust of Nefertiti (21300), wife of Akhenaten. Her face is the palest red, surely as unnatural and unrealistic a shade as yellow for an Egyptian woman. Other Amarna women appear with brown flesh tones that have been explained as the result of an emphasis on the gender unity reflected in Akhenaten's religion.[76] But dark skin tones for royal women continued in use *after* the return of the orthodox faith and in the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Nefertari (QV 66), the great royal wife of Ramesses II is depicted with light red skin that has been interpreted as a reflection of her temporary assumption of a postmortem masculine gender so that she could assimilate with both Osiris and Re.[77] Others have ascribed to her a unique, elevated status, "as a tangible expression of [her] power on the level of the pharaoh"[78] shared by "all the deceased queens interred in the [Valley of the Queens]."[79] Which of these "exceptions" to the bipolarity of color/gender had conceptually based motivations, or aesthetic ones, is conjecture unless specifically stated in accompanying texts. Only one thing is certain: in a diachronic overview, the red and yellow boundary between the sexes was *not* so consistent as to be a dictum.

Eaverly asked the fundamental question, "Against the backdrop of a highly symbolic art, what message does colour convey with regard to gender?"[80] To explain the difference in flesh tones in representational art, she proffers that the bicolor system is a mechanism that "emphasizes the dual and complementary nature of male and female"[81] as well as the idea of "completion expressed though duality."[82] These answers present principles that underlie Egyptian culture *in general* but provide no specific answer to the question she herself had so succinctly posed, not to mention addressing the second big question, "Why those two colors (or variations thereof)?"[83]

[70] Cheal (2004, p. 59) argues further that there is no evidence for skin-lightening cosmetics. Her point concerning the occasional use of sunshades by men and women is well taken, although one might add that some uses of sunshades/fans are ritual rather than simply functional; see Wilkinson 1992, pp. 178–79.

[71] See Fischer 1963, pp. 17–22.

[72] Manniche 1982, p. 7.

[73] Manniche 1979, pp. 12–13.

[74] Ćwiek 2007, pp. 23–50.

[75] Ibid., p. 24.

[76] Eaverly 2004, pp. 53–55. Cf. Manniche 1982, p. 9, who, in her discussion of the back of the throne of Tutankhamun (JE 62028), notes that both royal figures appear with red flesh of inlaid glass against a gold background because women appear with red flesh in the Amarna period due to the "general fusion in the iconography of the sexes at this period" *and* because "yellow would not have stood out well against the golden background" (ibid.). If the red coloring here was only to emphasize both of the figures, one wonders why the gold Aten disk, the thematic and compositional focal point of the scene, was allowed to fade into the background?

[77] McCarthy 2002, pp. 176 and 191–93.

[78] LeBlanc n.d., p. 4.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Eaverly 2004, p. 53.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Cf. the discussion of the question of the selection of colors for the *ḥr* and *tp* signs.

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It is perhaps both noteworthy and significant that it was the case that "red by the late Fifth Dynasty definitely belonged to men, yellow to women; and these conventions prevailed generally in wall scenes from the Fifth Dynasty on"[84] because the Fifth Dynasty is the culmination of the ascendancy in ancient Egypt of a religion based on the supremacy of the sun, its art inspired by solar mythology.[85] Because red and yellow are the two colors most closely associated with the sun and could in fact serve as "alternative solar color[s]"[86] regarded "as somehow equivalent by the Egyptian artists,"[87] a connection between the use of these two colors for human flesh might exist in the mythology of the sun and Egyptian ideas concerning the origins of humankind. We do learn, from the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts (CT 80 and CT 1130[88]), that humankind was created from the tears of the primordial, solar creator god. So fundamental an idea must have been rooted in earlier mythological accounts and might thus reflect a contemporary Fifth Dynasty belief that men and women were born of the effluence of the sun and thus the colors used to depict their flesh were those also used to depict the solar disk.

If, however, we part the curtain of the "symbolic backdrop," we find only one, rather mundane explanation for the red/yellow distinction: it fulfills a practical function. Caroline Ransom Williams, who "made the first exhaustive study . . . of the colour conventions employed by the Egyptian painter in the Old Kingdom"[89] was also the first to propose, more than eighty years ago, that this alternation of colors was used for clarity, legibility, and visual appeal — a practical means to distinguish figures in proximity, the hint of an aesthetic idea (see considerations above with respect to figure color and setting) that an artist wished to alter "the colour of several objects in a row, ordinarily the same hue, in order to distinguish each separate piece more clearly, or to vary the monotony of the color scheme."[90]

The use of color as an artistic device can be appreciated in the case where rows of overlapping figures of the same sex are depicted with flesh of the *same* hue. In those cases, their individuality is de-emphasized, and they are probably to be interpreted as a collective noun (i.e., "mourners," or "officials"), whereas variance in flesh tones served as an artistic devise to assist the viewer of a complex scene in distinguishing *between* one human figure and another of the same sex. In a scene from the tomb of Baket III (BH 15) at Beni Hassan, 220 pairs of wrestlers are depicted in six registers with no poses duplicated.[91] In order to better discriminate between the two wrestlers, locked in various complex holds, one was painted red, his opponent dark brown. Surely this use of darker and lighter flesh tones was not (as Myśliwiec would have us believe for the signs *ḥr* and *tp* representing Horus and Seth) to identify the eventual winner from the loser, the more aggressive from the weaker, but simply to help separate individual body parts closely entangled. The alternating color device should be viewed as no more "symbolic" in meaning than the artificial arrangements of cattle by hide color, red to black to dappled, which was also used in two-dimensional (e.g., "Nebamun" Inspecting Cattle, BM 37976) and three-dimensional (e.g., Meketre's Cattle Census Model, JE 46724) representations. This is especially clear in a scene from the tomb of Cheti (BH 17) at Beni Hassan in which only the foreparts of a line of hornless and long-horned cattle are depicted, and one dark (or dark-dappled) animal alternates with one light animal, thus separating each from its neighbors.[92] It is unlikely that these animals (or flocks of birds as in "Nebamun Inspecting Geese" BM 37978) arranged *themselves* in these artificial configurations. Neither were these mechanical variations done to indicate light or shading or recession into space, but rather, as Shedid suggests, "Diese Abstraktion und Vereinfachung erzeugt ein kräftiges Muster, ein Spiel mit Farben und Flächen"[93] that enlivened the scene and engaged the viewer. The variation of color, then, of similar forms (animate or inanimate[94] animal or human) in close proximity within the same composition seems to have

[84] Williams 1932, pp. 65–66.

[85] Metropolitan Museum of Art 1999, pp. 354–58.

[86] Wilkinson 1994, p. 116.

[87] Ibid., p. 121.

[88] CT 80 refers to "the human beings that came forth from my eye" (Faulkner 1973, p. 84), and CT 1130 states, "I created the gods from my sweat, and mankind from the tears of my eye," (Faulkner 1978, p. 167).

[89] Stevenson Smith 1978, p. 258.

[90] Ibid. (Smith quoting Ransom Williams but without citation). Cf. Williams 1932, p. 44.

[91] Shedid 1994, p. 31, caption to plates 43, 44, and 45.

[92] Ibid., pl. 49.

[93] Ibid., p. 35, caption to plate 49.

[94] Williams (1932, p. 44) states that "we have never noticed this practice [the painting of alternating figures in higher and lower values of the same color] in the case of inanimate objects." It is unclear whether she means in the tomb of Per-neb specifically, or in general, which would be an interesting topic to pursue.

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been simply an artistic device to enhance legibility and to achieve a pleasing sense of pattern. In the case of two figures or hieroglyphic signs that represented variations on a theme such as the two signs representing aspects of the human head (one frontal, *ḥr,* the other profile, *tp*), "the colours of these signs simply helped or emphasized the distinction,"[95] a distinction that was not always maintained whether the subjects were represented in proximity or alone.

Conclusion

Those who have wished to see a symbolic meaning in the use of color in Egyptian art have attempted to identify the ideological reasoning behind the distinction between red men and yellow women by drawing analogies between certain colors and certain behaviors (e.g., aggressiveness versus submissiveness) based on Western ideas of male/female gender traits, or have suggested that these color choices were based on social ideals derived from religious or political principles. This article has addressed issues with such approaches, with respect to both the ancient choices and modern interpretations, concluding that, in seeking a symbolic motivation for color use in ancient Egyptian art with respect to sex, one would do well to heed the words of Max Planck:

> If by lucky chance we succeed in solving a problem, we experience a sense of deliverance and rejoice over the enrichment of our knowledge. But it is a different story, and highly annoying, to discover after tedious efforts that the problem is incapable of solution — either because there exists no indisputable method of solving it or, because soberly looked at, it is void of meaning — a phantom problem on which our labors and thoughts were wasted. There are a good many such phantom problems — in my opinion, far more than is ordinarily assumed.[96]

[95] Myśliwiec 2006, p. 227 and n. 10, quoting E. Hornung.

[96] Planck 1965, p. 15.

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Abbreviations

BD	Book of the Dead
QV	Valley of the Queens
Wb. I–V	*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 vols. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982.

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3

The Camel as a Sethian Creature

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I still vividly remember that day in the spring of 1995. When I first entered Professor Johnson's office at the Oriental Institute, I did not realize that I was about to embark on such a great linguistic, philological, and lexicographical adventure. Indeed, it has been nineteen years now that I have had the honor and privilege to benefit from Jan's vast knowledge of ancient Egypt, in particular Demotic. Thanks to her, I could gain invaluable experience in this field, first as a graduate student and research assistant working on the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (CDD), and then professionally both as a research associate and the associate editor of the CDD. As a pioneer of Demotic grammar and lexicography, Jan has always inspired scholars all over the world. Generations of Demotists were trained, and continue to be trained, by using her *Demotic Verbal System*[1] and *Thus Wrote 'Onchsheshonqy*,[2] an analytical and a teaching grammar, respectively, which have now become classics. Moreover, her major project, that is, the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, is the most complete and updated lexicographical tool of that phase of the ancient Egyptian language. Jan not only brought it to completion, but she is also in the process of converting it into a searchable online database, the *e*CDD.

As every Demotist familiar with Jan's *Demotic Verbal System* knows, Seth graces the cover of this seminal work and has, in a way, become the gatekeeper of the knowledge of Demotic grammar. In consideration of this, and as a token of my gratitude, I thought it would be appropriate to dedicate to her this exploration of an unknown aspect of this enigmatic god, whose complex personality has always puzzled Egyptologists.

In addition to depicting Seth as the so-called Seth-animal, which most scholars consider to be a fabulous beast,[3] the ancient Egyptians could also associate or identify him with animals such as the pig, donkey, hippopotamus, turtle, oryx, and crocodile, as well as with mythical beings like the famous winged falcon-headed figure of the Hibis temple.[4] However, there is a creature whose association with Seth, to my knowledge, has never been substantiated in Egyptological literature, namely, the camel.[5] This assimilation of Seth with the camel by the ancient Egyptians is not to be confused with the tentative modern identification of the Seth-animal with the latter.[6] Although it is true that some scholars have hesitantly raised the idea that the camel might be connected to Seth, they have never made a concrete connection between the two. Wiedemann has

* I would like to thank Eugene Cruz-Uribe, A. Hesse, and Dimitri Meeks for their useful suggestions and comments, as well as Elisabeth Jørgensen for providing me with various references from the Erichsen files in Copenhagen. NB: Egypt only has the *Camelus dromedarius*, also known as a dromedary (one-humped camel), not the *Camelus bactrianus*. Abbreviations in this article follow those of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (CDD).

[1] Johnson 1976.

[2] Johnson 2000.

[3] On the Seth-animal and the various attempts to define its zoological identity, see, e.g., Newberry 1893, pl. 4; Lefébure 1898; Thilenius 1900; Wiedemann 1902; Borchardt 1909–1910; von Bissing 1911, pp. 18–19, no. 31; Newberry 1912; Roeder 1912; Schweinfurth 1914; Boussac 1920; Daressy 1920; Kees 1923, cols. 1897–98; Paton 1925, pp. 25–30, 36; Newberry 1928; Jensen 1934; Bonnet 1952, p. 702; Goyon 1957, pp. 141–42; te Velde 1977, pp. 13–26; Donadoni 1981; Brunner 1983, p. 226 (reprinted in Brunner 1988); te Velde 1984, cols. 908–09; Watterson 1984, p. 112; Meeks 1986, pp. 3–6; Rossini and Schumann-Antelme 1992, p. 180; te Velde 1992, p. 573; Shaw and Nicholson 1995, p. 264; McDonald 2000; te Velde 2001, p. 269; Lobban 2004, p. 96; Thomas 2004, p. 1049; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, pp. 146, 201, 214; de Maret 2005; Rice 2006, pp. 86, 167, 170–72; Manlius 2010; Mathieu 2011, pp. 137–39; Turner 2013, p. 10.

[4] For references, see, e.g., Cruz-Uribe 2009, p. 201, n. 5.

[5] For example, no mention of the camel is made in the following publications giving lists of animals associated with Seth: Wiedemann 1897, p. 221; Kees 1923, cols. 1899–1902; Bonnet 1952, p. 702; Griffiths 1970, pp. 410, 550–51; te Velde 1977, p. 26; Brunner 1983, p. 228 (reprinted in Brunner 1988); Rossini and Schumann-Antelme 1992, p. 180; Shaw and Nicholson 1995, p. 264; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, pp. 146, 207–09; Rice 2006, p. 171. Cf. Wilkinson 1878, vol. 3, p. 259.

[6] See, e.g., Wiedemann 1891, p. 78; Wiedemann 1897, p. 221; Newberry 1928, p. 224; te Velde 1977, p. 13; Budge 1989, p. 361; de Maret 2005, p. 111.

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tried to explain the absence of the camel from Egyptian texts for religious reasons, arguing that it was possibly seen as "Typhonian."[7] Antonius, for his part, in his work on the phylogeny of domestic animals, states that "Die Annahme, daß man das Kamel als typhonisches Tier nicht dargestellt habe, hat wenig für sich, wenn man bedenkt, daß der ebenfalls typhonische Esel so oft, das höchst 'unreine' Schwein wenigstens vereinzelt abgebildet wurden und daß das allertyphonischste Tier, das 'Seth-Tier' selbst . . . sogar als Amulett getragen wurde."[8] As for Epstein, he refers to O. Keller,[9] who, he says, "suggested that the camel might have been a Typhonic animal dedicated to Set (Typhon), the personification of evil, and that for this reason is (*sic*) was neither bred nor depicted by the Egyptians."[10] However, following Antonius, Epstein pointed out that "the ass and the pig were likewise Typhonic animals; yet the ass was freely depicted in tombs and temples, and the pig at least occasionally, while the very symbol of Set, the aardvark (Orycteropus), was even worn as an amulet. The camel, on the other hand, plays no part in Egyptian mythology and is never represented on the walls of the tombs."[11] Nevertheless, despite Epstein's statement, one should note that O. Keller does not actually make any connection between the camel and Seth, but attributes the absence of this animal among hieroglyphic signs and reliefs to its impurity.[12] In turn, Forbes, also referring to previous scholarship with which he does not agree, states that many researchers believed that it was not depicted on Egyptian monuments due to its ugliness[13] "or to a religious taboo[14] because the camel was the animal of Seth."[15] More recently, Adams, seeming to follow Epstein in his misunderstanding of O. Keller, refers to the latter and, noting that camels did not appear to have been used for transport during the Pharaonic period, also says that "it has been suggested that there was a religious injunction against their use, possibly due to their association with Seth."[16] Although none of these scholars gives compelling evidence, whether archaeological, textual, or cultural, to support their assertions, the connection between the camel and Seth is not unfounded. Indeed, in a damaged passage of Pap. Berlin P. 8278, the text of which consists of a Demotic religious drama performed during the celebration of the Khoiak festival in the Fayum under the reign of Ptolemy VI,[17] Seth is referred to several times as *gml*ʾ,[18] a variant of the word *gmwl* "camel."[19] In his description of the text, Spiegelberg already notes: "Von grosser Bedeutung ist die mehrfache Erwähnung des Kamels (*gmla*), welches hier in Beziehung zu Set gesetzt wird."[20] In line x+9 of Pap. Berlin P. 8278b,[21] Isis complains that Seth has taken water for himself like a donkey or a camel, and a gloss equates water with Osiris.[22] In line x+10,[23] still in a gloss, we learn that Seth took the appearance[24] of a camel, a pig, and a hippopotamus against the eye of Re.[25] Then another gloss explains that the terms "donkey" and "camel" refer to "The One who failed," alluding to the fact that Seth is depicted as a failure in this text. These occurrences of the word "camel" in Pap. Berlin P. 8278 are apparently the only known concrete attestations of this term used as a designation of the god Seth.[26]

[7] Wiedemann 1891, pp. 77–78. Cf. Müller 1893, p. 142, followed by Spiegelberg 1902, p. 21.

[8] Antonius 1922, p. 313.

[9] O. Keller 1909, p. 275 (Note that Epstein does not indicate the page number).

[10] Epstein 1971, p. 564; Epstein 1954, p. 253.

[11] See preceding note.

[12] O. Keller 1909, p. 275. Cf. C. Keller 1902, pp. 213–14.

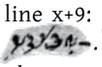
[13] See Dornstetter 1902, p. 117, cited in Forbes 1965, p. 201. See also Lefébure 1907, p. 57.

[14] See Heyes 1904, p. 29, and Lefébure 1907, pp. 55–62, both cited in Forbes 1965, p. 201. However, among the other scholars listed by Forbes, neither Chabas (1873) nor Préaux (1962) make reference to a religious taboo concerning the camel.

[15] Forbes 1965, p. 201.

[16] Adams 2007, p. 50 and n. 3, referring to O. Keller 1909, p. 275.

[17] Spiegelberg (1902, pp. 21, 36) dates this text to the reign of Ptolemy II. However, the general paleographic impression, as well as other reasons internal to the text, rather support a Middle Ptolemaic dating, which leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a text written in year 35, Phaophi 1, of the reign of Ptolemy VI, that is, October 29, 147 BC. See Gaudard 2005 and 2012.

[18] In Pap. Berlin P. 8278b, line x+9: , and line x+10: , , and .

[19] For references, see Gaudard 2005, p. 181, n. 66.

[20] Spiegelberg 1902, p. 21.

[21] See Gaudard 2005, pp. 169, 201.

[22] For discussion and references, see ibid., p. 207, n. 23. See also Assmann 2003.

[23] See Gaudard 2005, pp. 169, 201.

[24] For the various transformations of Seth, see, e.g., Griffiths 1970, p. 493.

[25] Literally, the text reads "against the enemy of the eye of Re," which is a euphemistic use of the word *ḫft* "enemy." For discussion and references, see Gaudard 2005, p. 182, n. 76, and p. 208, n. 29. See also Posener 1969; Frandsen 1986, col. 139; Quack 1989.

[26] In other Demotic texts, *gmwl* and its variants refer to the actual animal.

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The date of the introduction of the camel in Egypt has been much debated.[27] Although it is not unlikely that it was present in the Pharaonic period, as attested by archaeological discoveries such as terra-cotta figures,[28] drawings,[29] and faunal remains,[30] most scholars agree that the use of the camel as a transport animal became evident only in the Ptolemaic period,[31] due to an increase in commercial relations with the East. However, it is not until the Roman period that its impact on the Egyptian economy can be clearly seen.[32] This late appearance of the camel in ancient Egyptian culture would explain why a word designating this animal could not be found in phases of the language prior to Demotic.[33] In fact, the word *gmwl*[34] "camel" is a loan word from Semitic,[35] also attested in Coptic as ϧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ.[36] This evidence leads one to conclude that the camel was probably perceived as a foreign import, originally used by the enemies of Egypt, namely, the Assyrians,

[27] On the camel and the various theories about its introduction in Egypt and North Africa, see, e.g., Wilkinson 1878, vol. 1, p. 233, n. 8; ibid., vol. 2, p. 101; O. Keller 1887, p. 23; Wiedemann 1891, pp. 77–78; Leonard 1894, pp. 3–4; von Bissing 1900; C. Keller 1902, pp. 213–14; Flamand 1907, p. 65; Lefébure 1907; Antonius 1922, pp. 312–14; Erman and Ranke 1923, p. 586; Peet 1923, p. 60; Murray 1926, p. 248; Keimer 1929; Robinson 1936, pp. 51, 58, 64; Free 1944; Epstein 1954; Demougeot 1960; Bresciani 1966, p. 270, n. 1; Epstein 1971, pp. 558–84; Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977, p. 254; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977; Shaw 1979 (reprinted in Shaw 1995); Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1980; Gauthier-Pilters and Innis Dagg 1981, pp. 117–19; Wilson 1984, pp. 9–10, 37–39; Bagnall 1985; Ripinsky 1985; Kitchen 1986, p. 327 and n. 462; Uerpmann 1987; Boessneck 1988, p. 83; Rowley-Conwy 1988; Bulliet 1990, passim; Retsö 1991, pp. 199–200; Midant-Reynes 1992, pp. 44, 46; Artzy 1994, pp. 134–35, 139; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, pp. 102–05; Houlihan 1996, pp. 38–39; Pusch 1996; Huyge 1998, pp. 1379, 1381; Osborn and Osbornová 1998, pp. 155–57; Kuhrt 1999, pp. 183–84; Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, pp. 72–73; Meeks 2002, pp. 289–90 and n. 127; Lobban 2004, p. 96; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, pp. 99–100; Rice 2006, p. 171; Adams 2007, pp. 49–52; Magee 2015, p. 256. For the possible existence of trade routes to and from Egypt involving the use of camels, see, e.g., Keimer 1929, pp. 89–90; Epstein 1954, p. 266; Retsö 1991; Osborn and Osbornová 1998, p. 156; Meeks 2002, pp. 289–90 and n. 127.

[28] See, e.g., von Bissing 1900; Lefébure 1907, pp. 25, 42–44, 46–47, and esp. 61; Antonius 1922, p. 312; Erman and Ranke 1923, p. 586; Keimer 1929, pp. 86–88; Robinson 1936, pp. 51, 57–58; Free 1944, pp. 188–91, 193; Epstein 1954, pp. 247–51, 254, 264; Forbes 1965, pp. 197–98; Bresciani 1966, p. 270, n. 1; Epstein 1971, pp. 558–62, 564; Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977, pp. 254–55; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977; Ripinsky 1985; Nachtergael 1989; Retsö 1991, p. 200; Artzy 1994, pp. 134–35; Osborn and Osbornová 1998, p. 156; Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, pp. 72, 74–75 (no. 32), 76–77 (nos. 33–34), 78–79 (nos. 35–36); Colin 2004, pp. 32–33; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, pp. 99–100; Magee 2015, p. 256.

[29] See, e.g., Antonius 1922, pp. 312–13; Free 1944, pp. 190, 193; Epstein 1954, pp. 250, 252, 254, 263, 264; Bresciani 1966, pp. 269–71, pl. 1A (see also Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, pp. 74–75, fig. 4); Epstein 1971, pp. 560, 562–63; Pusch 1996; Huyge 1998; Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, p. 72.

[30] See, e.g., Peet 1923, p. 60; Keimer 1929, pp. 85–86; Free 1944, pp. 189–91, 193; Epstein 1954, pp. 248–49, 252, 254; Forbes 1965, p. 198; Bresciani 1966, p. 270, n. 1; Epstein 1971, pp. 560–61, 563–64, 574; Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977, p. 254; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1980; Ripinsky 1985; Uerpmann 1987, pp. 52–53, 56; Rowley-Conwy 1988; Retsö 1991, p. 200; Midant-Reynes 1992, p. 44; Osborn and Osbornová 1998, pp. 155–57; Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, p. 72; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, p. 99. However, note that scholars such as Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre (1977 and 1980), and Houlihan (1996, p. 38), have expressed doubts about most of the material used as an evidence to argue in favor of an early introduction of the camel in Egypt. Cf. Strouhal 1990, p. 125; Retsö 1991, p. 200.

[31] See, e.g., Keimer 1929, p. 88; Free 1944, p. 188; Epstein 1954, pp. 251, 254, 256; Epstein 1971, pp. 562, 567; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977, pp. 338, 356; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1980, col. 304; Wilson 1984, p. 9; Bagnall 1985, p. 3; Boessneck 1988, p. 83; Bulliet 1990, p. 116; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, pp. 104–05; Houlihan 1996, p. 39; Huyge 1998, p. 1381. For references to the camel during the Ptolemaic period, see, e.g., Thompson 1934, p. 14, n. 21; Bagnall 1985, pp. 3–4; Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, p. 72; Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, pp. 99–100; Adams 2007, p. 51. For the occupation *mn gmwl* "camel-herder," see *EG*, p. 581, s.v. *gmwl* (citing Thompson 1934, pp. 4, 14, pl. 1 [= P. BM 10591 recto, col. 1, line 24]; pp. 5, 17, pl. 3 [= P. BM 10591 recto, col. 3, line 8]; pp. 6, 21, pl. 5 [= P. BM 10591 recto, col. 5, line 1]; pp. 7, 23, pl. 5 [= P. BM 10591 recto, col. 5, line 25]; p. 103, no. 134, s.v. mn); *CDD*, G (25 June 2014), p. 37, s.v. *gmwl*. For an example of a representation of a camel during the Ptolemaic period, see, e.g., Bresciani 1966, pp. 269–71, pl. 1A (see also Hoffmann and Steinhart 2001, pp. 74–75, fig. 4).

[32] See, e.g., Forbes 1965, p. 198; Wilson 1984, p. 10; Bulliet 1990, pp. 16, 116–17; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, p. 105; Houlihan 1996, p. 39; Osborn and Osbornová 1998, p. 157; Adams 2007, pp. 52–53. Cf. Lefébure 1907, p. 51. For a mention of the camel during the Roman period, see, e.g., Dunand and Lichtenberg 2005, p. 100. For representations of camels during the Roman period, see, e.g., Spiegelberg 1904, p. 76, no. 1191 C (see also Vleeming 2001, p. 90, no. 129); Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977, p. 255, fig. 5.21.

[33] See, e.g., Keimer 1929, p. 85; Bresciani 1966, p. 269; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977, pp. 337–38, 352–54; Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, p. 104.

[34] Also attested, for example, as *gmwr*, *gml*, *gmlʾ*, and *gmle*; see *EG*, p. 581, s.v. *gmwl*; *CDD*, G (25 June 2014), pp. 36–37, s.v. *gmwl*. See also Bresciani 1966, p. 269.

[35] See, e.g., Vittmann 1996, p. 444, s.v. *gmwl*; Quack 2005, p. 321, s.v. ϧⲁⲙⲟⲩⲗ. Cf. von Kremer 1863, p. 223; O. Keller 1887, pp. 20, 23–24; McClintock and Strong 1894, p. 49, s.v. "camel"; Lefébure 1907, p. 24; Robinson 1936, p. 59; Epstein 1954, p. 263; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1977, p. 338; Retsö 1991, p. 201. See also Lipiński 2004, p. 207.

[36] *CD*, p. 818b.

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Persians, and border-roaming tribes,[37] while the Egyptians relied more on donkeys. Such a negative image of the camel would justify his association with Seth, god of foreign lands.[38] The camel is indeed an animal of the desert par excellence,[39] and this parched and barren landscape, frequented by foreigners, was regarded with fear by the Egyptians as a threatening place and the domain of Seth and his creatures.[40] In addition, other negative aspects of the camel should also be taken into account: as mentioned above, it has been suggested by early scholars that camels were seen as impure[41] and ugly[42] by the Egyptians. It is true, for instance, that many Near Eastern cultures, including the Copts, prohibit the eating of camel flesh,[43] and biologically speaking, male camels are known to be particularly odoriferous during the rutting season.[44] Moreover, one of the unique characteristics of the camel, which may have been considered offensive or impure, is its ability to spit. Indeed, as stated by Ritner, "in Coptic extra-biblical literature, . . . spitting is typically linked with raging men, camels, and demons, and the practice is condemned for defiling ritual purity."[45] Interestingly, the god Seth is also known for his "evil spitting."[46] For instance, the following passage of the Pyramid Texts, also cited by Ritner, is very explicit:

> The Great Ennead has protected you, they have put Seth under you on your behalf that he may be burdened with you, they have warded off his "evil influence" (ỉỉ) which he spat out against you.[47]

The comparison between Seth and the camel can be taken further, in that the latter is also said to lack intelligence[48] and to have a negative and revengeful character.[49] It is also worth noting that the blood of a camel and that of a donkey, a well-known Sethian creature, can both be used for destructive magical purposes. In the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden, for example, camel blood helps to create a deadly mixture:

> If you put camel's blood and the blood of a dead man into the wine and you make the man drink it, he dies.[50]

Similarly, in another ritual formula,[51] the practitioner has to anoint his hands with the blood of a donkey in order to summon Seth and cast a spell to cause evil sleep, or even death. The blood of these two Sethian creatures functions in such a way that both harm the victim.

[37] For the association of the camel with foreigners and for foreigners as camel breeders, see, e.g., Lenz 1856, pp. 213–15; von Kremer 1863, pp. 223–24; O. Keller 1887, p. 34; C. Keller 1902, p. 214; Lefébure 1907, pp. 36–39, 46, and esp. 60; O. Keller 1909, pp. 275–76; Keimer 1929, pp. 89–90; Robinson 1936, pp. 61–62; Montevecchi 1939, pp. 42–49; Contenau 1950, p. 65; Epstein 1954, p. 262; Préaux 1962, p. 160; Forbes 1965, pp. 198–200; Epstein 1971, pp. 565–66, 572–74; Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre 1980, col. 304; Wilson 1984, pp. 9, 37; Bagnall 1985, pp. 1–3; Boessneck 1988, p. 83; Rowley-Conwy 1988, pp. 247–48; Bulliet 1990, pp. 116–17; Retsö 1991, pp. 208–09; Lobban 2004, pp. 96–97; Harris 2013, p. 67. Note, however, that Greek documents mention that priests and women from priestly families from Soknopaiou Nesos traded camels, which is seemingly unattested in the Demotic documents from this village; see, e.g., M. Chr. 260 (= BGU I 87) (for a translation, see, e.g., Gradenwitz 1900, §4, pp. 51–56; Rowlandson et al. 1998, p. 254, n. 187) (I would like to thank Sandra Lippert for this information). For possible evidence of camel breeders in a Demotic text, see Spiegelberg 1904, pp. 74–77, no. 1191; Zauzich 1987, pp. 215–17; Vleeming 2001, pp. 90–92, no. 129.

[38] For Seth as a foreigner, see, e.g., te Velde 1977, pp. 109–51.

[39] See, e.g., Robinson 1936, pp. 48, 56; Buxton 1955, pp. 88–89; Gauthier-Pilters and Innis Dagg 1981, pp. 59–77; Wilson 1984, p. 69.

[40] See Spiegelberg 1902, p. 21; Bonnet 1952, pp. 704, 707; te Velde 1977, p. 62.

[41] See, e.g., von Kremer 1863, pp. 223–24; O. Keller 1887, p. 22; Lefébure 1907, pp. 58–62; O. Keller 1909, p. 275. For the camel as an unclean animal, see, e.g., Robinson 1936, p. 55.

[42] See, e.g., Dornstetter 1902, p. 117; Lefébure 1907, p. 57.

[43] See, e.g., Lefébure 1907, pp. 58–61; Simoons 1994, pp. 194–99; Harris 2013, pp. 65–67. For the prohibition of camel flesh by the Copts, see Lane 1871, p. 289; Lefébure 1907, pp. 59–60; Robinson 1936, p. 55; Simoons 1994, p. 198. Cf. Lev. 11:4; Retsö 1991, p. 202, on Israelites. However, according to Wilkinson (1898. vol. 3, p. 301), "it is probable that religious scruples did not prevent the Egyptians from eating it."

[44] See, e.g., Wilson 1984, p. 91; Harris 2013, p. 67. Cf. Leonard 1894, pp. 8–10; Robinson 1936, p. 55.

[45] Ritner 2008, p. 90.

[46] See ibid., p. 84. For further discussion, examples, and references, see ibid., pp. 82–88. Note that Seth's spitting can also be used in a beneficial way, for example, against Apep; see ibid., p. 85.

[47] See ibid., p. 84, citing PT spell 593, §1628a–c, from Sethe 1910, p. 361, and Faulkner 1969, pp. 243–44.

[48] See, e.g., Chabas 1873, p. 418; Leonard 1894, pp. 47, 51. For Seth's lack of intelligence, see, e.g., Goedicke 1961; Redford 2001, p. 294; Gaudard 2005, p. 107.

[49] See, e.g., Parkhurst 1829, p. 82; Lane 1871, p. 156; Chabas 1873, p. 418; O. Keller 1887, p. 36; Leonard 1894, pp. 43–47; McClintock and Strong 1894, p. 49, s.v. "camel"; Lefébure 1907, p. 57; Robinson 1936, p. 56.

[50] P. British Museum 10070+P. Leiden 383, recto, col. XXIV/29–30 (third century AD). Translation: Johnson in Betz 1992, p. 234 (PDM xiv. 739–40), following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson (1904, pp. 152–53, and 1905, pl. 24).

[51] P. British Museum 10070+P. Leiden 383, recto, col. XXIII/1–20 (third century AD). Translation: Johnson and Hock in Betz 1992, p. 232 (PDM xiv. 675–94 [PGM XIVc. 16–27]), following the edition and translation of Griffith and Thompson (1904, pp. 144–47, and 1905, pl. 23), and of Preisendanz (1974, pp. 131–33 [PGM XIVc. 16–27]). For discussion, see Dieleman 2005, pp. 130–38.

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Note that the tradition of camel blood being used in magic is attested in later times. In book two, chapter three, of *Les Admirables Secrets d'Albert le Grand*,[52] a grimoire originally composed in Latin between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and attributed to Albertus Magnus (ca. 1200-1280),[53] we learn that:

> si le sang du chameau est mis dans la peau d'un taureau pendant que les étoiles brillent, la fumée qui en sortira fera qu'on croira voir un géant dont la tête semblera toucher le ciel. Hermès assure l'avoir éprouvé lui-même. Si quelqu'un mange de ce sang, il deviendra bientôt fou; et si l'on allume une lampe qui aura été frottée de ce même sang, on s'imaginera que tous ceux qui seront présents auront des têtes de chameau, pourvu cependant qu'il n'y ait point d'autre lampe qui éclaire la chambre.[54]

The camel continued to be associated with the forces of evil in Western occultism, in particular as a shape favored by demons[55] and as a demonic mount. When Alvare, the hero of Cazotte's *Le Diable amoureux*, summons Beelzebub, a window opens in front of him and a horrible and huge camel head appears.[56] Another example can be found in the *Pseudomonarchia Daemonum* by Ioannes Vierus (1515–1588),[57] where Wal, a great and powerful duke of the infernal empire, in charge of thirty-seven legions, is said to take the form of a "dromedarius magnus ac terribilis."[58] Vierus also mentions several demons who ride a camel, like Paymon[59] and Gomory.[60] Moreover, according to the *Pirḳê de Rabbi Eliezer*,[61] the serpent of Eden, prior to the punishment inflicted by God, looked camel-like and served as a mount for the fallen angel Samael, who possessed it in order to tempt Adam and Eve.[62] Of particular interest is the fact that in his *De Occulta Philosophia Libri III*, Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535) equates Samael with Typhon.[63]

Even when the camel is mentioned in a positive light, such as in *The Life of Samuel of Kalamun by Isaac the Presbyter*,[64] where a camel is chosen to be the emissary of God's voice, it still bears traces of a negative reputation.[65] In an episode of this story preserved in Coptic,[66] the monk Samuel is captured and mistreated by Berber raiders who place him on a female camel in order to take him prisoner to their country. However, an angel sent by God pokes the side of the camel, possessing it, so that it speaks to Samuel with a human voice, telling him that he deserved to be beaten for breaking his vow of silence. Then the angel stops the camel and prevents it from moving forward with the intention of saving Samuel from his kidnappers. Consequently, the Berbers beat the camel until she starts forward and begins spitting at the other camels. In this passage, the poor opinion that people generally had of camels is made evident by the fact that after this incident the author immediately looks for a justification about the camel's involvement in this miracle, as follows:

> But if anyone is scandalised at this small miracle, let him remember first the ass which spoke to Balaam, the prophet, reproaching him for his faithlessness, as it is written in the Book of Numbers.[67]

Obviously, this proves that the author knew his audience could be shocked by a story involving one of God's holy messengers speaking through a vulgar camel. It is also noteworthy that in the passage above, the

[52] Also known as *Le Grand Albert*.

[53] Also known as Albert the Great and Albert of Cologne, and whose real name is Albrecht von Bollstädt.

[54] Translation: Collin de Plancy 1863, p. 154a, s.v. "Chameau." For an alternate translation, see, e.g., [Albertus Magnus] 1774, pp. 101–02.

[55] See, e.g., Collin de Plancy 1863, p. 203b, s.v. "Démons," where the illustration labeled "Figure d'un démon" depicts a camel.

[56] [Cazotte] 1772.

[57] Also known as Johann Weyer, Jan Wier, Johan Wier, Johannes Wier, Jean Wier, Ioannes Wierus, and Piscinarius.

[58] Vierus 1583, §[66] 65; cf. Collin de Plancy 1863, p. 699b, s.v. "Wall," fig. on p. 700a, and (as cited by Ritner 2008, p. 235) de Laurence 1916, p. 37, no. 47. Note that when Wal takes human form he speaks Egyptian.

[59] Paymon, one of the kings of Hell commanding two-hundred legions, appears to exorcists in the shape of a man with a woman's face, wearing a diadem and riding a dromedary. See Vierus 1583, §22; cf. Collin de Plancy 1863, p. 521a–b, s.v. "Paymon."

[60] Gomory, a powerful and mighty duke of Hell, in charge of twenty-six legions, appears as a woman wearing a ducal crown and riding a camel (in this case *Camelus bactrianus*). See Vierus 1583, §[51] 50; cf. Collin de Plancy 1863, p. 307a, s.v. "Gomory."

[61] See Friedlander 1916, pp. 92–93.

[62] In his book entitled *Le Monde enchanté*, Bekker (1634–1698) (1694, p. 160) mentions this version of the story. On page 166, he also reports that "l'âme d'un homme qui aura couché avec la femme d'autrui entrera dans un chameau."

[63] Agrippa von Nettesheim 1550, (book 3) p. 370.

[64] See Alcock 1983. On Samuel of Kalamun, see Alcock 1991.

[65] See Alcock 1983, (chapter 15) pp. 13–14, 88–89. For another example of an animal gifted with human speech, see ibid., p. 44, n. 140, and p. 124, n. 107.

[66] See ibid., pp. vii–viii.

[67] Translation: Alcock 1983, p. 89.

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animal gifted by God with human speech is a donkey, which is, again, a creature of Seth. So, just as in the magical texts, the camel and the donkey are also associated here in their negative connotation.

Therefore, though there is apparently only one known source that includes proof of the camel's association with Seth, the abundance of cultural evidence attesting to this animal's bad reputation demonstrates why the connection between the two may have been established.

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4

A Ptolemaic Grain Account Papyrus (P. Vienna D. 13.534)

Richard Jasnow, Johns Hopkins University

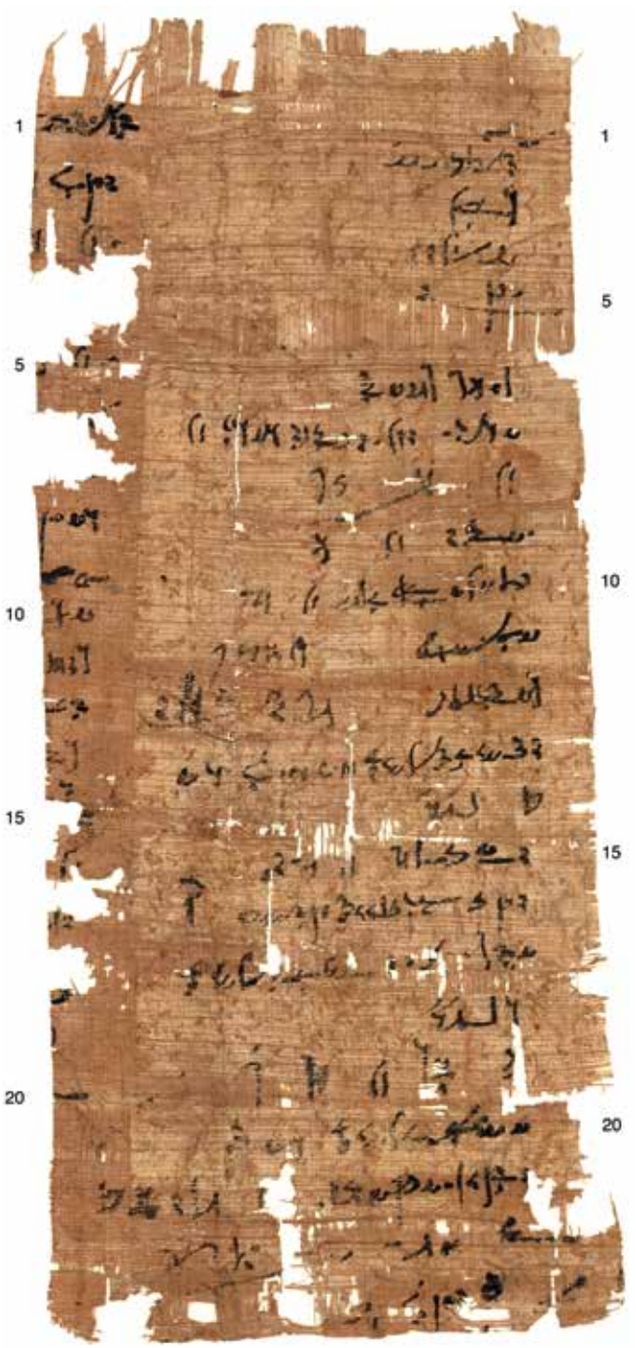
I first met Jan about 1976 when she was an assistant professor just beginning her work on the Demotic Dictionary. As a prospective graduate student who had already heard about her ambitious project, I desperately wanted to study Demotic with her. The gods of Demotic were kind to me, since our very first conversation revealed Jan to be a friendly, patient, and clearly brilliant individual. Leaving her office, I spoke with my heart, which exclaimed, "You won't find a better professor and mentor! (*sep-sen*!)" Considering her achievements and success as a scholar and teacher, my heart was obviously correct. Jan has little changed through the years; she has continued to be that incredibly intelligent and personable scholar with whom I talked on that (for me) fateful day. One of the things that impressed me very early on as a graduate student studying with her was how close Jan was to Professor George Hughes, her own teacher; she was virtually a daughter to him. He often told me how happy he was to have her as his successor. Professor Hughes would be, I am sure, immensely proud of what his student has accomplished through the years. Indeed, who would deny that Jan has splendidly maintained the grand tradition of Demotic studies at the Oriental Institute?

In the course of a visit at the Papyrussammlung in Vienna with Karl-Theodor Zauzich for the purpose of finding additional pieces of the Book of Thoth, we came across the following modest, but still worthwhile, fragment (figs. 4.1–2; height: 26.3 cm; width: 11 cm). I offer this edition to Jan as a small token of my great esteem for her![1]

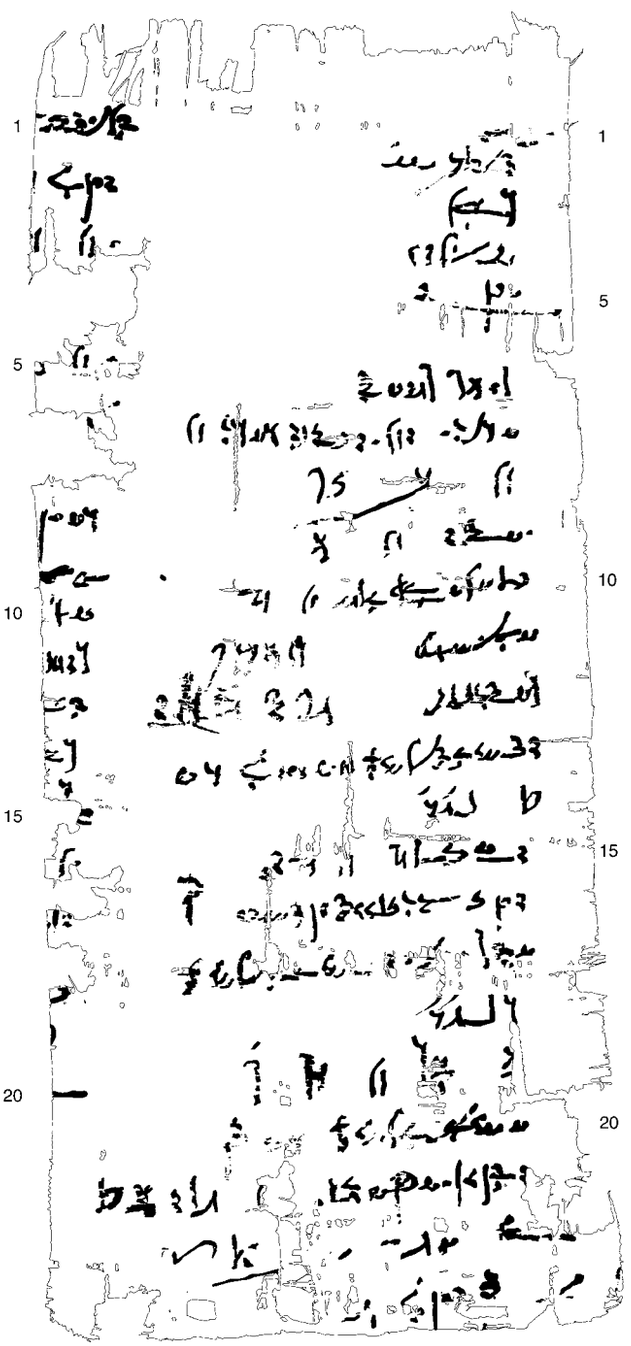
The Demotic writing is on the recto. The verso is not inscribed. It is light brown in color and may be cartonnage. The fragment is probably from the Fayum.

[1] I deeply thank Dr. Cornelia Römer and Professor Bernhard Palme, the director of the Department of Papyri and Papyrus Museum, Austrian National Library, for permission to publish the papyrus. The accompanying WaCom digital image is only a "handcopy," intended to illustrate how I understand the text; I have not been able to collate it against the original.

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Column 2 Column 1



Column 2 Column 1

Figures 4.1–2. P. Vienna D. 13.534 recto. Photograph and handcopy

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Column 1[2]

Transliteration

1. . . .
2. *Nȝ.w-nḫt=f sȝ Ḥr*
3. *Pa-wr*
4. *Pȝy-lwȝ*
5. *r rmt 9*

SPATIUM

6. *ḥsb.t-sp 35 ỉbt 1 pr.t sw 3*(?)
7. *pȝ sr n nȝ sw n nȝ nt ḫn pa-pȝ-sḥn sw*
8. *sw 200* SPATIUM *25*
9. *n pȝ mw sw 30*
10. *Wn-nfr pȝ ṯs-rȝ sw 7*
11. *Pȝ-kly sw 34 1/3*
12. *. . . mnṯ 15 1/6* SPATIUM *100 + ? 2 9 1/2*
13. *nȝ mstprws ỉw=w mḥ* (?) *ʿnḫ ʿq*
14. 3 SPATIUM *2/3 1/12* (?)
15. *nȝ ʿntȝy ⌜sw⌟ 17*(?) *sw 5*
16. *nȝ rmt ỉr šm wbȝ nȝ ỉny* SPATIUM *wʿ* (?)
17. *pȝ mnḥ nȝ ⌜mstprws⌟*
18. *2 2/3 1/12*
19. *. . . pš sw . . . tpỉ*
20. *pȝ strqws . . .*
21. *nȝ gl-šr.w n pȝ ḥry n pȝ tš sw 11 1/2. . .*
22. *n tn ḥḏ 17 r 100*(?) *. . . 4*
23. *tmt*(?) *70 ʿnḫ . . .*

Translation

1. . . .
2. *Nȝ.w-nḫt=f*, son of *Ḥr*
3. *Pa-wr*
4. *Pȝy-lwȝ*
5. making 9 men

SPATIUM

6. Regnal year 35, first month of Winter, day 3(?).
7. The distribution of the wheat to/of the ones who convey The-one-of-the-wheat-authority(?):
8. wheat 200 SPATIUM 25
9. in the (time of) water wheat 30
10. *Wn-nfr*, the officer of the granary wheat 7
11. *Pȝ-kly* wheat 34 1/3
12. . . . 15 1/6 . . . SPATIUM 100 + ? 2 9 1/2
13. The mercenaries, they being paid with a living(?) of rations.
14. 3 SPATIUM 2/3 1/12(?)
15. The perfumers ⌜wheat⌟ 17(?) day 5
16. The men who went for the stone SPATIUM 1(?)
17. The servant (?) of the ⌜mercenaries⌟
18. 2 2/3 1/12
19. . . . half wheat . . . first month
20. The sitologos/soldier/general (?) . . .
21. The soldiers of the chief of the nome wheat 11 1/2 . . .
22. . . . at the rate of deben 17 to 100 (?) . . . 4
23. . . . total (?) . . . 70(?) to live(?) . . .

Commentary

Line 1

(a) Presumably the remains of a name, but I can make nothing of these traces. They may in fact be the end of a line from the lost preceding column.

Line 2

(a) For *Nȝ.w-nḫt=f*, see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 620–21.

Line 3

(a) For *Pa-wr*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 359.

Line 4

(a) *Pȝy-lwȝ* may be a variant of *Pȝ-lwȝ* (Vittmann 2000, p. 150).

Line 5

(a) Clearly this total concludes a section of the account.

[2] There may be a tiny ink trace preserved of the preceding column.

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Line 6

(a) Most probably this is year 35 of Ptolemy VIII, that is, 136–135 BCE (Pestman 1967, p. 59). Also possible is year 35 of Ptolemy IX, that is, 83 BCE (Pestman 1967, p. 77). I consider the earlier dating more likely.

(b) *sw* 3 is hardly secure (*Glossar*, p. 707).

Line 7

(a) This line, following the regnal year, is the heading for the next section. *Sr*, with the walking-legs determinative, is "anordnen, verteilen" (*Glossar*, p. 442). On the word, see Warburton 2011, a review of the lengthy study of *sr* in Cannuyer 2010. For *sr* in the sense of "distribute," "assign," "deploy," see Cannuyer 2010, pp. 529–37. I understand the example in this papyrus to be equivalent to ϲⲱⲣ "distribution" (Crum 1939, p. 353b). Still, I have not found a close Demotic parallel for *sr* in the heading of other such grain accounts.

(b) For *sw* "Weizen," see *Glossar*, p. 412.

(c) For this rather abbreviated writing of *ḫn*, see "rudern" (*Glossar*, p. 383).

(d) Is *pa-pꜣ-sḥn* a title? If so, *sḥn* might be identified with *sḥn* "Art Beamter" (*Glossar*, p. 447) and denote an official associated with the bureau of such an administrator. I have not found the title elsewhere. Alternatively *sḥn sw* may be rather understood as a compound, "the matter of grain," comparing *sḥn* "beauftragen, Befehl, Auftrag" (*Glossar*, pp. 446–47). I do not think it is a personal name.

Line 8

(a) The "200" (*Glossar*, p. 702) almost certainly refers to artabas. It may be the total of grain available, the smaller amounts recorded afterwards being deducted from it.

Line 9

(a) Perhaps "from the water" means "from the time of inundation" (*Glossar*, p. 155).

Line 10

(a) *Ṯs* is "Befehlshaber, Offizier, Vorgesetzter" (*Glossar*, p. 671). *Rꜣ* is "Tür, Eingang," but assumes the meaning of "storeroom," "treasury" (*Glossar*, p. 240). On *rꜣ* in the sense of "granary," see Monson 2012a, p. 130. *Ṯs-rꜣ* "chief of the granary" is evidently a title here, but I have no parallel. Could *ṯs-rꜣ* be the Demotic equivalent of the well known Greek office of the σιτολόγος, for which see, e.g., Palme 2009, p. 382; Monson 2012b, p. 234; Oates 1995, pp. 33, 96; Verdult 1991 (with editions of important texts pertaining to the sitologos)? This title is generally transcribed in Demotic (*Glossar*, p. 476). See the note on line 20.

Line 11

(a) I assume that this is also a personal name, but the reading of the last portion of the group is difficult. It may be the same name as in Depauw 2000, p. 229, with facsimile. Still, the determinative is puzzling.

Line 12

(a) I am unsure whether the initial group is a name or title. The first slightly damaged sign could be *sꜣ* (*Glossar*, p. 402), followed by *pꜣ*. However, the two signs may be a word in themselves, e.g., *šn* "fragen" (*Glossar*, pp. 513–14). After the possible *pꜣ* I read *mnṭ*, but *mnṭ* "Türhüter" (*Glossar*, p. 165) seems hardly likely. *Šms* "Diener" (*Glossar*, p. 511) is also not convincing. The following group seems to conclude with *f*. Could this entire group be rather a name of the pattern *tnỉ.t-Ḫnsw* (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 1283)? I have even considered the possibility that this is a series of numbers, concluding with 90 1/ 4 (*Glossar*, pp. 701, 704).

(b) For "1/6," see *Glossar*, p. 704.

(c) The numerals at the end of this line are a problem; the scribe may have made a correction here.

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Line 13

(a) *Mstprws* is not in *Glossar*, but see CDD M, p. 241, "one serving for hire, a mercenary" (μισθοφόρος). See Pestman 1982, p. 128; "mercenaries"; Clarysse 1987, p. 26.

(b) The following damaged group may be *ỉw=w*, but this is not certain.

(c) Probably either *mḥ* "füllen" (*Glossar*, pp. 171–72) or *ḫr* "unter" (*Glossar*, pp. 385–87).

(d) *ʿnḫ* seems preferable to *nꜣ rmt-rḫ*, but the sense is difficult. Does it mean "living"? For the short supralinear stroke, reminiscent of *rḫ*, see *Glossar*, p. 63 (two Roman period examples).

(e) Perhaps *ʿq* "Brot, Ration, Einkünfte" (*Glossar*, p. 73, and CDD, under *ʿq*). This compound is associated with the *misthophoroi*. I think this more likely than a date, such as *sw 2* (*Glossar*, p. 707).

Line 14

(a) For "2/3," see *Glossar*, p. 705.

Line 15

(a) Only *ʿnṯ* "Räucherwerke," is in *Glossar*, p. 65, and CDD. For the profession, see Colin 2003. It would be interesting to know what such "perfumers" were specifically doing here, but, of course, the account provides no information on that point. Could they be traders involved in the perfume industry (see Depauw 2009)?

(b) *sw* is uncertain.

(c) *sw 5* (*Glossar*, p. 708) is preferable to "1/2" (*Glossar*, p. 704).

Line 16

(a) *ʾIr šm* is a perfect participle.

(b) *wbꜣ* "gegen, für" (*Glossar*, pp. 84–85).

(c) The stone determinative of *ỉny* "Stein" (*Glossar*, p. 34) is clear. See Vinson 1998, pp. 24–26. A Gebel Silsile graffito from year 10 of Tiberius mentions a chief skipper of "the stone-hauling barges of Montu," *nꜣ ḏy.w nt fy ỉn n Mnṯ* (Vinson 1998, p. 121).

(d) The last (slightly flaked) group resembles *wʿ* (*Glossar*, p. 81) more than anything else. Still, "one" artaba does not appear reasonable. Could this be a variant of another number (e.g., "80," *Glossar*, p. 701)? It certainly is virtually identical with the writing of "10,000" (*Glossar*, p. 703), but such a large number is implausible to me. Are the persons mentioned after this heading the members of the expedition?

Line 17

(a) The first word, which concludes with the arm with a stick determinative, is problematic. I think *mnḥ* "Jüngling" (*Glossar*, p. 163) is the best reading. This term can designate young men acting as servants of soldiers or perhaps recruits in training (Feucht 1995, pp. 520–21). It is, however, curious that only one is mentioned.

Line 18

(a) For "2/3," see *Glossar*, p. 705.

(b) The fractions of 2/3 1/12 have already occurred in line 14.

Line 19

(a) The broken first group is probably a number or abbreviation. One thinks, for example, of *wḥm* "repeat" (*Glossar*, p. 97), *wp.t* "Spezifikation" (*Glossar*, p. 85 and CDD), or *ʿn* "again" (*Glossar*, pp. 61–62). However, none of these is convincing, to my mind. Perhaps *mḥ* followed by a number?

(b) Instead of *pš* "teilen" (*Glossar*, p. 140), this may be a number *32.t*(?). It also slightly resembles *wḥm* "wiederholen" (*Glossar*, p. 97).

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(c) I cannot read the group after *sw*.

(d) The last sign closely resembles "*tpi*" (*Glossar*, p. 626), comparing, e.g., Schentuleit and Vittmann 2009, p. 132. I find the sense of "first month," awkward, but preferable to other readings, such as "10,000" (*Glossar*, p. 703).

Line 20

(a) The scribe apparently had trouble with this word. I suspect he intended σιτολόγος, *sytkws* "Sitologos" (*Glossar*, p. 476; Clarysse 1987, p. 28; de Cenival 1985, pp. 154, 155). However, he was perhaps thinking also of στρατηγός, *srtks* (*Glossar*, p. 443) or στρατιώτης, *srtyts* (*Glossar*, p. 443). Cf. the examples of *srtyqws* in Farid 1993, p. 76, and the discussion of Demotic variants of this title in Devauchelle and Widmer 2009, p. 85; Lichtheim 1957, p. 35, which mentions a "granary of Apollonides the strategos." See also the note on line 10.

(b) The remaining signs on this line are presumably numbers, but I cannot resolve any of them. One might suggest "2" and "3." It is similar to what I have read as *ʿq* "rations" in 1/13. The last sign resembles the prefix *rʿ* (*Glossar*, p. 142), but this yields no sense.

Line 21

(a) *gl-šr* "Krieger, Soldat" (*Glossar*, p. 588) is a plausible reading; see Vittmann 1999, pp. 120–23; Malinine 1950, p. 119 (*gl-šr pꜣ tš*).

(b) The title *Ḥry n pꜣ tš* is not in *Glossar*, but is found, for example, in Smith and Tait 1984, p. 48 (*Ḥry n pꜣ tš*).

Line 22

(a) Perhaps rather simply *tn* and not *n tn* "je" (*Glossar*, p. 635). The significance of this rate mentioning deben is unclear to me. It is the only occurrence of deben in the fragment and may have implications for understanding the significance of the document.

(b) "17" is preferable to "18" (*Glossar*, p. 698).

(c) The tail of the "100" or a multiple of the same is visible.

Line 23

(a) *tmt* "Summe" (*Glossar*, p. 634) is just one possibility.

(b) For "70," see *Glossar*, p. 701.

(c) The group is identical to that read *ʿnḫ* in 1/13. Again, the force of the word is obscure.

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Column 2

Transliteration

1. *Pwlmn* [. . .]
2. *nꜣ sḫ* (?) . . .[. . .]
3. . . . *sw* . . .[. . .]
4. [. . .]
5. . . . *sw* . . . [. . .]
6. . . . [. . .]
7. [. . .]
8. *pa pꜣ sḫ* [. . .]
9. *wš sḏm* (?)[. . .]
10. *ḫr s*. . .[. . .]
11. *Pa nꜣ* . . . [. . .]
12. *Nꜣ.w-n*[*ḫṯ=f* (?) . . .]
13. *Pa-ʾIs.t* (?)[. . .]
14. *Pa-*. . . [. . .]
15. . . . [. . .]
16. *sw* (?)[. . .]
17. . . .[. . .]
18. . . .[. . .]
19. . . .[. . .]
20. . . .[. . .]

Translation

1. *Pwlmn* [. . .]
2. The scribes (?). . . [. . .]
3. . . . wheat . . .[. . .]
4. [. . .]
5. . . . wheat . . . [. . .]
6. . . . [. . .]
7. [. . .]
8. That of the scribe (?) [. . .]
9. without hearing (?)[. . .]
10. under/with (?). . .[. . .]
11. That of the . . . [. . .]
12. *Nꜣ.w-n*[*ḫṯ=f* (?) . . .]
13. *Pa-ʾIs.t*(?)[. . .]
14. *Pa-*. . . [. . .]
15. . . . [. . .]
16. wheat (?)[. . .]
17. . . .[. . .]
18. . . .[. . .]
19. . . .[. . .]
20. . . .[. . .]

Commentary

Line 1

(a) This is *Prwmn* (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 466, Πολέμων).

Line 2

(a) One might also read *nꜣ rmt rḫ*, but I doubt the sense “the scholars.” The apparent *ḫ* is much like the sign in what I transliterate as *ʿnḫ* in 1/13 and 1/23.

Line 8

(a) Of course, *pa pꜣ sḫ* is just one possibility; perhaps rather, e.g., *sḥn*. . .

Line 9

(a) The reading is plausible, but what could the meaning be in such an account?

Line 12

(a) The same name appears in 1/2.

Discussion

It is difficult to evaluate satisfactorily such a fragment as P. Vienna D. 13.534. While many records in Demotic naturally deal with grain,[3] I have found no Demotic account precisely like this piece. I am inclined to believe that it basically represents the distribution of artabas of state grain to various individuals. Admittedly, there may in fact be more than one kind of record inscribed on this papyrus. The first preserved column begins

[3] A particularly impressive example is Demarée and Muhs 2008.

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with the end of a list of nine men. Notably, there are no amounts of grain associated with these names. In 1/6 appears, on the contrary, a clear heading with a specific date. As mentioned, I think this date is probably 136–135 BCE, within the reign of Ptolemy VIII. This is followed by the most distinctive entry in the papyrus: (1/7) "The distribution of the wheat to/of the ones who convey The-one-of-the-wheat-authority(?)." These allocations do seem to take place on specific days (e.g., lines 1/15 and 1/19). There are a few names in this list, but mainly we find professions. Interestingly, one individual, *Wn-nfr*, is designated as the "officer of the granary" (1/10). Could this *Wn-nfr* be responsible in some way for the following disbursement? Several of these persons are military in character, and one wonders whether the allotments are not to be associated with an expedition of some sort. Still, what part would "perfumers" play in an expedition (1/15)? Nevertheless, the mention of mercenaries in 1/13 and 1/17 and of "the soldiers of the chief of the nome" in 1/21 certainly lends a military coloring to the document. The "men who went for the stone" in 1/16 also receive an allocation.[4] All of this suggests to my mind that P. Vienna D. 13.534 is the record of support for a variety of state projects or enterprises.

As the editor of the CDD, Jan has closely read Demotic texts of every kind, from the humblest broken tax receipt to the magnificent magical papyri. She, as few others, appreciates the palaeographical and lexicographical challenges that even such a modest document poses. Obviously, I have not been able to solve all the cruxes in P. Vienna D. 13.534. Still, Jan is as gracious as she is intelligent. I am therefore confident that she will not grade my contribution to her Festschrift too harshly! Please, Jan, help me with the problems in this papyrus (especially the numbers)!

[4] They may be identified with the persons named after this heading in 1/16.

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Abbreviations

CDD	*The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Janet H. Johnson, editor. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2000–.
Dem. Nb.	*Demotisches Namenbuch*. Erich Lüddeckens et al. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980–2000.
Glossar	*Demotisches Glossar*. Wolja Erichsen. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954.

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5

The Syntax and Semantics of the Particle *ỉst* in the Middle Egyptian Tales

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I first began to grapple with the particle *ỉst*[1] while writing an independent study paper as part of my PhD coursework at the University of Chicago, and I discovered during the process that Jan had developed her own views on its use. From that point on, the particle became rather a theme in my progress toward graduation, appearing both in my comprehensive exams and in the infamous sight-reading passage presented to all Egyptology students at the oral defense of their dissertation. As a result, it is my great honor to present here the fruits of our many discussions and to thank Jan for her never-ending care and concern for her students — and for the sense of fun she brings to the task.[2]

The often ambiguous use of the particle *ỉst* in Middle Egyptian texts has traditionally presented a translational crux for modern scholars, as highlighted by Gardiner's description: "the function of the particle is to describe *situations* or *concomitant facts* . . . Sentences introduced by *ỉsṯ* are sometimes to be rendered as independent sentences and sometimes as clauses of time or circumstance."[3] More recent examinations of the historical development of the particle have served to explain this multiplicity of uses, and, at present, there seems to be a consensus that it was in the transition from Old Egyptian to Middle Egyptian that its functions expanded. This phenomenon has been explored most recently by Elsa Oréal, who outlines the particle's shift from correlative adverb and comitative postposition (meaning "as well, too") to subordinative function in Old Egyptian and its more dramatic "centripetal move" in Middle Egyptian, where it is now able to occur not just after its main clause but seemingly also as a separate entity, to her serving as a "discourse marker with a main textual and argumentative function."[4]

Oréal's approach clearly follows in the footsteps of the analyses of Vernus, Loprieno, and (to a lesser degree) Depuydt.[5] Depuydt classifies *ỉst* in Middle Egyptian (and *sk* in Old Egyptian) as an example of "sentence anaphora."[6] To him, the particle marks the beginning of a new sentence while at the same time assuming the role of the preceding independent sentence; the clause following *ỉst* is thus subordinate to the particle itself. Vernus describes *ỉst* as "a message auxiliary through which the speaker/writer marks a clause or a sentence as incidental with respect to his main statement";[7] similarly, Loprieno suggests that, in the cases of the particles *ỉst* and *ỉḫr*, "one does not deal with syntactic subordination, but rather with a linkage between two main clauses; the clause introduced by the particle provides contextual background information, and is

[1] Allen explains the many variants of this particle as follows: "This particle has several forms, as a result of sound changes in the history of the language. Originally the particle was *sk*. Already in Old Egyptian, however, it also appears as *sṯ* and *ỉsṯ*, where the original *k* has changed to a *ṯ*. Middle Egyptian uses all three forms, along with a fourth spelling, *jst* (sometimes *jstw* and *stj*), where the final *t* has changed to *ṯ*, and an archaizing form *jsk*" (Allen 2010, p. 144 [§12.16.1]). It is the spelling *ỉst* that tends to occur in the Middle Egyptian tales and thus is used throughout this paper for the sake of consistency.

[2] In addition to Jan, my thanks are due to Peter Dorman, who oversaw the initial independent study project, and to Robert Ritner for the invitation to contribute to this volume and for his work in editing it. All three supervised my 2008 University of Chicago dissertation "The Narrative Structure of Ancient Egyptian Tales: From Sinuhe to Setna"; many of the examples presented here are also discussed in my dissertation, although in some cases my analysis has changed somewhat. I am also indebted to Foy Scalf for his careful reading of early drafts of this paper and for his many invaluable suggestions.

[3] Gardiner 1957, p. 177 (§231); see also pp. 95–96 (§119.2).

[4] Oréal 2012, pp. 231–32.

[5] Vernus 1990; Loprieno 1995; Depuydt 1993; Depuydt 2008.

[6] Depuydt 2008, pp. 95–101; see also Depuydt 1993, pp. 11–25.

[7] Vernus 1990, p. 148.

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in this respect semantically dependent upon the main clause, but remains syntactically a nominal, adverbial, or verbal main clause."[8] He goes on to identify the relationship between an *ỉst* clause and its main clause as one of hypotaxis: "i.e. a semantic, rather than syntactic dependency of a sentence on the discourse nucleus."[9] Although Oréal, Vernus, and Loprieno each express their stance in slightly different terms, the same basic premise unites them: in Middle Egyptian, an *ỉst* clause is syntactically a main clause which is semantically backgrounded.

Oréal does stress as well a continuation of the subordinating role of *ỉst* in Middle Kingdom texts, stating, "The more ancient use of the form is still attested, be it as a surviving device or as a deliberate archaism in a formal register."[10] And, while this statement refers specifically to *ỉst* clauses following their main clause, as in Old Egyptian, she also notes that in the autobiographical texts of the Middle Kingdom a syntactically subordinate *ỉst* clause may serve as the protasis of a sentence.[11] For her, however, this latter use is restricted to a specific genre; in general, unless an *ỉst* clause in a Middle Egyptian text is clearly subordinate to what precedes it, she takes it as syntactically independent.[12] In contrast, I would suggest that the interpretation of *ỉst* as a semantic discourse marker in most instances in Middle Egyptian is somewhat too weak in its complete reliance on semantics. Moreover, it presumes a jump from subordinating conjunction to main clause backgrounding discourse marker that is perhaps too abrupt, failing to explain fully how this shift would have occurred at a cognitive level.

Oréal proposes that "the clash between the new syntactic status of the *ỉst*-clause as main clause and its former function as a subordinator marking simultaneity led the hearer to infer that the speaker was uttering it as some afterthought, necessary to interpret preceding discourse with full relevant information."[13] Admittedly, this characterization does in fact work well in a few cases, notably at the end of the boundary stela of Senwosret III:[14]

> *ỉr grt sȝ=ỉ nb srwd.ty=fy tȝš pn ỉr.n ḥm=ỉ*
> *sȝ=ỉ pw*
> *ms.tw=f n ḥm=ỉ . . .*
> *ỉr grt f ḫ.ty=fy sw*
> *tm.ty=fy ʿḥȝ ḥr=f*
> *n sȝ=ỉ ỉs pw*
> *n ms.tw=f ỉs n=ỉ*
> *ỉsṯ grt rdỉ.n ḥm=ỉ ỉr.tw twt n ḥm=ỉ ḥr tȝš pn ỉr.n ḥm=ỉ*
> *n-mrw.t rwd=ṯn ḥr=f*
> *n-mrw.t ʿḥȝ=ṯn ḥr=f*
>
> Now, as for any son of mine who shall make firm this boundary that my majesty made, he is my son, he was born to my majesty . . . Now, as for the one who shall neglect it, who shall not fight for it, he is not my son, he was not born to me. **Now**, my majesty has caused an image to be made of my majesty upon this boundary that my majesty made so that you might be firm for it, so that you might fight for it.

In this case, the inclusion of the particle *grt* after *ỉsṯ* argues against taking the *ỉsṯ* clause as subordinate to what precedes, as does the semantics of the passage, for the *ỉsṯ* clause does not really provide background information specific solely to the preceding description of a negligent son. Nor is there a following main clause to which the *ỉsṯ* clause can be linked, this being the very end of the inscription. Thus, like Oréal, I would take this as an example of "independent" *ỉsṯ*, here serving as a kind of global background for the very existence of the stela.

[8] Loprieno 1995, p. 152.

[9] Ibid., p. 165.

[10] Oréal 2012, p. 232; see Oréal 2011, pp. 218–24 (§6.4) for examples.

[11] Oréal 2011, pp. 219–20. She cites as an example the stela of *Wp-wȝw.t-ʿȝ* (Munich GL. WAF 35; Sethe 1928, p. 74, ll. 12–15):

> *ỉmy-rȝ ḥm.w-nṯr Wp-wȝw.t-ʿȝ ḏd=f*
> *ỉsṯ wỉ ḫd=ỉ r nḏ-ḥr.t r ḫnw pf wr ḥm=f*
> *ḫtmty.w nty(.w) m pr ny-sw.t ʿnḫ.w nt(y.w) r ʿrry.t ḥr mȝȝ*
> *stȝ=ỉ r pr ny-sw.t*
> *ỉr.kwỉ m ʿq nn ḏd=f*
>
> The overseer of *ḥm-nṯr* priests, Wepwawet-Aa, says, "**Now,** when I regularly sailed north to pay my respects at that great residence of his majesty, and the sealbearers who were in the palace (and) the people at the gate saw my returning to the palace, I was treated as one who enters without introduction."

[12] For discussion and examples, see Oréal 2011, pp. 224ff. (§7).

[13] Oréal 2012, pp. 231–32.

[14] Berlin 1157; Sethe 1928, 84, ll. 16–18.

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In contrast, when the particle *ỉsṯ* occurs in the Middle Egyptian tales, the information it introduces tends to be connected far more closely to the discourse which follows rather than to that which precedes, providing background details which set the stage for the following foreground action.[15] Thus, as in the Middle Kingdom autobiographies, I would argue that the particle in these literary examples maintains its grammatically subordinating role, changing only its position; in other words, it introduces a subordinate clause standing before its main clause. If one accepts this interpretation, the backgrounding force of the particle is strengthened significantly, stemming not just from its semantics, but from its syntax as well. A subordinate clause is in itself a descriptive form by nature, and when it is placed ahead of its main clause, normal Middle Egyptian word order is reversed, creating a rupture in the narrative which serves to give structure to it. Within this basic framework, the more anomalous examples of "independent" *ỉsṯ* would be understood by analogy to serve the same function.

Allen too continues to argue for the syntactically subordinating role of *ỉst* in Middle Egyptian,[16] noting that, in some cases, the *ỉst* clause follows the main clause that it modifies, while in others it precedes it. In the latter situation, the inclusion of the particle is a device that allows a subordinate clause to stand before its main clause, for "only **marked** adverb clauses can precede the main clause."[17] However, as Allen also observes, the subordination of the *ỉst* clause is not always obvious in Middle Egyptian:

> Sometimes the *jsṯ* clause is clearly adverbial in meaning . . . In other cases, however, the subordination is not so clear, and English has to resort to a less specific word to introduce the clause, such as "for" or "and." Occasionally the *jsṯ* clause is even best translated as an independent sentence without an introductory word, or with a vague word of relation such as "now" or "so."[18]

And:

> The particle *jsṯ* (etc.) can be used to mark a clause as dependent on a preceding clause or sentence, usually as an adverb clause. In this respect, *jsṯ* can be considered a converter. In many cases, however, the connection with a preceding clause or sentence is less obviously adverbial, and for this reason jsṯ is probably best viewed as a statement auxiliary.[19]

Although this more flexible approach to the particle makes the task of the translator considerably more difficult (and tenuous), it does seem to reflect more accurately the examples themselves.

Ultimately, while scholars may continue to disagree about the syntactic nature of *ỉst* in Middle Egyptian, its semantic backgrounding role is uncontroversial — that is, while we may disagree on *how* it does what it does, we all seem to agree on *what* it does. Thus, it is my hope that the following close readings of the Middle Egyptian tales lead to a deeper understanding regardless of whether one accepts the arguments presented above.

The Eloquent Peasant provides an excellent starting point for this discussion, for I would argue that in this tale *ỉst* occurs in all of the syntactic positions described above: following its main clause, preceding its main clause, and as an independent main clause in its own right. The tale's first *ỉst* clause appears almost immediately:

Eloquent Peasant R, 1.1–1.2[20]

> *s pw wn ḫwy.n-ỉnpw rn=f*
> *sḫty pw n sḫ.t ḥmʾ.t*
> *ỉst wn ḥm.t=f Mr.t rn=s*
> *ḏd.ỉn sḫty pn n ḥm.t=f tn*
>
> (Once upon a time) there was a man whose name was Khunanup. He was a peasant of the Wadi Natron who had a wife whose name was Meret. This peasant said to this his wife . . .

[15] Indeed, Oréal goes on to say, "At a later stage, when *jst* is reanalyzed as a discourse marker, this clash disappears while the meaning 'background information' remains. In narrative texts, background information had the characteristic effect of interrupting the main line of events" (Oréal 2012, p. 233).

[16] Allen 2010, pp. 144–45 (§12.16.1), 407–08 (§26.16).

[17] Ibid., p. 147 (§12.18).

[18] Ibid., p. 144 (§12.16.1).

[19] Ibid., p. 193 (§16.6.5).

[20] Parkinson 1991a, p. 1; Parkinson 2012, pp. 23–25.

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The particle's narrative function in this example is obvious, serving to introduce the peasant's wife while at the same time indicating her status as a minor character. As Oréal notes, the information provided by the *ỉst* clause is not strictly necessary for the audience to understand the following narrative action. She suggests that it is included to act as a kind of pivot between the introduction of the tale's main character and the beginning of the story proper, viewing it as syntactically independent.[21] The rubric on the following *ḏd.in* clause would indeed seem to eliminate the possibility of linking the *ỉst* clause to what follows.[22] The clause is not, however, an entirely independent "pivot," for there is a strong parallelism connecting the first three clauses of the tale. As a result, I prefer to take the *ỉst* clause as syntactically dependent upon the preceding clause. Syntax would then work in tandem with semantics to identify the more peripheral role of the peasant's wife in the narrative as a whole, with *ỉst* representing a continuation of the particle's older usage as subordinating conjunction, almost certainly in this case as a "surviving device" rather than a "deliberate archaism."[23]

The next *ỉst* clause in the tale is the first of a string of clauses providing details of setting that are important to set up Nemtynakht's plot against the peasant:

Eloquent Peasant B1, 20–27; Bt, 22–32; R, 6.7–7.6[24]

ḏd.ỉn Nmty-nḫt pn[25]
mỉỉ=f ꜥỉ.w n sḫty pn
ꜥỉby.w ḥr ỉb=f
ḏd=f
ḥỉ n=ỉ šsp mnḫ ꜥwỉ=ỉ ḥn.w n sḫty pn ỉm=f
ỉst rf {*ỉr*}[26] *pr Nmty-nḫt pn ḥr smỉ-tỉ n rỉ n wỉ.t*
ḥns pw
n wsḫ ỉs pw
qnn=f r wsḫ n dỉỉw
ỉw wỉ.t=f wꜥ.t ḫr mw
ky.t=f wỉ.t ḫr šmꜥ[27]
ḏd.ỉn Nm.ty-nḫt pn n šmsw=f

This Nemtynakht said, when he saw the donkeys of this peasant (and) they were pleasing upon his heart, "Would that I had an effective amulet with which I might steal the goods of this peasant!" **Now**, the house of this Nemtynakht was on the river-bank at the beginning of a path. It was narrow; it was not broad, (and) it amounted *to the width of a kilt*.[28] Its one side was under water, while its other side was under barley. This Nemtynakht said to his follower . . .

Here, we would seem to have an unarguable case of independent *ỉst*. It seems unlikely that *ỉst* is another subordinating conjunction ("This Nemtynakht said . . . the house of this Nemtynakht being on the river-bank"); its position in the unfolding narrative speaks against this interpretation, as does the combination of *ỉst* with *rf*, for the latter particle typically introduces a change in topic characteristic of points of rupture in the narrative.[29] Nor does it make sense to link *ỉst* to a following main clause, for, while we might try to connect it to the next

[21] Oréal 2011, p. 233.

[22] Admittedly, the R version of the Eloquent Peasant uses rubrics only to introduce a speech or a petition, and not at other major points of division in the tale (unlike many of the extant manuscripts of Sinuhe, for example). Nevertheless, the rubricized *ḏd.ỉn* does mark the beginning of something new (or at least different), arguing against a syntactic link between it and the preceding *ỉst* clause.

[23] Oréal 2011, p. 232.

[24] Parkinson 1991a, pp. 7–9; Parkinson 2012, pp. 40–42.

[25] The rubrics (here and throughout) occur only in the R version.

[26] The particle *ỉr* is inserted here only in manuscript B1, and Parkinson takes it as a mistake. He describes *ỉst rf* as introducing "a secondary description of background circumstance which will here ironically turn out to be crucial" (Parkinson 2012, p. 41).

[27] R has the less specific *ỉt* ("barley, grain") where both B1 and Bt have *šmꜥ* ("Upper Egyptian barley") (Parkinson 2012, p. 42).

[28] I use italics to indicate the adverbial adjunct emphasized by the second tense.

[29] Oréal 2011, p. 235. The particle *rf* also creates cohesion within the discourse for, with the literal meaning of *r=f*, "with respect to it," *rf* refers to "some previous clause or sentence" (Allen 2010, pp. 196–97 [§16.7.2]). Parkinson, for example, describes the *rf* in our Eloquent Peasant passage as linking the description to what precedes it (2012, p. 41). Indeed, *rf* often reintroduces a subject explicitly mentioned earlier in a narrative, as in the case of the water in our next example, Papyrus Westcar, 6.7–6.13. The combination *ỉst rf* does not, however, always begin a new sentence, for in the Coffin Texts both *rf* and *grt* appear to be combined with subordinating *ỉst*. For example, in CT II, 243, c, *sk wỉ r=ỉ ḏd=ỉ* ("while I said to myself," translated by Carrier 2004 as "alors que je me disais") occurs in some variants (S2P, S1P, S1C^{b}), while *sk wỉ grt ḏd.n=ỉ* occurs in others (S2C^{d}, S1C^{a}, B9C).

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ḏd.ỉn ("Since the house was on the river-bank, this Nemtynakht said to his follower . . . "), it too is rubricized in the R version. Thus, it seems necessary to take this *ỉst* clause as syntactically independent, serving as background for the entire narrative sequence to follow rather than for a single action.

As Oréal notes,[30] the following passage from P. Westcar is a close parallel:

Papyrus Westcar, 6.7–6.13[31]

> *ḥ.n ḏd.n ḫry-ḥb ḥry-tp Ḏ3ḏ3-m-nḫ ḏd.t.n=f m ḥk3.w*
> *ḥ.n rdỉ.n=f rmn n mw n p3 š ḥr w.w=sn*
> *gm.n=f p3 nḫ3.w w3ḥ(.w) ḥr p3qy.t*
> *ḥ.n ỉn.n=f sw*
> *rdỉ(w) n ḥnw.t=f*
> *ỉst rf ỉr p3 mw ỉw=f m mḥ 12 ḥr ỉ3.t=f*
> *ḏrỉ.n=f mḥ [2]4 r-s3 wdb(w)=f*
> *ḥ.n ḏd.n=f ḏd.t.n=f m ḥk3.w*
> *ḥ.n ỉn.n=f n3 n mw n p3 š r ḥ.w=sn*
>
> The chief lector-priest Djadjamankh said what he was accustomed to say as magic (spells). He placed (one) side of the lake's water upon its other (and) he found the pendant *lying on a sherd*. He brought it and it was given to its owner. **Now,** as for the water, it was 12 cubits in the middle, and it ended up [2]4 cubits *after it was folded*. He said what he was accustomed to say as magic (spells). He returned the waters of the lake to their place.

Again, the section introduced by *ỉst* clearly interrupts the narrative sequence of events, this time built of *ḥ.n* clauses, in order to provide background information giving greater texture to the surrounding narrative as a whole.[32] In this case, however, the descriptive elements following the particle all have the same antecedent, the water introduced in the fronted subject. To capture this connection, Oréal translates this section of the passage as "Or donc, l'eau, qui faisait 12 coudées dans son épaisseur, atteignit 24 coudées après avoir été retournée."[33] The clause *ỉw=f m mḥ 12 ḥr ỉ3.t=f* cannot, however, be taken as a virtual relative, for its antecedent, *p3 mw*, is definite. Thus, the only way to connect these clauses syntactically is to assume, as I do, that the *ỉst* clause is subordinate to the following main clause second tense; literally "Now, as for the water, it being 12 cubits in the middle, it ended up [2]4 cubits *after it was folded*."

I would argue for the same kind of syntactic link in the many cases in which *ỉst* occurs at the beginning of a new segment of discourse, as after the close of two of the Eloquent Peasant's petitions. Here, however, the connection is between the *ỉst* clause and the following foreground action:

Eloquent Peasant B1, 102–105; R, 16.8–17.2[34]

> *ỉst rf ḏd.n sḫty pn md.t tn m rk ḥm n ny-sw.t bỉ.ty Nb-k3.w-r m3 ḫrw*
> *šm.t pw ỉr.n ỉmy-r3 pr wr Mrw s3 Rnsy tp-m ḥm=f*
>
> **Now,** when this peasant had said this speech in the reign of the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebkawre, true of voice, the chief steward, Meru's son Rensy, went before his majesty.

Eloquent Peasant B1, 215–218[35]

> *ỉst rf ḏd.n sḫty pn md.t tn <n> ỉmy-r3 pr wr Mrw s3 Rnsy r pg3 n rry.t*
> *ḥ.n rdỉ.n=f ḥ ỉmy-s3 2 r=f ḫr smỉ.w*
> *ḥ.n 3g<.n>=sn .t=f nb.t ỉm*
>
> **Now,** when this peasant had said this speech (to) the chief steward Meru's son Rensy at the entrance of the hall of judgment, he set two attendants against him carrying whips. They beat his every limb.

[30] Oréal 2011, pp. 235–36.

[31] Blackman 1988, p. 7; Lepper 2008, p. 39.

[32] Here, the descriptive details in the *ỉst* clause are not critical for the understanding of the plot; in general, as Oréal observes, the particle marks background information but not the importance of that information (2011, p. 236).

[33] Oréal 2011, p. 236.

[34] Parkinson 1991a, p. 19; Parkinson 2012, pp. 85–86.

[35] Parkinson 1991a, p. 31; Parkinson 2012, pp. 182–83.

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As with our opening example from the Eloquent Peasant, Oréal uses the word "pivot" to describe the role played by the clause introduced by *ỉst* in these passages;[36] now, the *ỉst* clause is obviously connected more closely to what follows it rather than to what precedes, as the inclusion of the topic change marker *rf* emphasizes. Both of these *ỉst* clauses do, however, refer explicitly to the petition that has just ended ("when this peasant had said *this speech*"), bridging the shift from petition back to narrative.[37] This transitioning device propels the narrative forward far more effectively if one assumes that the *ỉst* clause is syntactically subordinated to the following main clause and not simply semantically backgrounded to it.[38]

In P. Westcar, the particle helps to clarify the complex relationship between frame story, dialogue, and embedded narrative:

Westcar 1, 17–1, 23[39]

> [ʿḥʿ pw ỉr.n] sȝ ny-sw.t Ḥʿ[w]=f-Rʿ [r mdw.t ḏd=f
> *dỉ=ỉ sḏm ḥm]=k* [b]*ỉȝy.t ḫpr.t m rk ỉt*[=k] *Nb-kȝ mȝʿ ḫrw*
> *w*[*ḏ*]*ȝ=f r* [*ḥw.t-nṯr*] *n.t* [*Ptḥ nb*] *ʿnḫ-tȝ.wy*
> *ỉst rf ỉn* [*ḥm*]*=f šm r wn*[*.t n.t Ptḥ*]
> *ỉn ḥm=f ỉr ḥn*(*.wt*) *n.t* [*wn.t n.t Ptḥ*
> *ỉw ḫry-ḥb ḥr*]*y-tp Wbȝ-ỉnr ḥ*[*nʿ=f*
> *ỉst rf mr.n*] *ḥm.t Wbȝ-ỉnr n*[*ḏs . . .*]
>
> Prince Khafre [stood to speak, saying, "Let me cause that] your [majesty hear a mi]racle that happened in the reign of [your] father, Nebka, true of voice, when he w[en]t to the [temple] of [Ptah, lord of] *ʿnḫ-tȝ.wy*. **Now,** it was his [majesty] who went to the sanctuary [of Ptah.] It was his majesty who made the ritual of [the sanctuary of Ptah, while the chief lector pr]iest Ubainer was wi[th him. **Now,**] the wife of Ubainer [loved] a com[moner . . .]"[40]

Here, the particle *ỉst* divides Khafre's statement of his intent to tell a story from the story itself, marking the beginning of his embedded narrative.

Another *ỉst* clause is preserved near the beginning of the Hordedef/Djedi section of the text, immediately following Hordedef's description of Djedi:

Westcar 6, 26–7, 9[41]

> [*ḏd.ỉn sȝ ny-sw.t Ḥr-*]*dd=f*
> *ỉw wn nḏ*[*s*] *Ḏdỉ rn=f . . .*
> *ỉst wrš ḥm n ny-sw.t bỉ.ty Ḫfw mȝʿ ḫrw ḥr ḥḥ n=f nȝ n ỉp.wt n.t wn.t Ḏḥwty r ỉr.t n=f mỉt.t ỉry n ȝḫ.t=f*
> *ḏd.ỉn ḥm=f*
> *ḏs=k ỉrf Ḥr-dd=f sȝ=ỉ ỉnt=k n=ỉ sw*
>
> [Prince Hor]dedef [said,] "There is a commone[r] whose name is Djedi . . . "
> **Now,** since the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khufu, true of voice, regularly spent the day seeking for himself the chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth to make for himself the like thereof for his horizon, his majesty said, "Yourself, Hordedef my son, you shall bring him to me."

[36] Oréal 2011, p. 236.

[37] Describing the first example, Parkinson says, "The higher authority of the king is introduced in an explanatory couplet which bridges the transition from discourse to narrative, and which finally makes the precise historical setting of the poem explicit. The poet remarkably makes the peasant the center of attention, and the king is a subsidiary concern — mere background, like the landscape of the theft" (2012, p. 85).

[38] In contrast, Thomas Ritter's translation of the first of these examples places the stress on the temporal information contained in the *ỉst* clause: "Well, this peasant held this speech during the reign of the majesty of the late king Neb-kaw-re. Then the High Steward Meru's son Rensi came to the king and said..." (Ritter 1992, pp. 136–37). For other examples of the "pivoting" use of *ỉst*, however, see the Tale of Sinuhe, in which *ỉst* resumes the narrative after Sinuhe's long soliloquy: "**Now,** when it had been said to the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Kheperkara, true of voice, concerning this state in which I was, as for his majesty, he sent gifts of the king to me . . . " (Sinuhe B, 172–75 [Koch 1990, pp. 58–59]). And, while the speech itself is considerably shorter, the combination occurs in the throne room scene of Sinuhe as well: "His majesty said, 'It is really him.' **Now,** when they had brought their necklaces, their rattles, and their sistra in their hands, they presented them to his majesty" (Sinuhe B, 267–69 [Koch 1990, pp. 76–77]). For further discussion of the second of these examples, see Oréal 2011, p. 237.

[39] Blackman 1988, p. 1; Lepper 2008, pp. 29–30.

[40] Although broken, we seem to have here an *ỉst* clause followed by two participial statements and apparently no main clause. Lepper restores the second *ỉst* clause, and the column breaks off completely almost immediately afterward.

[41] Blackman 1988, p. 8; Lepper 2008, pp. 41–42.

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This *ỉst* clause does not begin a story-within-a-story, but rather a new section of the overarching frame story. Indeed, it is at this point in the tale that the frame story becomes the dominant narrative, for, instead of telling a tale of the past, Hordedef brings a living magician to court. In this context, the *ỉst* clause marks the shift away from the use of embedded narratives, providing the background impetus needed to turn the frame story into a full narrative in its own right: the king of Egypt is anxious to meet Djedi because he believes that he can reveal the secret of the chambers of the sanctuary of Thoth.

The particle can also introduce more subtle shifts of scene and perspective, as in this passage from the Tale of Sinuhe:

Sinuhe R, 8–27[42]

ỉw ḫnw m sgr
ỉb.w m gmw
rw.ty wr.ty ḫtm.w
šny.t m tp ḥr mȝs.t
pˁ.t m ỉmw

ỉst rf sb.n ḥm=f mšˁ r tȝ Tmḥ.ỉw
sȝ=f smsw m ḥry ỉry nfr nṯr S-n-wsrt
tỉ sw hȝb r ḫw.t ḫȝs.wt r sqr ỉm.yw Tḥn.w
tỉ sw ḥm ỉỉ=f
ỉn.n=f sqr.w-ˁnḫ n Tḥn.w mnmn.t nb.t nn ḏr.w=s
smr.w nw stp-sȝ hȝb=sn r ỉmn.ty r rdỉ.t rḫ sȝ ny-sw.t sšm.w ḫprw m ˁ-ḫnw.ty

gm.n sw wp.tỉw ḥr wȝ.t
pḥ.n=sn sw r tr n ḫȝwy
n sp sỉn{n}=f r-{s}sy
bỉk ˁḫ=f ḥnˁ šmsw=f
nn rdỉ.t rḫ st mšˁ=f

ỉst hȝb r ms.w ny-sw.t wn.w m-ḫt=f m mšˁ pn
nỉs.n=tw n wˁ ỉm
ỉst wỉ ˁḥˁ.kwỉ
sḏm.n=ỉ ḫrw=f
ỉw=f ḥr md.t
ỉw=ỉ m ˁr wȝ
psḫ ỉb=ỉ
sš ˁ.wy=ỉ
sdȝ ḫr m ˁ.t=ỉ nb.t

The residence was in silence, hearts being in mourning, the great double gates being sealed, the courtiers being with head on knee, the nobles being in grief.

Meanwhile, his majesty having sent an army to the land of the Libyans, his eldest son being chief thereof, the good god Senwosret, he being sent to smite the foreign lands, to strike down those who were in Tjehenu, he returning, having fetched living captives of Tehenu and all cattle without limit, courtiers of the palace sent word to the west to inform the prince of the state of affairs occurring in the audience chamber.

The messengers found him *on the road*. They reached him *at the time of night*. He never waited at all. As for the falcon, he flew with his followers without allowing his army to know it.

Meanwhile, word having been sent to the king's children who were following him with this army, one summoned *to one of them*. **As** I was standing (by), I heard his voice while he was speaking, while I was in the vicinity, *so that my heart became distraught, my arms spread out, and trembling fell upon my every limb*.[43]

[42] Koch 1990, pp. 5–12.

[43] The renderings offered here closely parallel those of Greig, who also understands the particle *ỉst* in this passage "to have a subordinating function" (Greig 1990, pp. 282, 284). In n. 67, he adds that this is "a suggestion which I owe to Professor Johnson, 11/4/83"!

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Here, a great deal of information is imparted to the audience very quickly, with several important scene and subject changes being introduced by the particle *ỉst*. The function of the first is relatively straightforward: it is rubricized and combined with the particle *rf* and thus clearly begins a new section of the text in which the scene shifts from the palace to the land of the Libyans. In contrast, the second and third *ỉst* clauses, without such markers, are far more ambiguous. It is, admittedly, quite plausible to take them as following their main clause: "As for the falcon, he flew with his followers without allowing his army to know it, **while** word was sent to the king's children who were following him with this army. One summoned *to one of them* ***while*** *I was standing* (*by*)." However, because both *ỉst* clauses represent a significant subject change, I prefer to take them as sentence initial. The introduction of the first-person pronoun in the third *ỉst* clause of the passage is particularly important in the context of the tale as a whole, for this is the first time that Sinuhe has referred to himself in the first person since his initial self-identification "I was a retainer who followed his lord" (Sinuhe R, 2–3). The shift here from the seemingly objective third person to the clearly subjective first person increases the immediacy, and thereby the drama, of his account at what is a critical moment in his life story.[44]

The particle *ỉst* also highlights shifts in subject in the tale of Neferkare and the General:

Neferkare, P. Chassinat I, X+2, ll. x+3–x+10 [45]

> *šm* [*pw ỉr.n*] *ỉmy-rꜣ mšʿ Sꜣ-sn.t* [. . .] *ny-sw.t ỉmy-rꜣ* [*ḫnt ỉmy-rꜣ*] *pr-wr ỉmy-rꜣ ʿ-ḫnw.ty* [. . .] *ny-sw.t sš ṯꜣ*[*y ny-sw.t*] *sš ʿnn ỉmy-rꜣ ỉḫ.wt* [. . . *šn*]*y*(*.t*) *n.t ḫnw* [*qnb.t*] *n.t Mn-nfr nn* [*sḏm spr n*] *Mn-nfr*
>
> *ỉs*[46] [*rf spr*] *n Mn-nfr spr r* [. . .
> . . .]*=f m ḥs ḥ*[*s.w m šmʿ*] *šmʿ.w m tỉꜣ t*[*ỉꜣ.w m g*]*ꜣwꜣ gꜣw*[*ꜣ.w r*] *pr*<*.t*> *spr n Mn-nfr*
> [*nn sḏm*]*=sn*
> *qnw*[*=sn n ḥr swnḫ r=f*]
>
> General Sasenet went out [. . . with?] the royal [. . .] the overseer [of the harem, the chief] steward, the overseer of the audience chamber [. . .] royal scribe, as[sessor] of the scribe of the documents of the king, the overseer of the fields [. . . the court]esans of the residence, [the council] of Memphis, without [listening to the Pleader of] Memphis.
>
> **Now,** when the Pleader of Memphis [had reached . . .] he was [prevented?] by the singing of the sin[gers, the music] of the musicians, the acclamations of the acc[laimers, and the wh]istling of the wh[istlers, until] the Pleader of Memphis departed [without] them [hearing, (then) they] stopped [booing him.][47]

In this passage, the particle *ỉs* precedes a shift in subject from General Sasenet to the Pleader of Memphis, establishing the Pleader's arrival as background information to the main action of the sentence: his inability to effectively communicate his complaint.

This complaint would seem to concern the relationship between General Sasenet and the king, as revealed in the third preserved fragment of the tale. In this fragment, a man named Tjeti finds the king out alone at night and follows him "to see everything which he would do" (*r mꜣꜣ ỉry=f nb*, P. Chassinat I, X+3, ll. x+6), phrasing that identifies Tjeti as an "internal character focalizor."[48] That is, while the narrative is told in the third person, it reflects Tjeti's specific perspective from within the scene. Tjeti watches as the king throws a brick at the house and a ladder descends, and then:

[44] Using the terminology of the "focalizor" discussed in more detail below, Sinuhe is at this point both an "internal character focalizor" hearing a voice speaking within the narrative and an "external character focalizor" recounting the experiences of his prior self.

[45] Posener 1957, p. 126.

[46] The alternation of *ỉs* and *ỉsk* in this manuscript is presumably to be explained by the fact that P. Chassinat I is dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (so Posener 1957, p. 121; Parkinson 1991b, p. 54; Parkinson 2002, pp. 296–97). Parkinson says of Neferkare in general that "the language, names and titles are suggestive of a Middle Kingdom date. In style and tone the tale is reminiscent of *The Tale of Cheops' Court*, and may date from the same general period [most likely, to Parkinson, the early Second Intermediate period] or later" (Parkinson 2002, p. 297; see p. 296 for the date of P. Westcar). Posener puts the composition of Neferkare a little later, at the beginning of the New Kingdom (Posener 1957, p. 133).

[47] Restorations following Parkinson 1991b, p. 55.

[48] The concept of the "focalizor" was developed by Gérard Genette (1980, pp. 185–210) in order to distinguish between the perspective from which the elements of a story are viewed ("who sees") and the voice putting that narrative into words ("who speaks").

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Neferkare, P. Chassinat I, X+3, ll. x+8-x+14[49]

pr pw ỉr.t.n=f r ḥr

ỉs rf Ḥn-t sȝ Ṯt[ỉ] ʿḥ[ʿ] r wḏȝ<.t> ḥm=f

ḫr-m-ḫt ỉr.t ḥm=f mr.n=f ḫr=f
wḏȝ=f[50] *r ʿḥ.t=f*
šm.n Ṯtỉ m-sȝ=f

ỉr-m-ḫt wḏȝ ḥm=f r pr-ʿȝ
šm.n Ṯtỉ r pr=f

ỉsk wḏȝ.ỉn ḥm=f r pr n ỉmy-rȝ mšʿ Sȝ-sn.t
ỉw wnw.t 4 pḫr m grḥ
ỉr.n=f k.t wnw.t 4 m pr n ỉmy-rȝ mšʿ Sȝ-sn.t
ʿq=f r pr-ʿȝ
ỉw wnw.t 4 wn r ḥḏ tȝ
wn.ỉn Ḥn-t sȝ Ṯtỉ šm ḥr [. . .]=f tnw grḥ
nn rdỉ ṯȝy ỉb=f r=f

He (the king) went up.

Now, Hent's son Tjeti waited until his majesty returned.[51]

After his majesty did that which he desired with him, he (the king) returned to his palace. Tjeti went *after him*.

After his majesty returned to the palace, Tjeti went *to his house*.

Now, his majesty went to the house of General Sasenet when 4 hours had elapsed in the night.[52] He spent another 4 hours in the house of General Sasenet, entering into the palace *when there were 4 hours until dawn*. Hent's son Tjeti went [after] him each night, without his heart reproaching him.

With this passage's first use of *ỉst* (here *ỉs rf*), we see a shift back to the focalization of the external omniscient narrator: note that the details about the sexual activities of the king cannot have been witnessed by Tjeti waiting on the ground. This first *ỉst* clause also sets Tjeti's act of waiting into the background, in contrast to the surrounding foregrounded actions of the king, while the passage's second *ỉst* clause (here *ỉsk*) interrupts the forward flow of the narrative in order to provide more precise chronological information regarding the events of the night.

Here, I have drawn heavily from the discussion of Mieke Bal, who explains the distinction between "who sees" and "who speaks" as follows: "it is possible, both in fiction and reality, for one person to express the vision of another" (2009, p. 146). Throughout this section of Neferkare, Tjeti focalizes the actions of the king, while the third-person narrator focalizes the actions of Tjeti.

[49] Posener 1957, p. 129.

[50] The form *wḏȝ=f* poses rather a problem. In the Late Egyptian tales, *ḫr-m-ḫt* is followed by either an initial narrative form (*wn.ỉn=f ḥr sḏm*, *ʿḥʿ.n*, etc.) or the non-initial main sentence construction *ỉw=f ḥr sḏm* (Junge 2001, pp. 259–61 [§6.1.3.1]). We would expect the Middle Egyptian parallel to the latter to be *ḫr-m-ḫt* + continuative *sḏm.n=f*, not *sḏm=f*. The scribe would then have dropped the "*n*" from what should be *wḏȝ.n=f*. The other possibility is to take *wḏȝ=f* as the Late Egyptian main clause preterite.

[51] Parkinson translates this clause as subordinate to what precedes: "Then he ascended, while Hent's son Tjeti waited until his Person returned" (1991b, p. 56). The inclusion of *rf*, however, argues against this reading, nor can the *ỉs* clause be connected to the following *ḫr-m-ḫt*. Thus, it would seem to be independent.

[52] I take this *ỉsk* clause as independent as well, included to background the narrative form *wḏȝ*(.)*ỉn*. The alternative would be to interpret it as subordinate to the following second tense *ỉr.n=f*: "Now, his majesty having gone to the house of General Sasenet when 4 hours had elapsed in the night, he spent another 4 hours in the house of General Sasenet, entering into the palace *when there were 4 hours until dawn*." As my translation reflects, I interpret the particle *ỉw* in this passage as the Late Egyptian circumstantial converter. See further Stauder 2013, §4.4.3.2. The form *wḏȝ*(.)*ỉn=f* is more difficult for, as Stauder notes, it "could be either a 'narrative' construction of the infinitive or a *sḏm.ỉn=f*. Either way, the combination is extraordinary" (2013 p. 273). Stauder sees such innovative language use as indicative of an early Eighteenth Dynasty date for the text.

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Conclusion

As the above examples illustrate, the use of the particle *ist* in the Middle Egyptian tales clearly contributes to what Mark Collier has termed the "grammar of texture."[53] As we have also seen, however, the particle's flexibility can be a source of confusion for the modern translator. Context is critical for understanding, and, in the case of a potentially ambiguous word like the particle *ist*, there undoubtedly would have been numerous cues specifying the precise meaning of a particular example. Unfortunately, only some of these are accessible today. Genre was certainly one key factor: in the Coffin Texts, for example, the particle serves predominately in its older use as a subordinating conjunction, in this case without doubt "as a deliberate archaism in a formal register."[54] Markers within a specific text would also have acted as clarifiers; as discussed in more detail above, the rubric in the Eloquent Peasant suggests that its opening *ist* clause is to be linked to what precedes it rather than to what follows, while the combination of *ist* and the enclitic particle *rf* indicates the opposite, often standing at the beginning of a new segment of discourse. Other cues, however, are only possible in a speech act itself, such as intonation and pause, and these are clearly lost to the translator, who in general can never reach the proficiency of the native speaker. In the end, he or she can only examine the surviving context (both syntactic and semantic) as carefully as possible and, in some cases, leave open the possibility of alternative interpretations.

[53] Collier 1996, p. 531. Interestingly, stylistic choice obviously played a role in the decision to exploit the particle's narrative potential for, while *ist* is used to good effect in many of the tales, it never appears in The Shipwrecked Sailor.

[54] Oréal 2012, p. 232. The subordinating use of the particle is clearly reflected in Claude Carrier's recent translation of the Coffin Texts (2004); a convenient list of all of the *ist* clauses in the Coffin Texts may be found in van der Molen 2005, pp. 1617–24.

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Abbreviation

CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 7 volumes. Adriaan De Buck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–1961.

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6

An Indurated-Limestone Sphinx Fragment of Nefertiti in the Luxor Temple Blockyard

W. Raymond Johnson, University of Chicago

It is with the greatest of pleasure that I dedicate this article — and this unique statue fragment — to my professor, colleague, mentor, and friend Jan Johnson. Ever welcoming and always generous with her time, expertise, enthusiasm, and encouragement — not to mention patience — she made the learning process during our graduate years at the University of Chicago enjoyable as well as stimulating. Jan instilled in us a desire for excellence as the bottom line, and to fight for that excellence when required. I dedicate this article to a woman whose power and strength are well represented in Egyptian art through the symbol of the sphinx, the perfect fusion of nature and, in this case, woman.

In 2004–2005, during the systematic cleaning, sorting, and storing of fragmentary inscribed block and sculptural material in Luxor Temple blockyard, a broken piece of limestone was found in the debris. The fragment is pitted with fissures but with some polished surface areas visible — an example of the hard, crystalline limestone referred to as indurated or hard limestone. Indurated limestone was favored by Amenhotep III and Akhenaten's families but is found in lesser quantities during most periods of Egyptian history.[1] Cleaning and examination reveals that it was a shoulder and chest fragment of a beardless female androsphinx (fig. 6.1a–b), with cartouches of the Aten inscribed on the one well-preserved shoulder and partly preserved on the chest (fig. 6.2a–b).

The sphinx is female as indicated by the partially preserved, rounded lappet of echelon curls[2] from a goddess's tripartite wig that falls over the right shoulder and over the chest. While Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten utilizes mixed male and female iconography in his early Aten monuments at Karnak,[3] it is probable that the sphinx represents Nefertiti and originally bore her name. This fragment bears the intact name of the Aten in its early form on the right shoulder (fig. 6.1a–b) and the top of the Aten's cartouches on the chest (flat "m" of the Aten's second cartouche preserved at the top and the left side of the "r" of *rn*), below which would have been inscribed the cartouche of Nefertiti and possibly of Akhenaten (figs. 6.2a–b, 3).

In its present state, the fragment is roughly 16 cm in greatest preserved height, 27 cm in greatest preserved width, and 26 cm in preserved depth.[4] Despite its terribly battered condition, the careful polish of the surface finish and the fine carving indicate that the fragment was from a statue of the highest artistic quality.

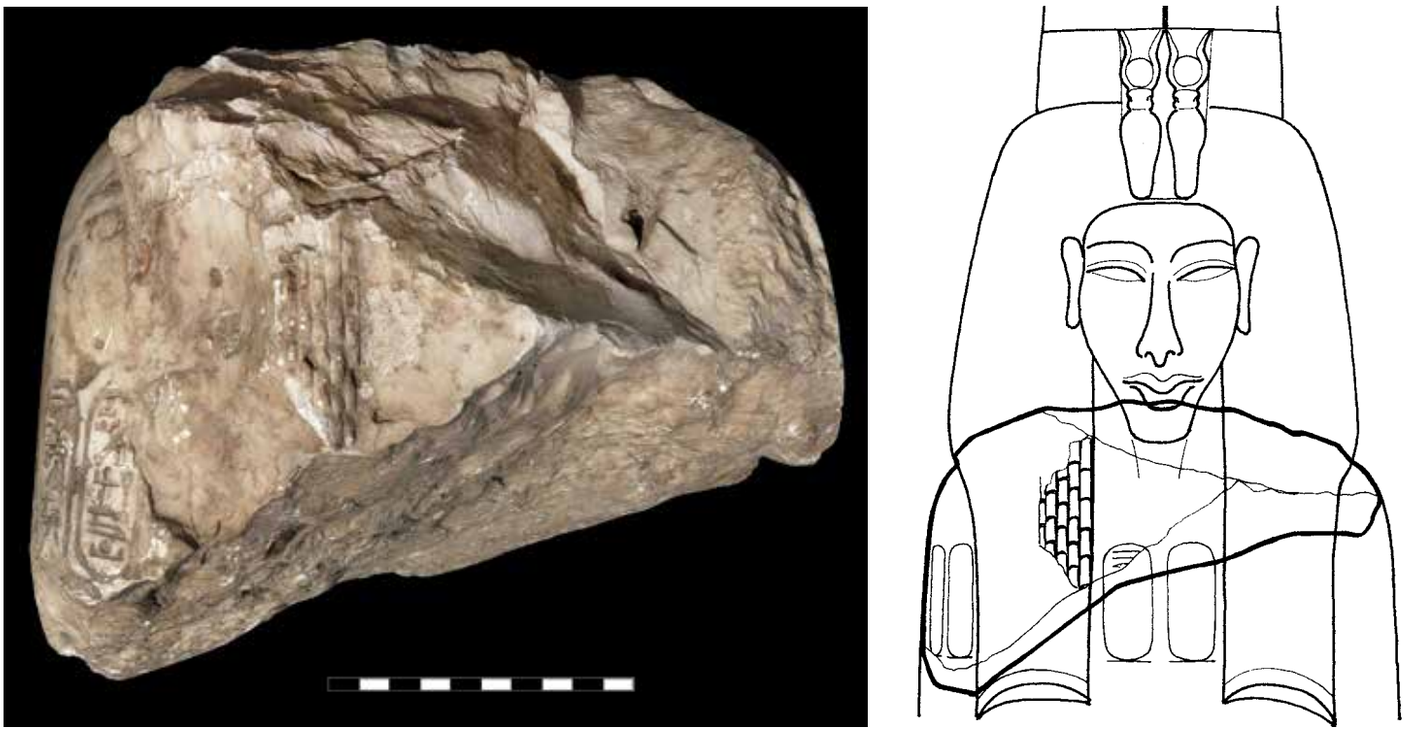
[1] It is found primarily in quarries in Middle Egypt. See Aston, Harrell, and Shaw 2000, p. 40; also Klemm and Klemm 2008, ch. 3, "Limestones," pp. 23–146, particularly the Wadi el-Nakhla quarries near Bersheh on the east bank, used extensively by Amenhotep III and Akhenaten (pp. 90–94).

[2] Echelon curls are tightly wound tube curls arranged in alternating rows in the wigs of goddesses, and queens who take on the semblance of a goddess.

[3] It is possible that the female sphinx is Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten in his female aspect of Tefnut, the twin sister of Shu. See Johnson 2015.

[4] The full dimensions of the indurated-limestone fragment are as follows: greatest preserved height, 16 cm; greatest preserved width (at the bottom), 27 cm; preserved width from the top of the shoulders, shoulder to shoulder, 23 cm; lappet preserved height, 7 cm; original lappet width, ca. 6 cm; Aten cartouches height, 5.5 cm; Aten cartouches width, 2 cm. The projected original length of the sphinx was about 1 m.

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a b

Figure 6.1. (*a*) Nefertiti sphinx fragment, front view (photo by Yarko Kobylecky); (*b*) front view of fragment with restored head, wig, and modius (drawing by Ray Johnson)

Reliefs from the early Aten complex at Karnak depict both Akhenaten and Nefertiti as sphinxes in a number of different scenes. Akhenaten's carrying chair depicted in the jubilee scenes from the *Gm p; 'Itn* is embellished with a striding androsphinx (with Akhenaten's head, with *nemes* and double crown, on a lion's body) above a male lion with full mane.[5] Nefertiti's carrying chair is embellished with a striding female androsphinx wearing a goddess's tripartite wig and high, double falcon-tail plumes atop a modius, above a lioness with multiple teats.[6] Reliefs of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten as a rampant androsphinx are also found on decorated jambs of some early Window of Appearance scenes, such as the one in the private tomb of Ramose, TT 55[7] and others on sandstone *talatat* from the Karnak Aten complex.[8] Both Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted as rampant androsphinxes on the prow and stern kiosks of royal barge towboats.[9] Akhenaten is depicted as a couchant androsphinx with human arms on several later doorjamb blocks from Amarna.[10]

Additional reliefs of Nefertiti depicted as an androsphinx on other Karnak *talatat* were noted in a study by Sayid Tawfik in 1988.[11] In several preserved *talatat* blocks[12] Nefertiti offers to the Aten a small votive sphinx of herself with human hands (as opposed to the forepaws of a lion) holding the *mḏt* oil vase (fig. 6.4).

These scenes, among other offering scenes preserved on the Karnak *talatat*, Tawfik believed indicates (1) that there was indeed a daily offering ritual in the Aten complex at Karnak based on the traditional Amun offering ritual, and (2) that because Nefertiti was depicted presenting the same offerings to the Aten as her husband, she was considered to be the king's equal in the new Aten cult. It is probable that reliefs depicting

[5] Smith and Redford 1976, pl. 86, no. 6, for an excellent example, among many.

[6] Smith and Redford 1976, pl. 41, left side of the scene; also pl. 48, no. 2; pl. 49, no. 1; pl. 52, no. 2; and pl. 90, no. 9. See also Gohary 1992, pls. LXX–LXXI.

[7] Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 105–11.

[8] Smith and Redford 1976, p. 130, fig. 22; pl. 62, no. 1.

[9] Ibid, pl. 23, no. 2. Akhenaten is depicted as rampant sphinxes with *nemes* and double crown on the kiosks of two later towboats from an Amarna river scene; see Amarna limestone *talatat* block, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1989.104, E4468.

[10] See Aldred 1973, p. 99, no. 13, for a catalogue of the blocks.

[11] Tawfik 1988, pp. 275–81, pls. 83–86. For the Nefertiti sphinx discussion, see p. 279.

[12] Ibid., plate 5 (see also fig. 6.4 in this article, photo courtesy the American Research Center in Egypt. Nefertiti sphinx *talatat*, ARCE.230940.TM.102109_SLV6823)

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a b

Figure 6.2. (a) Nefertiti sphinx fragment, side view (photo by Yarko Kobylecky); (b) side view of fragment with restored sphinx body head, modius, and plumes (drawing by Ray Johnson)



a b

Figure 6.3. (*a*) Nefertiti sphinx fragment, detail of Aten cartouches (photo by Yarko Kobylecky); (*b*) inscribed cartouches of the Aten, early form (drawing by Ray Johnson)

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Figure 6.4. Karnak *talatat* of Nefertiti offering *mdt*-oil in a sphinx container.
Photo courtesy of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE 230940.TM102109_SLV6823).
Special thanks to Gerry Scott and Jocelyn Gohary for the use of this photograph

Akhenaten as a votive sphinx in similar offering scenes existed but do not survive or are still awaiting discovery.[13] A small, votive alabaster androsphinx of Tutankhamun, similar to the votive Nefertiti sphinxes depicted in the *talatat,* was discovered in 1989 in the Luxor Temple cachette and is now on display in the lower gallery of the Luxor Museum of Art.[14]

Numerous colossal sandstone androsphinxes of both Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and Nefertiti — at least sixty-six pairs — embellished part of the Aten complex at Karnak. Possibly originally set up along the Karnak main axis to a new entryway to the Karnak/Aten precinct,[15] they were moved by Tutankhamun to either side of the road between the Tenth Pylon and Mut temple, where they can be seen today.[16] Texts on the platforms of the northernmost sphinxes were inscribed with Tutankhamun's names and epithets, while the southern group is inscribed with Ay's names, which indicates that the program was inaugurated late in Tutankhmaun's reign and was only completed by Ay.[17] Horemheb erased both sets of names and reinscribed the sphinx bases with his own name. Before Tutankhamun's workmen moved the sphinxes to their new location, the heads of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten and Nefertiti were cut away and replaced with new, sandstone ram's heads, transforming them into criosphinxes.[18] Finally, slots were cut into the chest of each sphinx, and small sandstone figures of Tutankhamun in the *nemes*-headdress, with crossed arms holding the crook and flail inserted against the chest and under the ram's head. Originally inscribed for Tutankhamun down the front of each statue, those inscriptions were erased when the sphinxes were appropriated by Horemheb.[19]

[13] The bulk of Karnak *talatat* are still buried and inaccessible in their reused contexts under the side halls of the great Hypostyle Hall and within the Second, Ninth, and Tenth Pylons, not to mention their secondary reused contexts in the medieval settlements to the north and south of Luxor.

[14] Luxor Museum of Art N. 830; height 37.0 cm, length 56.4 cm, width 17.8 cm. See El-Saghir 1991, pp. 42–43, figs. 92–96.

[15] The Nefertiti pillars, reused in the foundations of the Second Pylon, may have fronted a large porticoed entryway of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. This suggests that the entire Karnak temple was modified by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten to be the new Aten complex. See Loeben 2007, pp. 107–17.

[16] Their randomly spaced positions along the tenth Pylon/Mut Temple road and numbers inscribed on their flanks that are completely out of order clearly indicate a secondary position along that road.

[17] See Eaton-Krauss and Murnane 1991, pp. 31–38. For the Amenhotep IV and Nefertiti androsphinxes and their modifications, see Traunecker 1986, pp. 20–22.

[18] Surviving fragments indicate that each ram's head featured a separately made uraeus crowned with a horned disc that was inserted into a hole at the forehead. The *nemes*-lappets of the king sphinxes were modified into the tripartite god wig found on criosphinxes, while the king's beard was cut away. The tripartite goddess's wig of the Nefertiti sphinxes fit the tripartite-wigged ram heads perfectly. It is interesting to think that somewhere in the vicinity of the Karnak first court must be a series of pits filled with dozens of sandstone heads of the royal couple in the style of the famous eastern colossi.

[19] Berlandini 1980, pp. 247–60, pls. LVI–LXI.

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While colossal sandstone androsphinxes of the king and queen appear to have been abundant along at least one major, processional way at Karnak, smaller sphinxes of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten in any other stones have not been identified until now. It is presumed that all such statues would have been thoroughly smashed and broken up, as is evidenced by the condition of our fragment. No three-dimensional androsphinx of Akhenaten has been identified anywhere, except for the fragmentary hindquarters of a limestone sphinx excavated at Amarna in the great temple complex, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.[20]

The original position of the Nefertiti sphinx, and perhaps a mate (an androsphinx of Akhenaten with *nemes* and double crown?), might be suggested based on representations of the facade of Karnak in the great Colonnade Hall reliefs of Tutankhamun in Luxor Temple. In front of the Karnak pylon, which might actually represent the Second Pylon, two androsphinxes of the king can be seen flanking the doorway.[21] In the First Court of Karnak today can be seen a late Eighteenth Dynasty sphinx in indurated limestone that dates stylistically to the time of Horemheb, who finished the Second Pylon and might have replaced the Tutankhamun sphinxes with his own. In both cases the sphinxes have human hands that perhaps held a large *nemset* jar topped with the ram's head of Amun.

Unless other fragments turn up, it is impossible to know if our sphinx had human hands or lion paws. The colossal androsphinxes all featured paws. Based on the reliefs and later parallels, it is probable that our smaller sphinx had human hands and was holding a *nemset*-jar, probably topped by a falcon's head, as is seen in some contemporary *talatat* reliefs.[22] The queen's tripartite goddess wig would undoubtedly have been topped with a modius surmounted by double falcon-tail plumes, as is depicted in the reliefs of the votive sphinxes.

The original location of the sphinx was most likely Karnak, because there were no structures of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten at Luxor Temple.[23] The fragment may have been brought to Luxor from Karnak with thousands of other blocks and fragments for reuse in the medieval town. More than half of the 50,000 blocks and fragments in the present Luxor Temple blockyard storage areas were quarried from Karnak, including several thousand *talatat* all inscribed for the Karnak Aten structures.[24]

Tantalizingly fragmentary as it is, our fragment packs a lot of information. Because in Egyptian art even sphinx representations were subject to rules governing iconography and proportions, we can with some confidence propose a hypothetical reconstruction of the original (see figs. 6.1–2). The features of the queen probably reflected those of her husband, as is the case in most of the reliefs from the Karnak Aten complex, and his features are represented in the reconstruction drawing. It is hoped that in time more pieces will turn up, in either Luxor Temple or Karnak, but in the meantime, as is usual in the blockyard, one can do a lot with a little.

[20] 30.4 cm in length; Pendlebury 1951, p. 17, pl. LVIII, no. 3; 32.20. It is impossible to say whether it is male or female.

[21] Epigraphic Survey 1994, pl. 105.

[22] See also the Nicholson Museum block from Memphis, in Sydney, Australia; Jeffreys 2006, pp. 119–33.

[23] There is some probability that the Colonnade Hall was being constructed as a joint monument of Amenhotep III and his son, brought to a halt by the death of the older king, but there is no evidence of any later structures of Akhenaten there, and certainly nothing constructed of *talatat*. See Johnson 1994, pp. 133–44.

[24] For a history of the Luxor Temple fragment project of the Epigraphic Survey, see the Epigraphic Survey reports in the *Oriental Institute Annual Reports*, 1978–present.

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7

Were There Legal Form Books, Legal Casebooks, or Case Law in Ancient Egypt?

*Thomas Logan, Monterey Peninsula College**

It is with great joy that I participate in this volume honoring Janet Johnson, PhD. Jan and I were students together, and I have watched her successes with joy. One of our shared interests is in ancient Egyptian law. This article will focus on contracts and royal decrees during the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

It has been asked whether the ancient Egyptians had a written law code. Implied in the question is whether the Egyptians had a published/public collection of laws like the Code of Hammurabi or the Roman 12 Tables. The answer is probably no.[1] At least not before Bocchoris, Amasis, or Darius.[2] But "the fact that legal codifications were not preserved does not imply, however, that they did not exist."[3]

So a better question is whether the Egyptians had unpublished legal collections like legal form books, or case law — a corpus of legal texts. Certainly from the end of Egyptian history there is the Demotic legal handbook, the "Legal Code of Hermopolis,"[4] which contains a collection of models for "contracts, public protests, receipts, and judicial decisions,"[5] that is, a legal form book. And Demotic legal documents can have their own form or legal formulary. For instance the family-law document *sḫ* consisted of regnal year, names of priests, *ḏd* A *n* B, the contents (agreements, etc.), signature of the scribe, and witnesses. For contracts there were usually sixteen witnesses whose attestation is recorded on the recto of the papyrus.[6]

The question is whether such consistency existed in the Pharaonic period. Ever since Seidl published "Einführung in die ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte" in 1957,[7] we have suspected that ancient Egyptian legal documents had their own formulary. In 1972, I maintained that each different legal document probably had its own restricted legal meaning and distinct formulary.[8]

* I would like to thank Eugene Cruz-Uribe for valuable suggestions.

[1] Some Egyptologists tend to discount any systemized compilation: Wilson 1951, p. 49: "Our negative evidence suggests that there was no codification of law"; Théodoridès 1971, p. 320: "The Nile Valley has given us no code"; Jasnow 2003c, p. 289; McDowell 1999, p. 167: "Whether the Egyptians had 'laws' in the sense of explicit rules binding on the courts is a matter of continuing debate"; Anthes 1957, p. 176: "No codification of laws existed in Egypt, to our knowledge"; Kemp 1982, p. 84: "It remains uncertain, however, how far there was a central body of law."

But Breasted (1924, p. 242) said concerning Horemhab's legal reforms, "The punishments inflicted by Haremhab..., were all according to the law. The great body of the law was undoubtedly very old." And Hayes (1955, p. 51) stated that "we have here (the Brooklyn Papyrus) the citation by title of one or more specific laws, extracted presumably from a systematic body of written laws, or what is normally called a code." See also Lorton 1977, pp. 53–64.

[2] For the Late Period, there is some evidence for legal compilations. Diodorus says that during a trial, "the entire body of the laws was written down in eight volumes which lay before the judges, and the custom was that the accuser should present in writing the particulars of his complaint" (Diodorus of Sicily I, chapter 75,6). And Diodorus mentions legal reforms during the reigns of Bocchoris, Amasis, and Darius. Diodorus says of Bocchoris, "He drew up all the regulations which governed the kings and gave precision to the laws on contracts; and so wise was he in his judicial decisions as well, that many of his judgments are remembered for their excellence even to our day" (ibid., I, 94,5). While Diodorus may have correct information about Bocchoris, his discussion of Sasychis or Shepseskaf (?), and Sesostris as law givers sounds like Dragoman stories, thus we cannot be sure his account of Bocchorus was totally valid. But Darius makes sense. Johnson (1994, p. 157) believes Darius compiled the Egyptian laws into a code. On Diodorus see also Manning 2003, p. 821; Botta 2009, pp. 72–73.

[3] Botta 2009, p. 72.

[4] Mattha 1975.

[5] Botta 2009, p. 74.

[6] Manning 2003, pp. 823–24.

[7] Scharff and Seidl 1939, p. 10; also Helck 1974, pp. 124ff.

[8] Logan 1972, p. 29.

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In this paper I will look closely at two documents from the Old and Middle Kingdoms: the *wḏ-nswt* decree and the *ḫtm.t* contract, and reference the *ỉmy.t-pr* documents. The advantage of these documents is that originals exist (as *ỉmy.t-pr* document P. Kahun I,1, *wḏ-nswt* document Raneferef A, *ḫtm.t* document P. Gebelein B). The *wḏ-nswt* has long been known from copies inscribed on stone for public view, or, as P. Posener-Krieger says "*affichage.*"[9] We now have, thanks to her publication of the Abusir papyri, *wḏ-nswt* documents from the funerary temple of Raneferef that were sealed in the presence of the king. These must be the equivalent of "carbon" copies and so represent the original authorized format. It might be informative to see what differences there are between the Abusir "originals" and the copies on stone. For the *ḫtm.t* we have the famous "Hauskauf," a copy inscribed on stone, that — while not the original — looks complete.[10] In addition, there are two short and fragmentary papyrus texts from Gebelein that look similar to the "Hauskauf," one of which has a *ḫtm.t* attestation, as well as the famous contracts of Djefai-Hapi, and others. For the *ỉmy.t-pr* we have two originals, or copies of originals on papyrus, from Kahun as well as a complete copy on stone, the Stèle Juridique.

If there were several documents from the same place and time that showed consistency, this could simply show the influence of a strong herald (*wḥmw*) or scribal school. So to determine whether there were handbooks, form books and/or legal formulary traditions that Egyptian scribes used, we must show that there was a consistency over both time and place. Did the ancient Egyptians keep collections of decrees, contracts, and transfer documents (wills)?

ỉmy.t-pr Documents[11]

We will look at the legal formulary of the *ỉmy.t-pr* documents first. The three documents listed in table 7.1 differ in time and locale. The Kahun papyri are from central Egypt and date to the Middle Kingdom. The Stèle Juridique dates to the Seventeenth Dynasty and comes from Thebes. From the papyrus documents from Kahun, we know that the witnesses would be added when the *ỉmy.t-pr* was finalized. This can be seen from the complete *ỉmy.t-pr* document P. Kahun I, 1. The majority of the document was written by one scribe. Then a second scribe added the names of the three witnesses at some later time.[12] Both *ỉmy.t-pr* documents from Kahun have the date, contents, and witnesses on the recto. Both have a label on the verso that referenced the type of document and testator: "*ỉmy.t-pr* transfer document which the *wab*-priest and overseer of the Phylae Wah made" (I, 1), and "*ỉmy.t-pr* transfer document which the phylarque Intef's son Mery made to his son, Mery's son Intef called Iuseneb" (VII, 1). The stone copy on the Stèle Juridique has only one side and so omits the "label." It was on public display. The labels on the papyri suggest they were filed.

[9] Posener-Krieger 1985, pp. 195ff. See also Goedicke 1964, p. 31.

[10] Goedicke 1986, p. 76; Strudwick 2005, #16.

[11] Lippert 2008, pp. 25–26, 41–43, 72–74. Other references are Mrsich 1968, pp. 4–7; Théodoridès 1970, pp. 117ff.; van den Boorn 1988, pp. 180–81; Scharff and Seidl 1939, p. 22; Mrsich 1968; Théodoridès 1985, pp. 322ff.; Pestman 1969, p. 62; Menu 1971, pp. 156–57; Gödicken 1980, cols. 142–45; Van den Boorn 1988, p. 181; Johnson 1996, p. 183; Logan 2000, pp. 49ff.; David 2010, p. 42; Logan, in press.

[12] Logan, in press.

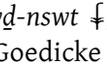
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Table 7.1. *ỉmy.t-pr* Documents

Date	Year 1 . . . under the majesty of	Stèle Juridique
	Year 2 . . .	Kahun I,1
	Year 39 . . . Amenemhat III	Kahun VII,1
Testator	*ỉmy.t-pr ỉỉrỉt.n* titles + PN (an *ỉmy.t-pr* that NN made)	Stèle Juridique
	Ditto	Kahun I,1
	Ditto	Kahun VII,1
Heir	*n* Titles +PN (to NN)	Stèle Juridique
	n ḥm.t=ỉ . . . Tety (to my wife NN)	Kahun I,1
	n sꜣ=f PN (to his son NN)	Kahun VII,1
Bequest	*tꜣy=ỉ ỉꜣt* (my office)	Stèle Juridique
	everything	Kahun I,1
	my office of Phylarque	Kahun VII,1
History of the items(s)	*dj n=(ỉ) m ỉꜣt n ỉt=ỉ* (which came to me from my father's office)	Stèle Juridique
	rdỉw n=ỉ pꜣy sn (which my brother gave to me)	Kahun I,1
	omitted	Kahun VII,1
Future of the item(s)	It (the office) shall belong to my relative . . .	Stèle Juridique
	She will give to whomever she wants from our children	Kahun I,1
	Appoint him immediately.	
Prohibitions	It (the transaction) shall not be interfered with by anyone . . .	Stèle Juridique
	none	Kahun I,1
	As for the *ỉmy.t-pr* which I previously made for his mother, revoke it!	Kahun VII,1
Witnesses	3	Stèle Juridique
	3	Kahun I,1
	3	Kahun VII,1

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wḏ-nswt[13] Decrees

As has been pointed out previously, there is a basic pattern that the decrees inscribed on stone follow.[14] For Dynasties 5–6 and the First Intermediate Period, the text usually begins on the right with a vertical column that contains the Horus name of the king in a *serekh*. This proclaims who issued the decree. This is the reigning king's authorization, for if he is referred to in the text the prenomen is used. To the left of the initial vertical column is a horizontal row that contains the title(s) and name(s) of the addressee(s). Between these two elements is the phrase *wḏ-nswt*  written in retrograde. This links the issuer and the addressee. Whether the phrase is verbal (Goedicke 1967) or nominal ("royal command," Wilson (1948) and Edel (1977)[15] need not concern us. The contents of the decree is next, sometimes written in horizontal rows (Pepi-Abydos III), but usually in vertical columns (Teti-Abydos, Pepi-Dahshur, Koptos C, D, I, L, O, and Abusir A and B). The last two elements are the date and the phrase that connects the decree with the king: "Sealed in the very presence of the King" (*ḫtm r-gs nswt ḏs=f*).[16]

The meaning of *wḏ* as "decree" or "command" is known. These commands are frequently made to non-royal personages; *wḏ* is part of the formal public function of the *nswt.* The reason for copying the papyrus decree on stone was to publicly proclaim the contents of the decree.[17]

In addition, examples have been found on papyrus of the same type of decree from the Fifth Dynasty at Abu Sir. We will start by comparing the form of the *wḏ-nswt* decrees inscribed on stone.

1. Neferirkare[18] (Fifth Dynasty, decree on stone, Abydos; reversed right to left; *Urk.* I, 170–72)

The top horizontal line has the element *wḏ-nswt* + addressee.

The following tables are reversed from right to left.

Ḥrw			
*Wsr-ḫ*ʿ*w*	Contents	c	c
	Contents	o	o
	Contents	n	n
		t	t
	Contents	e	e
		n	n
	Contents	t	t
	ḫtmw r-gs nswt ḏs=f ꜣbd 2 šmw (written )		

[13] All the *wḏ-nswt* documents known to 1967 were published in facsimile and translated in Goedicke 1967 (the Shepseskhaf decree is technically not a *wḏ-nswt*). Later a *wḏ-nswt* excavated in the Dakhleh Oasis was published in Pantalacci 1985, pp. 245–55 with plate XL. In addition the Abusir papyri were published in Posener-Krieger 1985, pp. 195ff. For general comments see Lippert 2008, p. 20

[14] Lippert 2008, p. 20; Goedicke 1967, pp. 8–15; 1964, pp. 32–35; Hayes 1946, p. 7; and more generally, Helck 1974, pp. 10–18.

[15] Edel 1964, section 87. Fischer (1977, pp. 58–59) says that the reversal of the phrase *wḏ-nswt* conveys the idea of the dative (*n*). Interestingly, when reference is made to such a decree in a private text, it is referred to as *wḏ n nswt* (*Urk.* I, 21, 10 and 186,3) except where it is directly quoted, as Sendjemib Inty and Harkhuef.

[16] For "very presence" or "personal presence" see Gunn 1927, p. 230 and Goedicke 1964, p. 35

[17] See Menu 1971, p. 156.

[18] Goedicke 1967, pp. 22ff.; Strudwick 2005, pp. 98ff.

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Horus	The king commands/Royal decree to the Overseer of Priests Hemwer		
User-khau	Contents	c	c
	Contents	o	o
	Contents	n	n
		t	t
	Contents	e	e
		n	n
	Contents	t	t
	Sealed in the very presence of the king. The 2nd month of Shemu . . .		

The phrase "Sealed in the very presence of the King" (*ḫtm r-gs nswt ḏs=f*) makes the document legal, (as notarization does today).[19] This is similar to the phrase *ỉr r-gs.f ḏs=f* in the Wepemnofret *wḏ.t-mdw* document:

> Year of the Uniting of the Two Lands . . .
> The Sole Companion Wep says
> I have given to my eldest son, the lector-priest Iby,
> the northern burial shaft, . . .
> Done in his very presence while he was alive.
> (*ỉr r-gs=f ḏs=f ʿnḫw ḥr rdwy.fy*)
> He made a *wḏt-mdw* document.
> Placed before many witnesses,
> written down in his very presence.
> (*zš r-gs=f ḏs=f*)

The obvious difference between a *wḏ-nswt* and *wḏ.t-mdw* document is the king needs no witnesses, only private individuals need them.

2. Teti (Sixth Dynasty; decree on stone, Abydos; *Urk.* I, 207–08; Goedicke 1967, fig. 3)

Ḥrw	*wḏ-nswt* + //////////////////				
sḥp-tỉwy	c	c	c	c	c
	o	o	o	o	o
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	e	e	e	e	e
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	s	s	s	s	s
	/////// *ḫtmw* (*r-gs Nswt ḏs=f*) *ỉbd 4 ỉḫ.t sw ỉ*				

[19] Boochs 1982, p. 46.

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3. Pepi I (Sixth Dynasty; decree on stone; Dahshur; *Urk.* I, 209–13; Goedicke 1967, fig. 5)

Ḥrw	*wḏ-nswt* + Addressees
Mry-tȝwy ḥsb.t 21 tpj pr.t sw 23	*Nswt-bjty Snfrw m ḫʿ-Snfrw* *iw wḏ.n ḥm=(i)* c c c c c [*ḫtmw* o o o o o *r-* n n n n n *gs* t t t t t *nswt* e e e e e *ḏs=* n n n n n *f*] t t t t t s s s s s

Horus	*The king commands* + Addressees
Mry-tȝwy Year of the 21st occasion 1st month of Growing day 23	*(As for)the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Snefru in his two pyramids,* *My majesty has decreed (as follows)* c c c c c Sealed o o o o o in n n n n n the t t t t t very e e e e e presence n n n n n of t t t t t the s s s s s king

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4. Pepi II (Sixth Dynasty; decree on stone; Coptos C; *Urk.* I, 284–88; Goedicke 1967, fig. 9)

[*Ḥrw*]	[*wḏ-nswt* +]//////////////////
[*nṯry-ḫ³w ḥs*]*b.t 22*	Contents Contents Contents c c c c c *ḫtmw* o o o o o *r-* n n n n n *gs* t t t t t [*nswt*] e e e e e *ḏs* n n n n n *³bd* t t t t t *4* s s s s s *šmw* *sw* *28*

5. Neferkauhor (Eighth Dynasty; decree on stone; Coptos K; *Urk.* I, 302–03; Goedicke 1967, fig. 27)

Ḥrw	*wḏ-nswt* + Addressee
nṯry- *b³w*	c c c c c [*ḫtmw* o o o o o *r-* n n n n n *gs*] t t t t t *nswt* e e e e e *ḏs* n n n n n [*³bd* t t t t t ///] s s s s s

As can be seen, these inscriptions on stone follow a similar horizontal format from the Fifth Dynasty until the First Intermediate Period. Variation is to be found with the placement of the date and the phrase "sealed in the very presence of the king." The date, a critical legitimizing element, sometimes is placed under the initial *serekh* — Pepi I-Dahshur, Koptos B and C — and sometimes at the end of the decree either in a vertical or horizontal line — Neferirkare-Abydos, Teti-Abydos, Abydos III (this is a rare inscription written left to right), Koptos C, and Pepi II-Dakhleh. The phrase "sealed" is normally placed at the end, frequently coupled with the date.

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As one would expect, these change slowly. This is expected since they come from one place (the Royal Archives)[20] and from a limited time (Fifth Dynasty to the early First Intermediate Period). While these documents survive mostly on stone, it has been known that the original document was on papyrus.[21] Koptos C states:

> The King of Upper and lower Egypt Neferirkare, may he live forever,
> has decreed that the document () be displayed (*sḫp*) as this decree,
> placed as a decree of [hard] stone at the gate of Min of Koptos in the Koptite Nome.

Fortunately, we now have the original papyrus decrees,[22] which the Czech team found in the Temple of Raneferef at Abu Sir.[23] It is instructive to compare the legal formulary of the stone copies with papyrus originals.

6. Raneferef A; (Fifth Dynasty; papyrus "original"; Abu Sir[24]; again, reversed from right to left)

Recto

Ḥrw	*wḏ-nswt* + Addressee				
ḏd-	Addressee (continues)				
ḫʿw	c	c	c	c	c
	o	o	o	o	o
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	e	e	e	e	e
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	s	s	s	s	s

Verso[25]

ḫ	
t	*sḫmwy*
m	
w	*ḏi*
r-	*tȝ*
gs	
	[*r*
nswt	
	ʿ.k]
ḏs	
sw	
//////	
/////	

The phrase *sḫmwy dj tȝ* [*r ʿ.k*] is restored from a decree of a post-Pepi II king found at Saqqara (*Urk.* I, 307ff.; Goedicke 1967, fig. 15). Schenkel translates the Saqqara decree line as "Brot geben (?) entsprechend deinem Rechtsanspruch."[26] The date is on the verso, but only "day" of "day x" is preserved.

[20] Grimal 1992, p. 91: The Royal Archives "looked after the deeds of land ownership. This department also held documents recording civil actions, consisting essentially of contracts and testaments as well as the texts of royal decrees."

[21] Goedicke 1989, pp. 203–12; 1964, p. 31; 1967, p. 7; Strudwick 2007, p. 37. Hayes 1946, p. 7: "The decrees, drawn up originally on papyrus. . .follow a more or less set form."

[22] Posener-Krieger 1985, p. 195.

[23] Verner 1984, pp. 75–76; 2002, pp. 145–50; Posener-Krieger 1983, pp. 51–57

[24] Posener-Krieger 1985, fig. A 1.

[25] Ibid., fig. A 2.

[26] *MHT*, 25.

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7. Raneferef B

Recto[27]

////	*wḏ-nswt* + title of Addressee				
////	Addressee				
	Addressee				
////					
	c	c	c	c	c
	o	o	o	o	o
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	e	e	e	e	e
	n	n	n	n	n
	t	t	t	t	t
	s	s	s	s	s

Verso[28]

ḫ (black)	(red)	(all in red)	
t	*ḥsbt*	*Smsw jzt*	*wn*
m	*15*		*jn*
w	*Rʿ-*	*sḥḏ*	
	ꜣbd	*ḥtp?*	////
r-	*4*	*Ny-sw-wsr*	
gs	*ꜣḫ.t*	*ḫr-ʿ*	
nswt	*28*	*sḏr tp n*	/////////
ḏs		*sḥḏ*	//////////
		sḫm	//////////
ꜣbd		*ny-sw-*	//////////
4		*wsr*	//////////
ꜣḫ.t		//////////////	
sw			
27			

Sealed in the very presence of the King <on> Day 27, 4th month of *Akhet.*
Year 15, Day 28, 4th month of *Akhet.* (In red.)

The Elder of the Palace, Rahotep?, the Assistant of Nysuwsir, the *sḏr tp* of ///
the Inspector of [*wab*-priests and Khentyshu], the Powerful One? Nysuwsir///.
Then the Inspector ////

It is thought that the entries in red were added one day later (day 28) when the decree was received by the Temple. The travel distance is some 6–7 km from Memphis, so this is a reasonable inference. The individuals named were probably the officials who filed the decree.[29]

The original papyrus format has some differences from the copies on stone. On both we find the Horus name in a vertical column on the right side, with *wḏ-nswt* written horizontally in the top horizontal column (reversed to the rest of the line). But the important verifying legal phrase "Sealed in the personal presence of the King," plus date (*ḫtmw r-gs Nswt ḏs=f* + date) has been moved from the verso of the papyrus, which would be visible after the papyrus was folded, to the bottom horizontal line of the stone copy. This was necessary as there was no verso on the stone copies. In addition, the address(ee) has also been moved from the verso in the papyrus original to the top horizontal line in the stone copy. Thus we must understand that the arrangement of the decrees on stone has been altered to include and integrate both recto and verso of the original papyrus on the single-sided stone documents.

[27] Posener-Krieger 1985, p. 200.
[28] Ibid., fig. B 2.
[29] Posener-Krieger 1985, p. 201; Strudwick 2005, p. 126, n. 4.

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So, if we look at the Neferirkare stone (no. 1, reproduced below), we see the format changed from the hypothetical papyrus original. Namely the date and the phrase "sealed in the very presence of the King"[30] have been moved from the verso on the papyrus to a bottom horizontal line on the stone copy:

Horus	Royal Decree + Addressee		
User-khau	Contents	c	c
	Contents	o	o
	Contents	n	n
	Contents	t	t
	Contents	e	e
	Sealed in the personal presence of the King, and month of . . .	n	n
		t	t

The main difference between the *ỉmy.t-pr* and *wḏ-nswt* documents is the presence of witnesses in the former, and the absence of witnesses in the later. This can be explained, as there was no higher secular authority than the king, and so the document did not need any other "notarization." The witnesses have been replaced by the "sealing in the very presence of the king."

For the *wḏ-nswt*, the critical elements are:

1. Horus name of the issuing king
2. Date
3. Addressee
4. Contents including proscriptions
5. Sealing information

The one exception to the above format is the sole text from the Fourth Dynasty, the decree of Shepseskhaef for the benefit of the pyramid of Menkaura. This is a round top stela, lacks the phrase *wḏ-nswt*, but does have the Horus name in a *serekh* on the right with the date and *ỉr r-gs nswt ḏs=f* instead of *ḫtm r-gs nswt ḏs=f*. It represents the oldest surviving decree.

8. Shepseskhaef (Fourth Dynasty; decree in stone; reversed; *Urk.* I, 160/Goedicke 1967, fig. 1)

[*Nsw*]-*bity* Shepseskhaef			
Horus	*ỉr.*	The	He (Shepseskhaef)
Śpss-	*n=f*	Horus	
ḫt	*m*	Shepses-	has
Year	*mnw=f*	khet	made
X	*n*	Year	as his
ỉrw		X	monument
r-gs		made	for
nswt		beside	Menkaura
ḏs=f		the very	
		king	

[30] Following Gunn 1927 (pp. 211–37), "The stela of Apries at Mît-rahîna," 230. See Goedicke 1964, p. 35.

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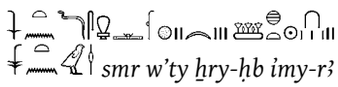
This is an earlier tradition where instead of *wḏ-nswt* we find "he made as his monument for" (*ir.n=f m mnw=f n*). The older formula remained popular in building inscriptions, the Palermo Stone, and the Sixth Dynasty annals on the Sarcophagus of Ankhesenpepy.[31]

As can be seen, there was a change in the legal formulary of the *wḏ-nswt* decrees sometime after Shepseskhaef in the late Fourth Dynasty and before Neferirkara in the early Fifth Dynasty.

It is interesting to compare the royal decrees with the famous copy of a royal letter in Harkhuef's tomb.

9. Harkhuef (Sixth Dynasty; stone copy at Aswan; reversed right to left; *Urk.* I, 128, 3-5)

The *wḏ-nswt* portion of the biography has priority of place. It is not within the text as Sethe's copy[32] suggests. Rather, it has the prominent position at the upper right side of the façade. The first two lines are horizontal with the *nswt* written first in honorific transposition. Putting *nswt* first fits nicely with the importance of the honor of receiving a royal letter.


smr w'ty ḫry-ḥb ỉmy-r3 ʿw Ḥrw-ḫw=f

ỉw

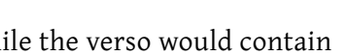
sỉ3

ḫtmw Nswt ḏs ḥsbt 2 3bd 3 3ḫt sw 15	(row)
wḏ-nswt smr wʿty ḫry-ḥb ỉmy-r3 ʿw Ḥrw-ḫw=f	(row)
ỉw sỉ3(=ỉ) md.t nt mḏ3t=k tn	(column)

Sealed in the presence of the King, Year 2, 3rd month of *3ḫt*, day 15.	(row)
The King commands the Sole Companion . . . Harkhuef.	(row)
Consideration has been given to the contents of this letter of yours[33]	(column)

The original legal formulary can be reconstructed, thanks to the Abu Sir originals, as having line 1 (the sealing + date) on the verso[34] of the papyrus original and line 2 as the first horizontal line of the recto. The only thing missing is the authorization. The contents of the decree are written in vertical columns, just like the Raneferef originals. We can reconstruct the Recto of the papyrus as:

Ḥrw	*wḏ-nswt smr wʿty ḫry-ḥb ỉmy-r3 ʿw Ḥrw-ḫw=f*
Nṯr-	*ỉw*
ḫ'w	*sỉ3=(ỉ)*
	md.t
	nt
	mḏ3.t=k
	tn
	. . .

While the verso would contain  written in a vertical column.

This format is also reflected in the three letters to Senedjemib Inty,[35] where the *wḏ-nsw* + Addressee is written horizontally while the rest of the text is written in vertical columns. The verso of the letter is appended to the end of Letter 3[36] with just the date[37] and without the "sealing" attestation.

[31] See Strudwick 2005, p. 75

[32] *Urk.* I, 128.

[33] Following Wente 1990, p. 19; Brovarski 2000, pp. 94–95. The royal letter to Rashepses (*Urk.* I, 179) has:

Row *wḏ-nswt . . . Rʿ-špss*
Col. *ỉw m333.n ḥm=(ỉ) sš pn . . .*

[34] Posener-Krieger 1985, p. 202, fig. B2

[35] Brovarski 2000, pp. 92ff. with fig 29; Eichler 1991, pp. 144–45.

[36] Brovarski 2000, p. 97.

[37] See ibid., p. 101, n. m, for discussion of the year.

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All the above suggest that there a consistency to the *wḏ-nswt* decrees, both to formulations as well as physical layout. As Goedicke, who copied and translated all of the decrees said:

> In summary . . . we have found ample evidence of the existence of an established tradition in the royal chancery in the issue of the royal decrees. These traditions concern not only the formulations, but also the physical structure or layout of the document . . .[38]

Compare also the comment of W. Hayes: "The decrees, drawn up originally on papyrus . . . follow a more or less set form."[39]

ḫtm.t-Contracts[40]

The name of these contracts evolved from the verb "to seal." The contracts occurred in both the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Sandra Lippert points out that these documents functioned in the Old kingdom as sales contracts, but in the Middle kingdom they are also used for contracting priests for one's cult of the dead.[41] This basically follows Helck's twofold meaning of *ḫtm.t*-documents: contracts with people (workers and *ka*-priests), and sales documents.[42] Goedicke,[43] however, interprets *ḫtm.t* as a lease contract. For J. C. Garcia,[44] *ḫtm.t*-contracts occur in transactions concerning personnel, various goods, and property-like fields and houses.

The name implies that they were sealed by a government agency, and, in fact, we have a wooden example from the Middle Kingdom that reads:

 . . .

ḫtm.t-ḫt Ḥwt Snwsrt-ḥtp mꜣʿ-<ḫrw> ḥꜣty-ʿ Snwsrt

A wooden seal of the Temple of Sesostris-is-Satisfied, true of voice (of the authority of) the Mayor Sesostris[45]

Besides the document, there are also references to these contracts. We will look at both to see if our understanding of this type of document is correct.

To start with, these legal documents have a different formulary than the *wḏ-nswt* documents do. *Wḏ-nswt* documents were unilateral, and their form and contents are dictated by that fact. Contracts, like the *ḫtm.t*-contracts, however, are bilateral, and binding on both parties.[46] So the format is dictated accordingly.

The bilateral nature of these documents can be seen in the following reference to a *ḫtm.t* contract in an inscription carved on a lintel of a tomb from Giza of one "Seal Bearer of the Royal Granary NeferhorenPtah."[47]

Tomb Inscription[48] (Old Kingdom; Giza)

Ppi ḥtp.w ḥr ḫtm.t irt.n.=(i) ḥnʿ=f

Pepi was satisfied on account of the *ḫtm.t* which I made with him.

Since this inscription comes from a tomb, we can presume that the contract was for priestly service to be provided by Pepi. The inscription was publicly placed to ensure the continuance of said service.

[38] Goedicke 1964, p. 39.

[39] Hayes 1946, p. 7.

[40] In general see Seidl 1957, pp. 22–24. For the Old Kingdom see Lippert 2008, p. 24, for the Middle kingdom pp. 40–41. Goedicke interprets *ḫtm.t* as "lease" (1970, pp. 117–18).

[41] Lippert 2008, p. 40.

[42] Helck 1986, cols. 1224–27.

[43] Goedicke 1970, pp. 152ff.; 1986, pp. 67–78.

[44] Moreno 2000, p. 125.

[45] Grdseloff 1951, pp. 153ff.; Boochs 1982, p. 120.

[46] Johnson 1996, p. 177.

[47] Ranke 1935, p. 198.

[48] Petrie 1907, pl. VII A (top right, labeled Nofer-Her-Ne-Ptah).

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Surviving Contracts: Texts and Format

1. "'Sale' of a 'House";[49] Late Old Kingdom; reversed; Giza; *Urk.* I 157–58)

This stela was found in Giza near Khaefra's Valley Temple. Goedicke suggests that the stone copy that survives can "be considered a faithful copy of the papyrus original on stone, retaining the basic layout as a narrow upright rectangle";[50] Nigel Strudwick concurs,[51] as does B. Menu.[52] As we have seen with the *wḏ-nswt* documents above, this cannot be completely true, as the papyrus original would have had two sides, the recto and the verso, while the copies on stone have only one side. Like the *wḏ-nswt* documents, this document begins with horizontal lines for the names of the two parties followed by vertical lines containing the contents.

This bilateral contract is between Party A, whose name is damaged save the last sign-*ka* (Goedicke restores the name as Serefka[53]), and Party B, a scribe Tjenty.

Date, Year X,

Party A Titles, Name ending in]-*ka*

ḏd=f in=(i) pr pn r-ỉsw ḫr zš Ṯntỉ

He says "I bought this house (tomb) for *ỉsw* from the Scribe Tjenty"

(The text now shifts to vertical columns.)

I gave the value for it equaling 10 *šʿt*[54] consisting of

40 cubits of fabric[55]	value 3
A bed	value 4
20 cubits of fabric	value 3 (=10 *šʿt*)

Sealing

Sealed with a wooden seal *ḫtm r ḫtm.t ḫt* () before the Council (*ḏ3ḏ3.t*) of Magistrates of the pyramid complex of Khufu in the presence of many witnesses (*m-b3ḥ mtrw ʿš3 K3-m-ỉpw*) of the Phyle of Kaemipou[56]

Party B's Quitclaim

Tjenty says

"As the King lives I will have given what is correct and you will be satisfied with it

ʿnḫ nswt dỉ=(i) wnm m3ʿ ḥtp=k ḥr=s

so that everything in this tomb may come into being."

Description of the Property

<The tomb> is built in wood, the wall up to the ceiling with sycamore.

qd m ḫt ỉnb r3-ʿ ḥry tp nhwt nbs

Conclusion

I have paid you in full (with) this payment of folded cloth.

mḥ=(i) n=k ḏb3w ỉpn wḏb

Witnessed

The Stonemason Mehu	The *ka*-priest Sabni
The *ka*-priest Iyni	The *ka*-priest NyankhHor.

[49] Cairo JE 42787 from Giza. For the text see *Urk.* I, 57; Goedicke 1970, pl. XVI; and especially Menu 1985, pp. 249ff. with fig. 1. For studies and translations, see Seidl 1957, p. 24; Goedicke 1970, p. 149; Menu 1985, pp. 251–54; Strudwick 2005, pp. 205–06; Mahmoud 2000–01, pp. 125–34; Botta 2009, pp. 79–80.

[50] Goedicke 1986, p. 76.

[51] Strudwick 2005, p. 205.

[52] Menu 1985, p. 251.

[53] Goedicke 1970, pp. 151–52.

[54] The value of the *šʿty* is discussed by Janssen 1975 (pp. 102ff.). By the Ramesside period, the value of 1 *šʿty* is 1/12 of a *deben*. The determinative in this text is interpreted by Fischer as a form of the copper sign (1961, p. 63), but later the determinative is written with a seal sign.

[55] Following Posener-Krieger 1979, p. 318.

[56] For this correction to the reading, see Menu 1985, p. 252.

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From the Sale of a House, we can propose the following essential components for a *ḫtm.t*:

1. [Date]
2. Statement by Party A specifying the services he is contracting
3. Oath of satisfaction in the compensation by Party B
4. The Sealing
5. Witnesses

The key to the understanding of this inscription is the line *in.*(*i*) *pr pn r-ỉsw ḫr zš ṯntỉ*. Goedicke[57] interprets this as a lease contract in which Party A, [Seref?]-ka, rents the house from the scribe Tjenti. For him, *ỉsw* in the phrase *inỉ r-ỉsw* means "salary compensation" as in lease or rent, so he translates the phrase "(ich) ([Seref]-ka) liefere dieses Haus für Entgelt **an** ḍes Schrieber *Ṯntj*" (my emphasis).

The problem, of course, is translating economic terms from a barter economy into monetary economic terms. As J. Janssen reminds us, Egyptian trade was "concrete in relation to commodities, but vague in relation to their prices": "it was the objects themselves which they tried to obtain," and "after bringing together all the commodities, both parties agreed to the transaction."[58]

Yet, the meaning of *ỉsw* seems clear. Faulkner translates it as "reward" or "compensation," and *Wörterbuch* translates it as "payment" ("Lohn").

However, there are usages that do not seem to fit these meanings. The first example is found on a block that depicts a woman bearing offerings and this inscription:[59]

2. Sakkara (Goedicke 1970, RM 22.11.1956)

////////////////*t*ɜ
*r ḥwt-k*ɜ *tn* ***inỉt.n.ỉ r ỉsw ḫr*** *bnr Pr-ḥr-nfrt m sṯ*ɜ*.t r*ɜ*-30 šʿty dd=sn s*[ɜ*t*].*ỉ ỉry-ḫt-nswt*////

////////////////the land
this chapel, which I bought for ***ỉsw*** from the confectioner Perhornefret
comprising 1/30 an aroura. The value will be given by my dau[ghter] . . .

As Menu points out, 1/30th of an aroura is 90 sq m, or the size of land needed for a mastaba.[60]

Another example is from a text from Deir el Bahri,[61] in which Hathor thanks Hatshepsut for building her a chapel we find:

> Words spoken by Hathor Mistress of Thebes . . .
> "My beloved daughter MaatkaRa,
> You have built my house
> You have perpetuated (my) names . . .
> You know what I love,
> You made for me this monument, in this splendid place of antiquity (ɜḫt) So I give to you their X (*ỉsw.sn*) in the form of all life, stability, and dominion for ever."

Here something like "their reward" fits, but a better translation is "quid pro quo," or, as Caminos translates ***ỉsw***, "requital."[62]

[57] Goedicke 1970, pp. 67–78.
[58] Janssen 1975, pp. 540–42.
[59] Goedicke 1970, pp. 255–56.
[60] Menu 1985, p. 256.
[61] Sethe 1906–09, pp. 302–03.
[62] Caminos 1964, p. 85.

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For the Old Kingdom, the following examples occur:

3. *Wnas* Causeway (Fifth Dynasty; Hassan 1938, II, pl. 96)

 A market scene with a man with a basket of fish, holding out his hand and saying to a man holding out a wooden chest

 ỉmỉ ỉsw

 "Give ***ỉsw***"

 or

 ḏỉ=(ỉ) ỉsw

 "I will give the *ỉsw*"[63]

4. L*D* II, pl. 96 (reversed)

 On the right is a necklace vendor holding out a necklace,
 and on the left a vegetable vendor with a basket of onions says:

 D=(ỉ) mꜣꜣ, d=(ỉ) ỉsw
 or
 ỉmỉ mꜣꜣ, ỉmỉ ỉsw
 "I see, I am giving the ***ỉsw***"
 or
 "See! Give the *ỉsw*!"

With these texts the meaning seems to be "bid," "offer."

5. Memi[64] (Fifth Dynasty; Giza; *Urk*. I, 225,9)

 The Royal ***wab***-priest Memi says
 "I caused these statues to be fashioned (*ỉrỉ*) by the sculptor
 who was satisfied with its ***ỉsw*** which I made for him (the sculptor)
 (or the sculpture?)" *ḥtpw ḥr* ***ỉsw****.s ỉrỉt.n=(ỉ) n=f*

6. Merankhef (Hassan 1936, III, 18 with fig. 15)

 He says
 "As for every craftsman who made this construction (*kꜣt*)
 ỉw rdỉ.n=(ỉ) dwꜣ=sn nṯr ḥr ***ỉsw*** *ḏỉ.n=(ỉ) n=sn*
 I caused them to praise god on account of the *ỉsw* I gave to them."

In these two cases a meaning of "fair market value" seems in order. Therefore, in this non-monetary economy, the best translation for *ỉsw* is something like "fair market value," "barter price," "requital," or "compensation."

[63] For discussion see Posener-Krieger 1979, pp. 323–24, who references Edel 1964, par. 606–07.

[64] Strudwick 2005, p. 253

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In the Middle Kingdom inscription of Djefai-Hapi (see further below), Djefai-Hapi says to his *ka*-priest:

> Behold all these things which I have contracted with (*ḫtm m-ʿ*) the *wab*-priests . . .
> Behold, I inform you of these things which I gave to these *wab*-priests
> *m ỉsw nn n ḫt rdỉ.n=sn n=ỉ*
> as fair value for those things which they have given to me. (269–70)

As for the difference between *ỉnỉ r ỉsw* and *rḏỉ r ỉsw* Old Kingdom parallel texts help where *rḏỉ r ỉsw* contrasts with *rḏỉ m ỉmy.t-pr* and/or *ḫtm r ḫtm.t*. In *Urk*. I, 12, 9–13, and *Urk*. I, 36, 9–10 we find;[65]

> *n rdỉ.n=(ỉ) sḫm ḥm kꜣ nb ḏt.(ỉ)*
> *m rdỉt ꜣḫt rmṯ* [*ḫt nb*] . . .
> *r* ***ỉsw*** *n rmṯ nb*
> *m rḏỉt m ỉmy.t-pr n rmṯ nb*
>
> I do not allow any *ka*-priest of my estate
> to give away [any] fields, people, or [anything],
> by barter (selling) to anyone
> or by transferring away (willing) to anyone.

and

> [I do not empower any one][66]
> *ḫtm=sn ḏs=sn msw=sn sn=sn r ḫtm nb*
> *dỉt.sn ḏs.sn msw.sn sn.sn m ỉmy.t-pr*
>
> that they themselves, their children or siblings can convey by sealed document or
> that they themselves, their children or siblings can give away by means of an
> *ỉmy.t-pr* transfer document.[67]

What is clear is that *rḏỉ r ỉsw*, *rḏỉ m ỉmy.t-pr*, and *ḫtm r ḫtm.t* all involve legal alienation of property.

To complete the financial transaction "nearly always lead to the choice of the *deben* of copper as the unit of account,"[68] though in the Old Kingdom cloth could be used.[69]

As was pointed out above, according to Goedicke this is not a sale, but a contract for time, or "lease" (*Dienstvertrag auf Zeit*) like the Djefai-Hapy contracts. But the parallel usage of *ỉnỉ r-ỉsw* in Memi, Merankhef, and Sakkara RM 22.11.1956 quoted above suggest that this is a sale, not a lease.

Whether *pr* equals *ỉz* "tomb" in this text and the following texts from Gebelien, see P. Posener-Krieger.[70]

7. Text "B" (Gebelien; papyrus[71])

There are two similar, damaged house sales from Gebelien. Only Text "B" mentions a sealing.

Date	[Year] after the Second Counting of livestock [of Upper and Lower Egypt,] [Month X] of Akhet, Day 20+
Sealing	Sealed [in a sealed document]
Party A	I give the barter-price *ḏỉ=(ỉ) ỉsw* namely a house 16 cubits in length by 11 cubits in width, the Royal Servant Iu/////

[65] For these phrases, see Helck 1974, p. 118.

[66] Following Goedicke 1970, p. 117 nn. 16, 17; Strudwick 2005, pp. 204–05, no. 120.

[67] Lisht block published by Goedicke 1970, pp. 113ff. with pl XII. See also Fischer 1958, p. 133; Fischer 1961, p. 50.

[68] Janssen 1975, p. 541.

[69] Roth 1994, p. 236.

[70] Posener-Krieger 1977, p. 331 with n. 35; Fisher 1961, p. 62.

[71] Posener-Krieger 1979, p. 320 with figs. 2, 4; Strudwick 2005, p. 186.

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Party B

> As the King lives, I will give what is correct for (I) am satisfied with [the price]. I will give the barter-price (*isw*): fabric 24 cubits[72] /////

Unfortunately, this text is broken at the end, so we are not sure whether there were witnesses. But most of the elements seen in the "Sale of a House" are present:

1. Date
2. Statement by Party A specifying the services he is contracting
3. Oath of satisfaction in the compensation by Party B
4. The Sealing
5. Witnesses

8. Djefai-Hapi (Contracts from Assiut; Griffith 1889, pls. 6ff.)[73]

This famous inscription contains ten contracts made by Djefai-Hapi for the perpetuation of his own mortuary cult. The contracts and a long introduction were inscribed on the walls of the transverse Great Hall. Djefai-Hapi gives income in kind that are due to him from the harvests of his inherited estates as well as from income due to him as Nomarch to various priests who will live on the usufruct and who in turn must provide offerings or services to Djefai-Hapi. Reisner noted that while the phrase *mꜣʿ ḫrw* is present in the contracts, it is absent from the introduction, and so suggested that Djefai-Hapi personally supervised the writing of the contracts and may have written the introduction (ll. 261–72) as a letter to his *ka*-priest.[74] He explicitly says that he gave his *ka*-priest a copy of the contracts: "Behold they (the endowments) are before you in writing" (l. 272).

Importantly the ten contracts are labeled by a horizontal line (l. 260) running over the ten contracts, which are written in vertical columns. This line reads:

> The *ỉry-pat*, Nomarch, Seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, the true friend of the king, Overseer of priests, Djefai-Hapi possessor of *ỉmakhu* has made a *w.ḏt-mdw*-document.

The introduction to the contracts is instructive. After laudatory statements in lines 261–67, we find:

> 268 . . . not interfering with his endowment[75] while establishing the law (*hp*) throughout his nome, The Overseer of priests of Wepwawet. . .. Djefai-Hapi born to Iden.
>
> 269 Titles, Djefai-Hapi says to his *ka*-priest. "Behold all these things which I Have contracted with (*ḫtm m-ʿ*) these *wab*-priests who are under your Supervision (*ḫr st ḥr.k*),[76] for the *ka*-priest of a man perpetuates his property and perpetuates his *pak*-offerings.
>
> 270 Behold I inform you of these things which I have given to these *wab*-priests as fair compensation (*isw*) for those things which they have given to me. Guard! Against anything being nullified . . .
>
> 271 . . . Behold I have endowed (*smnḫ*) you with fields, with people, with livestock, with watered lands, with everything just as any official (*sr*) of Assiut, hoping that you will act for me (with) happy heart. You stand on (control) all my possessions which I have placed

[72] For 24 see Posener-Krieger 1977, pp. 86–96.

[73] For the text see Griffith 1898, pls. 1–9; Sethe 1924, pp. 92–96. For translations and studies, see Spalinger 1985, pp. 7ff.; Resiner 1918, pp. 81ff.; Breasted 1906, pp. 258ff. For additional references, see Spalinger 1985, p. 7, n. 1.

[74] Reisner 1918, p. 81.

[75] For *ḫnn* "interfering with an endowment," see *Urk.* I, 12, 16 "As for any of the *ka*-priests of my estate who shall interfere /////// of the invocation offerings which the king gave to me so that I be an *ỉmakh*" (*ỉr ḥm-kꜣ nb ḏt*[*.ỉ*] *ḫnn*[*.ti=fi*]).

[76] For this phrase see Blackman 1931, p. 58, n. 13.

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272 under your authority.
Behold, they (the endowments) are before you in writing. These things shall belong to your one son whom you love who shall (in turn) act as my *ka*-priest before your other children, and who (the eldest son) shall live on the usufruct (*wnm n sbnn=f*),[77] without letting him divide it (the principal) among his children, according to this instruction (*md.t*) which I have given you.

As I have maintained elsewhere, the *wḏ.t-mdw* document was used for the establishment of endowments either to provide usufruct for heirs or to provide invocation offerings for the mortuary service of the deceased and which cannot be alienated.[78] The *ḫtm.t* contracts were part of the mortuary endowment established by the *wḏ.t-mdw* document. As Spalinger recognized (without referring to the legalities of the *wḏt-mdw* document), "the estates given to the *ka*-priest are not to be divided up; rather, they are to be passed down his lineage from father to son."

The Contracts

Each of the contracts has a similar format: Djefai-Hapi states he has made a contract with a temple worker, then it is stated what they give to him (in the infinite form), followed by what Djefai-Hapi gave in return (as a relative form), ending with a statement that both parties are satisfied with the agreement. We will only look at the first contract.

Contract No. 1

273 Contract (*ḫtm.t*) which the Nomarch and Overseer of priests Djefai-Hapi, true of voice, made with (*ḥnʿ*) the Hour-priests of Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut who gives to him (Djefai-Hapi) white bread (literally in giving to him) by each *wab*-priest to his statue which is in the Temple of Anubis

274 Lord of Rekreret on the first intercalary day That which he (Djefai-Hapi) gave to them (the hour-priests) in return was his share of the bull offered to Wepwawet . . .

275 . . . as his meat-offering which is issued up (*prrt*) to a Mayor. Then he spoke to them saying, Behold, I have given to you this meat-Offering which is issued up to me to me in the temple in order to well establish (*mnḫ,* i.e., "to endow") this white bread

276 which you will give to me. Then they gave to him a leg (*iwʿ*) of the bull for his statue which is under the charge of his *ka*-priest out of the meat offering that he had given to them. Then they were satisfied with it.[79]

References to Contracts

1. See Tomb Inscription under *ḫtm,t*-Contracts, above, at note 48.

2. Yotefnen ()[80] (Sixth Dynasty; false door; Goedicke 1970, pl. XVIIb)

[77] Literally "eat without destroying." Here and in P. Berlin 9010, this term refers to living off the interest and not diminishing the principal. See also Reisner 1918, p. 83, n. 1.

[78] Logan, in press. For usufruct see Wepemnofret, Goedicke 1970, pl. IV; Nikaankh, *Urk.* I, 162. I restore the space ending with a book-role determinative in Nykaura (*Urk.* I, 16, 15) as *wḏt-mdw*. For the establishment of a mortuary endowment, see Nikaankh's later tomb (*Urk.* I, 24ff.); Akhethotep/Nebkauhor (Goedicke 1970 pl. IX); and possibly Kaiemnofret (Strudwick 2005, no. 106). Similarly Moret 1907, p. 94; Harari 1957, p. 320; Lippert 2008, pp. 26–27. The transliteration of *wḏ.t-mdw* is confirmed from the writing in the Wepemnofret Inscription where is clear.

[79] "It" is the feminine and refers back to *ḫtm.t*.

[80] Goedicke reads the name as *Tf-ḥ3j*, which is followed by David 2010, p. 234, n. 852; I follow Strudwick 2005, p. 203, no. 117 in reading the first element as Yot. The false door is now Cairo JE 56994. See Bakir 1952, pl. I.

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This inscription is placed on the exterior of a False Door as a public reminder of the contract.

> I made this (false door) in accordance with my state of honor (*makhu*) from my lord.
> I caused the workmen to thank the god of the necropolis over it,
> Being the fair value (*ỉsw*) (I gave), the Inspector . . . Yotefnen.
> The compensated-ones (*ỉsww*)[81] of my estate,
> I paid them fair compensation
> (read *ỉn=(ỉ) sn r ỉsw*)
> <in> a contract, sealed with a wooden seal ()
> in order that they invoke offerings for me in the Necropolis,
> *n mrw.t pr.sn n(=ỉ) ḫrw m ỉmnt*
> (being) my male and female *ka*-priests.

3. Stela of Rehuwy[82] (Eleventh Dynasty; Qurna; *TPPI*, No. 7; *MHT*, pp. 29–30)

1. A Royal Offering which Anubis gives:
 Invocation offerings to the True Friend, Mayor, and priest [Re]hu[wy] ////
 Who says
 "[I am] (2) one whom the people love . . .
3 I acquired[83] 20 men.
 (*ỉw ỉn.n=(ỉ) tp 20 ḫtm.<n=ỉ>*[84] *ꜣḥ.wt ꜥꜣ.t*
 I sealed (in the sense of acquire title to)[85] a great field
 Added to *wp-r* the assets (*psš*) of my father. . ..
 I made a loan (of grain) to the House of Amon in the miserable years of famine.[86]

4. Qedes[87] (First Intermediate Period; Gebelein; Fischer 1961b"[88])

1 "A Royal boon which Anubis . . . gives:
 Invocation offerings for the *ỉmakhu* Qedes
2 who says: 'I am an excellent commoner Al-Jallad
 I acquired (*ỉrỉ*) oxen and goats
 I acquired granaries of Upper Egyptian wheat
 ỉw ḫtm.n=(ỉ) [*ꜣ*]*ḥ.t ꜥꜣ.t*
 I sealed (= acquired title to, or lease?) a great field . . .'"

This text is closely paralleled by (5).

5. Cairo Cat. 20805. First Intermediate Period, Dendereh (Fischer 1961, p. 49)

ỉw ỉgrt ḫtm.n=(ỉ) ꜣḥt

"I sealed a field of 23 arouras

[81] For Bakir 1952: *ỉsww* means "slaves." I follow Strudwick who translates the term as "paid ones" (2005, p. 207, n. 27, for I see the essence of the term as "compensated fairly."

[82] Clere (*TPPI*, p. 5, no. 7) reads the name as Réḥouy(?). Schenkel (1965, p. 24) suggests .

[83] I presume the meaning of *ỉnỉ* as "to buy" or "acquire" comes from *ỉnỉ r ỉsw*.

[84] For the emendation, see Fisher 1962, p. 334.

[85] For this meaning see Fisher 1961, p. 49.

[86] Fisher 1968, pp. 208–09.

[87] On the name see Fisher's comments (1962, p. 333).

[88] See Fisher 1961, fig 1.

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6. Stela of Merer (Cracow)[89]

I do not think this is the legal meaning of *ḫtm*, but "to seal off."

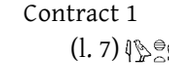
7) I acquired (8) cattle, people, land and copper,
iw in.n=(i) iḥ.w in.n=(i) rmṯ in.n=(i) ꜣḥ.wt in.n=(i) ḥm.t
I fed my brothers and sisters,
9) I buried the dead, I fed the living, wherever l alighted (*ḫnỉ.t*)
in this time of famine (*ṯz*) that occurred.
10) I sealed off their fields and mounds in town and in the country side. I did not allow
iw ḫtm.n=(.i) ꜣḥ.wt=sn iꜣw.t=sn nb.t m niw.t m sḫ.t
11) their water to overflow another's (land).

7. Contracts of Antef, son of *My.t*[90] (Late Eleventh Dynasty; BM 1164; *TPPI*, No. 33)

This text is from Dra Abu Nagga and the owner is Intef born to *My.t*.

The Prince, Mayor, Royal Treasurer . . . , Antef born to *My.t*
Who says: I am one firm of foot with determination, who is wise, ...
A boon which the King and Osiris. . . give. . .. to the Imakhu Intef born to *My.t*, the
excellent, the "true of voice" says

Contract 1

(l. 7)  . . .
iw ḫtm.n=(i) ḥm-kꜣ Nḫtyw sꜣ irmḥ sꜣ Nḫtyw stỉ mw ḫnp qbḥw[91]
I contracted the *ka*-priest Nakhtiu son of Irmeh, son of Nakhtiu
to pour water and pour libations, *stỉ mw ḫnp qbḥw*
while the butcher (*mḥwnw*) outstretches his arm (*ḥr ꜣwỉt n=f ʿ=f*)
. . . for my statue in the course of every day.

Contract 2

i w igrt ḫtm.n=(i) ḫry-ḥb.t PN *r irỉ.t iry.t m wʿb.t*
Moreover I have contracted the lector-priest PN to perform the duty[92]
in the embalming hall and to read the liturgy
That my memory may exist. . ..
Payment
12) Moreover, I have given 20 cubits? of *mn*-cloth to this *ka*-priest.
I have given 10 cubits? of *mn*-cloth to this lector-priest, a male servant (*bꜣk*)
13) a female servant to each one, there being given to him a portion (*šʿ*)

As Seidl[93] already pointed out, this text refers to contracts but is not a contract itself because it has no date, is not sealed, and does not include witnesses. It is not an abbreviated contract.[94] These are references to actual contracts but not said documents.

[89] Černý 1961, pp. 5–9, pl. I. See also Lichtheim 1975, pp. 87–88; Schenkel 1965, pp. 62–64; Jansen-Winkeln 1988, pp. 204–07.

[90] Text, *TPPI,* no. 33; translation, Clère 1966, pp. 39–42; Schenkel 1965, pp. 234–25. For study of the contracts, see Russo 2007, pp. 196ff. with fig. 1. For complete bibliography, see ibid., p. 197.

[91] Here we have the transitive form of *ḫtm*.

[92] Russo 2007, p. 199, n. f.

[93] Seidel 1957, p. 25.

[94] As Lippert "in verkürzter Form" (2008, p. 40).

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ḫtm ḏbꜣw

1. Hor son of Senet[95] (Time of Sesostris I; Sethe 1924, p. 96, no. 31)

 Stela from Abydos now in the Louvre (Louvre C34) depicts Hor facing left and Hor facing right holding an offering.

 Top row

 A Royal boon which Osiris/Anubis give. . .that invocation offerings may be made to . . .Hor, born to Senet.

 Inner Vertical column on left:

 ḥmw nṯr nb ḫryw-ḥb.t nb ḫtmw nb ḏdt n=(i) ḫꜣ m //// n imꜣḫw Ḥr ms n Snt
 Every priest, every lector priest, every one whom is contracted who says to me "a thousand ///'
 to the *imakhu* Hor born to Senet

 Horizontal row on bottom:

 di.n=i ḫtm ḏbꜣw () *n ḥm.w nṯr n wʿb.w ʿꜣ imy ḥw.t tn nt wsir ḫnty imn.tyw*
 I have contracted compensation to the priests of the great Wab which is in this Temple of Osiris, Lord of the Westerners,
 in order that my name exists in the Thinite nome, Abydos
 n-mrwt wnn rn.i m tꜣ-wr ꜣbḏw . . .

2. Sehetepibra Stela (Amenemhat III; Abydos; Sethe 1924, p. 68, no. 13)

 The Prince, Mayor, Seal Bearer . . . Sehetepibra true of voice, says
 "I acquired this tomb it being beautiful (*sꜣḫ.ti*), and its place endowed.
 rdi.n=i ḫtm.wt ḏbꜣw n ḥm.w-nṯr nyw ꜣbḏw
 I gave contracted payments to the priests of Abydos."

3. Stela of Nefer[96] (Early Eighteenth Dynasty; Deir el Bahri; Edwards 1965, p. 25)

 (x+5) I sail in my boat and moor at my plot of land
 I ploughed with my oxen, I tread in? (*pꜣs* for *pis*) on my donkeys
 My beautiful plot of land in the country which I cultivate (make grow)[97]
 Šdw=i nfr (x+6) *m šꜣ sḫpr=i*
 I contracted with payments because of the strength of my two arms.
 ḫtm n=i m ḏbꜣw n qnn ʿwy=i

[95] Simpson 1972, pl. 43.

[96] Edwards 1965, p. 25 with pl. XI, 2.

[97] For "cultivate," see Edwards 1965, p. 26, n. l.

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As can be seen, this type of document does the following things:

In the Old Kingdom	Acquire house (tomb?)	Nos. 2, 3, and 1[?]
	Hire funerary priests	Nos. 5, 1[?]
First Intermediate Period to Dynasty 11	Hire priests	No. 10
	Acquire (lease) land	Nos. 6, 7, 8, and 9
Middle Kingdom	Hire funerary priests	No. 4
And *ḫtm ḏbꜣw* is used similarly		
Middle Kingdom	Hire priests	Nos. 11 and 12
	Acquire land	No. 13

In summary, this document is used to acquire houses, property and hire priests. That this type of document is associated with land records is seen in the Duties of the Vizier:

> It is he (the Vizier) who sends the group of scribes of the mat[98] to conduct the business of the King.
> The records of (each) Nome will be in his office, ...
> It is he who makes the boundary of every nome, every field and every /// and every seal.
> . . .
> It is he who hears every Decree, x. . .
> It is he who levies every tax. . .
> //// in Thebes and the Palace.
> *ntf ḫtm st ḥr ḫtm=f*
> It is he who seals it with his seal. (P. Brooklyn 35.1446, verso, Text B; *Urk.* IV, 1113, 14–1114, 11)[99]

Conclusion

From the legal documents cited above, we also know that kings and officials consulted archives. For instance, from the old Kingdom *wḏ-nswt* documents discussed above can be seen:

1 Horus Netjerykhau (Pepi II), year after the count 11, 2nd month of *šmw* . . .
2 The king commands . . .
4 My majesty does not permit that they (priests and temple workers of Min) be placed in the royal corvée . . .
6 for the whole of eternity.
They are protected for Coptos (7) anew this day by decree . . .
32 The King of upper and lower Egypt Neferkare, may he live forever, has decreed
33 that the document (ꜥ) be displayed (*sḫ*[*pt*]) as this decree placed on a public stela (*wḏ*)
Of hard stone at the gateway of Min . . .
37 As for that which was said to his majesty, that
decrees of the kings were sealed for the south . . .

[98] For *tmꜣ* or *ṯmꜣ* "mat" as a legal term, see *ḏꜣḏꜣt nt ṯmꜣ* "the council of the mat"; and Baer 1995, p. 44.

[99] Hayes 1955, pp. 114ff. with pl. XIV. Hayes interpreted this text as a new type of legal document, a "deed of gift (*ꜣwt*)." He correctly points out that its function is to transfer property, like an *ỉmy.t-pr* does. He also pointed out that in his emendation in line 1, the restored word is feminine, but in line 29 *ꜣwt* is clearly masculine. Therefore his emendation of *ꜣwt* is probably wrong. Sandra Lippert (2008, p. 43) has come to a similar conclusion and suggests that the document was a *ḫtm.t* document. *ỉmy.t-pr* is also feminine.

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41 Moreover, My Majesty causes the exemption decrees of previous kings (*tp-ʿwy*)[100]
be acted on for the benefit of Min of Coptos. (Coptos B, Goedicke 1967, fig. 8; *Urk* I, 280ff.; the numbers in the text are from the stela)[101]

Coptos G (Sixth Dynasty; *Urk*. I, 293ff.; Goedicke 1967, fig. 10)

6 "If he is ignorant of his document that the residence has *sỉp* (read *smḫ ʿ=f sỉp=f ḫnw*)
It will be renewed (*smỉwy*) through the judgment (*wpt*) of the officials who will come.

Coptos I

X+3 "in the time of (my) predecessors (*hỉww*)[102] who caused ///////

Decree Pepi II from Dakhla Oasis

The Horus Netjerykhau. The king decrees (the addressees)
My majesty has decreed [the building] of a soul-chapel for you in the oasis and levying (*irỉ.t ṯst*)[103] *ka*-priests for you who will live on the usufruct of (your) *ỉmỉḫw*[104]
As was done previously for your father the Ruler of the Oasis . . .

Second Intermediate Period

It was found that a copy (*snn*) was brought from the Office of the Reporter of the Northern Administrative District (*wʿr.t*) being the office of the Vizier (Stèle Juridique; *Urk*. IV, 67, line 15)

Middle Kingdom

"Copy of the leather roll which was brought from the Bureau of the [Viz]ier" (Papyrus Berlin 10470)[105]
(In red) "Copy of a document which was brought to him (in black ink) as brought from the fort[ress] of Elephantine (*mỉty n snn*) (P. BM 10752 = Semna Dispatches).[106]

Admonitions of Ipuwer (Gardiner, *Admonitions* 6, 9–10)

"Lo, the laws of the council chamber are thrown out; indeed, men walk on them in the streets, Beggars tear them up in the alleys." (Lichtheim 1975, p. 155)

Stèle Juridique

In the Stèle Juridique an *ỉmy.t-pr* is completed and filed in the office of the Reporter (*wḥmw*). These actions:

were done for him according to the law after he dies:
ỉr.n.tw n=f mỉ nt.t r ḥp m-ḫt sḏỉ=f
It is commanded to be renewed each year according to the law.
ỉw rdỉ n=f m ḥr m smỉwy.s ṯnw pỉ rnp.t mỉ ḥp

[100] Goedicke 1967, p. 108, n. 62, says that there is uncertainty of the reading of *tp* but see the similar phrase in Coptos C (*Urk.* I, 287, 4).

[101] This decree is very similar to Coptos C; see Goedicke 1967, fig. 9; *Urk.* I, 284ff.

[102] See *Urk*. I, 85, 6; 107, 11; and *Wb*. II, p. 478. Also note Stèle Juridique l. 20 ". . . the office was made for him by his father the Vizier Ay by means of an *ỉmyt-pr*. Year 1, the time of Merhetep-Ra, true of voice" (*hỉw Mr-ḫtp-Rʿ mỉʿ ḫrw*).

[103] For a parallel use of *ṯzỉ*, see Coptos K (Goedicke 1967, p. 7, fig. 27).

[104] *M wnm tp-rỉ ỉmỉḫw*. One would expect "priests who will recite utterances for your *ỉmỉḫw*," but *wnm* seems clear.

[105] Porten 2011, p. 38.

[106] Smither 1945, pp. 3–10; Wente 1990, nos. 79–83.

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All of this shows that records were kept and suggests that there were something like legal case books or form books early on.[107] Form books are compilations of "boilerplate" legal forms that lawyers may use as a guide to writing an unfamiliar legal document. These forms will provide the correct language and necessary requirements to make sure the document is legal. Today's U.S. form book covers both transactional and process law. The former covers "examples of contracts, wills, leases, deeds, mortgages, and other substantive matters."[108] According to A. David quoting D. Biber, "Biber . . . remarked that 'Some registers (e.g. legal documents) have well defined norms so that there is relatively little variation among the texts within the register', and this assertion has been verified in our corpus."[109] As S. Lippert has said, "It is likely that written records of laws were kept at the bureau of the Vizier(s), to be consulted when local courts sent in their cases."[110]

We have direct evidence for this from the Demotic Period with the Legal Code of Hermopolis:[111]

> Annuity law: The contracts for an annuity which will be made, their form:
> [Such and such a year, such and such a month, so-and-so son] of so-and-so has [said] to so-and-so son of so-and-so, "You have given me [X money for an annuity] for the woman so-and-so daughter of so-and-so, whose mother is so-and-so, to give you X money [for her subsistence annually at the] house which you desire. You are the one who is entrusted [by me with the arrears] of her subsistence. Everything which is mine and that which I will acquire is the security [for her subsistence. If an oath is required] of you to do it for me, it is in the place in which [the judges are] that you will take it."

This is perhaps from the legal reforms, including compilations from the reigns of Bocchoris, Amasis, and Darius.[112] Janet Johnson has stated her belief that Darius did compile Egyptian laws,[113] and the above is an example of a collection of "case law."[114] For J. Manning, it "would appear that this "code" is in fact a kind of handbook used by the priest-judges."[115] While B. Menusaw saw it as "customary law,'" S. Lippert interprets it as a codification: "If regarded objectively, the Darian law collection fulfills all the necessary criteria for a codification."[116]

In fact, Diodorus tells us that during an Egyptian trial "the entire body of laws was written down in eight volumes which lay before the judges."[117] According to P. Bibl.nat.215 vso col. C6–16, Darius ordered in his Year 3 that "the earlier laws of Egypt up to Year 44 of Amasis be collected."[118] As Botta points out, a similar statement is found in the tomb of the Vizier Rekhmira, "where forty leather parchments are shown in front of the Vizier"[119] (though see R. Jasnow "scholars now generally understand them (the 40 items) rather to be batons, emblems of the office, or the like").[120] Manning also states that "there is good evidence to suggest that written laws were cited in trials."[121] And there is a consistent legal formulary to the proceedings with four witnesses signing the recto of the papyrus being the norm for the early Demotic Period, but sixteen witnesses signing the verso of a contract in later Demotic times.[122]

The preciseness of the legal formulary of these later documents, as well as the *wḏ-nswt*, *jmy.t-pr*, and *ḫtm.t* documents studied above (as well as others), made Lurje conclude that there must have been legal codifications.[123]

For earlier Egypt there are several statements that support this thesis: in the Decree of Horemheb the king says, "I have given to them oral (in their face) instruction and laws in their books,"[124] while the Vizier "will hear each petitioner according to the law which is in his hand" (my emphasis).[125] This sounds like a case

[107] Lurje (1971, pp. 126–29) also came to the conclusion that the precise nature of the legal documents indicates that a systemized written legal system, perhaps even a codification, existed. Lorton (1977, p. 5) came to a similar conclusion.

[108] "Legal Form Books," Wikipedia.

[109] David 2010, p. 263; Biber 1994, p. 31.

[110] Lippert 2012, p. 3.

[111] Hughes 1975, pp. 27–32, 92–103, 39–42, 115–23.

[112] Manning 2003, p. 821 with n. 11; see also Botta 2009, pp. 72–73. For a summary of this see Lippert 2012, pp. 2ff.

[113] Johnson 1994, p. 157.

[114] Johnson 1996, p. 177.

[115] Manning 2003, p. 821

[116] Lippert 2012, p. 5.

[117] Hayes 2009, pp. 72–73.

[118] Lippert 2012, p. 3

[119] Botta 2009, p. 73.

[120] Jasnow 2003c, pp. 289–90.

[121] Manning 2003, p. 821, n. 13.

[122] Ibid., p. 824.

[123] Lurie 1971, pp. 128–29.

[124] Krucheten 1981, p. 154.

[125] Van den Boorn 1988, p. 161.

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book. Papyrus Bulaq 10 cites the "law of pharaoh" (this includes the famous statement: "Let the possessions be given to the one who buries,' says the law of Pharaoh").[126]

The sum of the evidence seems to indicate that the Egyptians followed standard practices, which suggests they had a clear understanding of legal practices throughout Egypt and over several time periods and that they seemed to adhere to a concept of law even though they may not have written it down in a format that we normally associate with codified law. As J. Mélèze-Modrzejewski has said, "the Case Book seems to be the end-product of a long series of partial collections drawn up the Egyptian priests and preserved in the archives of their temples"[127] or by scribes and kept in the palace.

[126] Johnson 1996, p. 177.

[127] Mélèze-Modrzejewski 1995, p. 6.

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Abbreviations

CG	*Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*
LD	*Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Volumes 1–2. Richard Lepsius. Berlin: Nikolai, 1849.
MHT	*Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben. Die epigraphischen Zeugnisse der 7.–11. Dynastie Ägyptens*. Wolfgang Schenkel. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 12. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1965.
TPPI	*Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XIème dynastie*. Jacques J. Clère and Jacques Vandier. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 10. Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
Urk. I	*Urkunden des alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterums I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs,1933.
Urk. IV	*Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Kurt Sethe. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906–1909.
Wb. I–V	*Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 vols. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982.

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8

State Making, Military Power, and Bureaucracy: Some Thoughts on New Directions in the Study of the History of Bureaucracy in Egypt

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I am very honored to offer here a small token of my gratitude and respect for Jan, who was instrumental in my development as a scholar from the first day of my graduate work and has been unfailing in her support ever since.

> The evil consequences, which would in any case have resulted from a defective fiscal system, were enhanced by the character of the agents through whose instrumentality the taxes were collected. It can be no matter of surprise that they were corrupt and oppressive; and scarcely, indeed, a matter for just blame; for the treatment, which they received at the hands of the Government whom they served, was such as to be almost prohibitive of integrity in the performance of official duties.
>
> The Earl of Cromer[1]

One of the most persistent historical features of government in Egypt is bureaucracy. From the Giza Pyramids of the Old Kingdom to the modern Mugamma Building facing Tahrir Square, these architectural icons from two very different periods are equally suggestive of strongly centralized, "universal" bureaucratic power in Egypt. In the last couple of years, the political "revolution" in Egypt has been front-page news. Political activities have generated both a good deal of debate and violence as Egyptians seek to steer a course between past historical experience and, perhaps, a new future. The debates turn on how the roles of Islam, the military, and a new constitution that became official on December 26, 2012,[2] and was approved by the people in January 2014, will shape Egypt's course.[3] Whether it moves away from authoritarian governance toward something else is yet to be determined. Whichever direction Egypt heads, however, it is clear that both the military and the civil service will play important roles.

As the current political climate reminds us, the balance among religious (or ideological in Mann's terms[4]), military, and political powers is a delicate one in modern Egypt.[5] And these internal sources of power, as well as external forces, have been involved in shaping Egyptian governance for millennia. Establishing a political equilibrium involves a complex set of forces then, although legal centralism, suggesting that political order can be established from above, whether by a law code or by a new constitution, is often used as a sufficient explanation. But in modern Egypt, as Lang[6] reminds us, two previous revolutions and new political equilibria, in 1919 and 1952, did not originate from the top but came, rather, from bottom-up political movements.[7] Pre-modern

* I thank Mick Hunter (Yale) for his critical feedback.

[1] Cromer 1908, p. 30.

[2] Lang 2013.

[3] http://www.sis.gov.eg/newvr/theconistitution.pdf (accessed October 18, 2017).

[4] Mann 1986.

[5] An important critique of Mann's sociology may be found in Hall and Schroeder (2006). Therein I particularly recommend the essay by Jack Goldstone.

[6] Lang 2013.

[7] On these revolutions, see Vatikiotis 1991, pp. 249–72, 375–463.

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Egypt (and other places as well) also has its traditions of lawgivers, but even there political order was hardly established by a great lawgiver sitting atop society. Rather, state formation, just as in the modern cases discussed by Lang, was a "contentious political process in which competing agents and institutions" sought "to promote their own interests."[8] An important part of establishing a political order in all phases of Egypt's history was the creation of an administrative hierarchy of state officials that linked villages and towns to regional centers and ultimately to the capital.

In a modern context, bureaucracies are often seen as a brake to development and growth and in need, therefore, of constant reform. One report from 2010 on the modern Egyptian civil service begins this way:

> The Egyptian economy suffers from the crushing weight of a leviathan bureaucracy that negatively impacts its investment and economic growth.[9]

Modern bureaucracy is corrupt, slow, self-serving, and costly, and it must have a democratically constituted state as a counterweight. This modern view, emphasizing economic growth, efficiency, and democracy, is frequently imposed on the understanding of ancient bureaucratic systems as well. Ancient bureaucracy, too, is viewed as corrupt, slow, abusive, and purely rent seeking, embedded in patrimonial structures of society, rarely loyal to the state, and further isolated from society by despotic kings who tolerated a bureaucratic elite but cared little for the rest of society.[10] This is essentially Tarn and Griffith's view in their influential treatment of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy.[11] What started out in the third century BC as an efficient system "administered by men superior to the common failings of humanity" devolved "under the weaker kings of the second century"[12] to utter administrative chaos. To be sure, there were many problems in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, probably from the very beginning, although this is not as well documented as the problems of the second century BC. But these problems are one side of a more involved story.[13]

Max Weber, who believed that bureaucracy was the key for modernization, provided an important early analysis of the bureaucratic form of legitimate domination, the "purest form in which legal domination can be administered."[14] His famous outline of the bureaucratic form of domination appears in chapter 3 part 1 and chapter 11 part 2 of *Economy and Society*.[15] In Weber's analysis, "modern" (specifically in Weber's time the Prussian and Austrian bureaucracies were meant) bureaucracy has the following characteristic features: it is a form of domination through knowledge, characterized by a fixed area of activity, governed by rules, organized in a hierarchy. Bureaucratic "action" was undertaken on the basis of written documents, expert training was required, officials were devoted full time to the activity, there was a sense of duty and paid salaries, and it was durable. In other words, once established it is difficult to destroy.

Bureaucratic and military power has a deep history in Egypt, and the role of Egyptian elite in state service was an important aspect of "state reproduction."[16] The famous wisdom literature composed during the Middle Kingdom, for example, is one reflection of the power of the literate managerial class to reintegrate the Egyptian state ca. 2000 BC.[17] To be sure, the Egyptian bureaucracy never controlled the entire society, nor

[8] Lang 2013, p. 347; On the lawgivers of ancient times, see Diodorus I.94–95.

[9] "Tackling the Leviathan: Reforming Egyptian Bureaucracy for Improved Economic Growth." Washington, DC: Center for International Private Enterprise, 2010. http://www.cipe.org/publications/detail/tackling-leviathan-reforming-egyptian-bureaucracy-improved-economic-growth (accessed October 18, 2017).

[10] On the basic problem of rent seeking in a modern context, see Olson 1984.

[11] Tarn and Griffith 1952, pp. 177–209.

[12] Ibid., p. 204.

[13] One recent study focused on the function of the royal scribe and emphasizes, perhaps overemphasizes, the effectiveness of the Ptolemaic administration. See Armoni 2012.

[14] Swedberg 1998, p. 62; My starting point for Weber's historical analysis of bureaucracy is the very useful volume by Swedberg (2005). See also Bendix 1968; Beetham 1985; and Mommsen 1989.

[15] Weber 1978, pp. 216–26, 956–1005; Swedberg 1998, pp. 62–64.

[16] Goldstone and Haldon 2009, p. 8.

[17] Bellah 2011, p. 238. Important studies of Egyptian bureaucracy at various points in Egyptian history are Strudwick 1985; Quirke 1990; Grajetzki 2000; Gundlach and Klug 2006; and Kemp 2006, pp. 163–92. A good starting point for the structure of the New Kingdom bureaucracy is the "Schematic Outline of the Developed Structure of Government in the New Kingdom" devised by O'Connor (1983, p. 208). Finer (1997, pp. 132–69, 179–209) provides a useful if somewhat problematic sketch of Egyptian administration down to the end of the New Kingdom. To my mind Finer overestimates the "despotic" power of monarchy and the "command" nature of the pharaonic economy. His study provides no treatment of developments of the first millennium BC beyond a single sentence (p. 209), and nothing at all on the Ptolemaic bureaucracy.

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was it a changeless monolith over the course of Egypt's long history. Nevertheless, the bureaucratic development and change over its long history make Egypt an important case study in the history of bureaucracy.

And yet despite the relatively good documentation of its bureaucratic structure, Egypt has often been ignored in larger historical arguments about the global history of state development. One recent example is Francis Fukuyama's book *The Origins of Political Order* published in 2011. In my review of this important study, I concluded the following about the absence of Egypt in the author's historical argument:

> The premodern Middle East, including Egypt is also entirely absent in the volume although for these states not even a cursory reason is proffered. At the risk of sounding particularist, to dismiss without comment a civilization like Egypt whose language was written and spoken for two-thirds of recorded human history and one that cast a large shadow over subsequent eastern Mediterranean history is a serious intellectual flaw. F. is not the first to leave out the ancient Near East and Egypt in macro-historical studies of state development [despite the fact that Max Weber included them in some of his work. Egypt is either wholly absent, or misunderstood, in much 19th (and 20th) century scholarship in part because] Egyptian civilization itself was not directly accessible before Champollion's initial decipherment in 1822 and the later confirmation of his basic system by way of other texts and systematic philological study later in the 19th century.] We really only have a century of scholarship on Egypt, and for some topics such as the economy, work has just begun. [. . .]

Egypt and the Near East, despite all of this work, can still be excluded in large part, I think, on the basis of their later history in which they were

> absorbed into the Islamic world, and thereafter followed a different historical trajectory. States such as the Egyptian New Kingdom or the Persian empire were seen as developmental dead ends, governing large and stable territory for long periods, but subject to cyclical expansion and contraction, and not leading directly into later political and economic developments, and certainly not into "today." [. . .]
>
> F. insists, for example, that China was the first to "develop state institutions" (p. 19), and the only great world civilization that did not have, by his definition, the "rule of law." This, simply put, gets history wrong.

Egypt certainly is another important historic case of early development of state institutions. On rule of law, the definition of Fukuyama given on p. 246, to wit, "The rule of law can be said to exist only where the preexisting body of law is sovereign over legislation" raises serious doubt if Fukuyama's definition would actually fit historical development of the law:

> The key concept in Egyptian civilization, which was established at the dawn of the Egyptian state (ca. 3000 B.C.E.), was *Ma'at*, "moral rightness, cosmic order, correctness, balance," a concept that connected all of society from the gods to the king and to all people in Egypt. [. . . The concept governed] what "good" kings could and could not do, just as it governed private behavior that led up to the last judgment of the dead. [Of course,] it did not always solve the "bad emperor problem" that F. discusses for China, but it is an important concept in the history of law and the history of states that should have been addressed [by him]. Another example of why Egypt mattered historically comes in the one-sided analysis of the rise of Han China.
>
> The Early Han dynasty was established in 221 B.C.E. [. . . That same year was,] as François Chamoux once put it, a turning point in Mediterranean history, [the beginning of the end of the Hellenistic kingdoms and the rise of Rome.] Between 223 and 221 B.C.E new kings ascended the throne in all three of the major Hellenistic kingdoms (Philip V in Macedonia, Ptolemy IV in Ptolemaic Egypt and Antiochus III in the Seleukid kingdom).

Fukuyama spends a considerable amount of space summarizing the main political developments of the Han dynasty, and it makes excellent reading. But

> if we are to follow Weber in what counts as "modern," surely these Hellenistic states—and the cities they built and supplied (Alexandria for one), and the armies they mobilized—that emerged at the end of the fourth century in the eastern Mediterranean basin equally count as "modern." In both Han China and the Hellenistic states (and we cannot exclude the rise of Rome in this Hellenistic context), intensive war fueled the bureaucratization process that disembedded, to varying degrees, ancient patrimonial patterns. We would have, then, at least two, not one, inflection point in world history beginning in the late fourth century BC—the rise of the Chinese state culminating in the Han Dynasty, and the post-Alexander eastern Mediterranean. They were not mutually isolated processes.
>
> The Ptolemaic state, for example, created by Ptolemy I beginning in the 320's B.C.E., compares very well to the Han state in terms of structure. There are many differences of course. It was external warfare in the Mediterranean that was crucial to the bureaucratization process [rather than the internal warfare in China.] Another difference may have been the much vaunted recruitment and examination system in China that did not seem to have emerged in Egypt. [. . .] But there were [other] methods of instilling loyalty in the bureaucracy and there are instruction texts that describe how good behavior in one office would lead to promotion higher up the bureaucratic chain.

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> In both cases, neither China nor Egypt completely solved the problem of the historic weight of the patrimonial power of local families.[18]

Egypt has not always been absent from macro-historical studies. Max Weber, for one, thought that the bureaucracy of New Kingdom Egypt, even though it was "irrational" and still a "patrimonial bureaucracy," was "the historical model of all later bureaucracies."[19]

Whatever the connection between the New Kingdom bureaucracy and later historical development elsewhere, one case where the New Kingdom bureaucracy surely served as a model was in the Ptolemaic system that appeared one millennium later in Egypt. In both historical cases, Egypt formed the core of an empire, warfare was endemic, and civil and military bureaucracies reached their greatest extent. The traditional patrimonial structure of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy certainly remained, as Johnson stressed,[20] but the Ptolemies did make some effort to (re-)establish strong ties between the state and its regional and local officials.[21] And there were significant changes in state power dynamics, driven both by internal institutional change — for example, the use of the Greek language and the new "fiscal sociology" of the royal economy — and by external threats — for example, the Syrian Wars — as well as internal threats such as the Theban revolt.[22] The latter serves as a backdrop to what is perhaps the most famous text of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, *UPZ* I 14.[23]

In the autumn of 158 BC, a man sat down, probably with the help of a close friend, to write a petition to King Ptolemy requesting that his brother be enrolled in the army. These were desperate times, their father had been killed a few years before in the Theban revolt, and the small wage of the army provided the only possible means of surviving. The petition, which we now refer to as *UPZ* I 14, generated at least thirty-two subsequent documents as it wound its way through the civil and military bureaucracies. The process took about five months and has given many scholars reason enough to form the strong impression of a large, cumbersome bureaucracy more self-serving than effective and so highly centralized that even simple decisions could not be reached.

But we do well to remember that real power and authority were never completely centralized in ancient times despite hierarchical power structures. Traditional authority was often vested in local families and in local institutions. That remains true today. In dispute resolution, for example, "reconciliation councils" (*majlis al-sulh*) in modern Egyptian towns such as Edfu (Idfu) in Upper Egypt play a crucial role by recording their decisions in the form of "notes of what is fundamentally an oral practice."[24] Legal norms, sanctioned by the state, and sanctified in written form by local notables, coexist with formal state law just as they did in earlier periods.

Such was surely the case in the late fourth century BC, when Ptolemy began to form a new state centered on a new ruling family, although the processes involved in coalition formation are largely lost to us. What emerged, by the mid-third century BC, was a bureaucratic state system run in two languages, Greek and Demotic, and a new political equilibrium among the ruling power based in the new political centers at Alexandria and Ptolemais, the military power of the Ptolemaic army, and an ancient social system centered on the priesthood, scribes, and temples throughout Egypt.[25]

In a seminal article published in 1987, Jan Johnson discussed the Ptolemaic bureaucracy. Therein the Egyptian aspects of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy were emphasized. The main source for the study derived from the famous mid-second century archive known as the *Family Archive of Siut*,[26] also known as the *Archive of Tefhape*.[27]

[18] Manning 2011.

[19] Weber 1978, p. 964. Cf. Swedberg 1998, p. 63.

[20] Johnson 1987.

[21] My main inspiration here is Johnson 1987, a seminal article on the nature of the Ptolemaic bureaucracy that I read, and re-read, as a graduate student.

[22] The events of the Theban revolt are well summarized by Veïsse (2004). On Fiscal Sociology, see Swedberg 2003, pp. 173–82. The term refers to the study of the effect of taxation on "political authorities . . . the economy, and the rest of society" (p. 174).

[23] Partial translation in *Sel. Pap*. II 272; Bagnall and Derow 2004, text 172. D. Thompson 2012, pp. 207–08; Manning 2010, pp. 147–51. http://papyri.info/ddbdp/upz;1;14?rows=3&start=16&fl=id%2Ctitle&fq=series_led_path%3AUPZ%3B1%3B*%3B*&sort=series+asc%2Cvolume+asc%2Citem+asc&p=17&t=154 (accessed October 18, 2017).

[24] Korsholm Nielsen 1998.

[25] On the Ptolemaic army, see Fischer-Bovet 2014.

[26] Thompson 1934.

[27] www.trismegistos.org (accessed October 18, 2017). On administrative aspects of the main text of the archive, P. Brit. Mus. 10591 recto, the record of a trial, see also Manning (forthcoming).

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The most striking feature of the archive is the documentation of the interaction between the traditional legal authority of the priests attached to the local temple and the Ptolemaic officials in Ptolemais, the southern capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom. We know that after the dispute was resolved by the local priests, whose judgment was recorded in an elaborate record of the history of the dispute, the losing party appeared before a tribunal in Ptolemais headed by a Greek official. And it was not just any official who presided, along with Egyptian priests from the temple of Anhour, who must have served as advisors on Egyptian law, but a man named Noumenios, the *stratêgos* of the Thebaid, and one of the most powerful men in the kingdom.[28] That might be remarkable enough, but when one remembers that this minor dispute and its aftermath took place just a few years after the major revolt in the Thebaid, and at the time of the invasions of Antiochus IV, which shook Egypt to the core, it is nothing short of astonishing to see in the local Egyptian record Noumenios presiding over such a seemingly minor case. This shows the Ptolemaic bureaucracy in a different light. At a time of severe crisis for the state, the Egyptian and Greek elements of the state bureaucracy appear to work together well, and high-ranking state officials seem to be concerned with the minutiae of legal procedure.

One case cannot serve as proof that the entire system functioned well, but the political circumstances of the Ptolemaic state do suggest that we look for ways to understand a particular phase of bureaucratic development and thereby get a sense of change over time. Threats to the state, created by external war and internal revolt, should be considered in any historical model of bureaucracy. I would like to end this essay by proposing that an examination of the connection among war, state making, and bureaucratic development should be further explored as a central concern in any future study of the historical development of bureaucracy in Egypt.

The War and Bureaucratization Model

In a recent study of the connection between war and bureaucratic development, Edgar Kiser and Yong Cai examine Qin-period China.[29] Noting special features of early China (its weak aristocratic class, and an unusually long and severe period of warfare that preceded state formation), a partially bureaucratized state emerged as the result of competition generated by warfare. War, in turn, forced the development of a more efficient bureaucracy and improved monitoring of officials. In their study, Egypt is briefly mentioned, but the authors conclude that the data were insufficient to include in any comparative study.[30] But in fact a comparison between the Ptolemaic/Roman bureaucratic structure in Egypt and the Qin/Han bureaucracies in China not only is possible, but it might even pay fascinating dividends for testing the model.

The role of war as a driver of state building and as a model for bureaucratic development is central in both cases. In the Chinese case developed by Kiser and Yong, the origin of the bureaucratic system is explained by the model, whereas in the Ptolemaic case, to an extent not easily measured of course, the Ptolemies built upon an ancient system.[31] These two "classical" bureaucratic states, it is important to observe, were only partially bureaucratized, and patrimonial power remained embedded in local elite family groups. But the two systems produced very different solutions to monitoring, punishing, training, and the creation of incentives for officials to perform.

In his treatise *A Theory of Economic History*, John Hicks called Egypt and China the two "classical" bureaucracies.[32] There is, as I am suggesting here, considerable room for developing the historical analysis of both systems' change over time. But Hicks's basic insight, that early Egypt and China produced comparable systems that were "successful" in that they were fundamental to the creation of a stable political equilibrium, is

[28] = *Pros.Ptol.* 196. Noumenios also appears in the *Archive of Hor*, and in Polybius (30.16) who mentions him as the lead ambassador who went to Rome less than two years later, in the aftermath of the Roman expulsion of Antiochus IV from Egypt. See the comments by Ray (1976, p. 128).

[29] Kiser and Cai 2003.

[30] On the warring states period in China, see Lewis 1999. For a comparison of warring states China and Egypt, see Monson 2015; Kiser and Yong 2003, p. 513, n. 8.

It is also suggested (p. 517, n. 15) that irrigation management contributed to the bureaucratization process. This notion, discussed by Weber and famously developed fully by Wittfogel (1957), is, to put it simply, wrong. There was in fact no direct connection between water control and bureaucratic management. See further Butzer 1976; Manning 2002.

[31] Cf. briefly Monson 2012, pp. 25–27.

[32] Hicks 1969, p. 20.

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profound. The two bureaucratic systems have rarely been compared directly, and I can only hint at a comparison here, but I am certain that such a project would yield results about structural similarities and important differences in bureaucratic development. This is particularly true with a comparison of the contemporary Ptolemaic and early Han dynasties. The rise and development of the Han dynasty show increasing consolidation of political power and expansion of territorial influence.[33]

Both Ptolemaic Egypt and Han China emphasized calendars, and the recording of persons and of land as the basis of rule. Both states, too, required local officials to submit written annual reports of conditions in their assigned territory. And both systems also suffered from patrimonial social structures. The promise of promotion based on good behavior, and the instilling of a moral sense of duty by scribal training, seems to have been the means of promoting bureaucratic loyalty in Egypt.[34] It did not of course always meet with success.[35] In China the development of a competitive state examination system served to create a loyal, professional class of officials. The Chinese state, of course, was much larger than the Egyptian, a factor that may have been decisive in the creation of such an examination system. In both states, warfare was also an important factor in state development.

The basic model, in which war forced a more "efficient" bureaucracy and improved the technology of monitoring (e.g., better roads, a postal system, better record keeping), which was necessary for development of bureaucracy, works well for Egypt.[36] The New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic states, the two extensive phases of empire, can both be understood in this context; both periods of Egyptian history saw increased external war and the development of parallel civil and military bureaucracies. The New Kingdom bureaucracy may have remained "overwhelmingly patrimonial," while the Ptolemaic system was perhaps less constrained by a landed aristocracy and thus able to recruit agents more readily.[37] The Ptolemaic bureaucratic system was unique, combining features of the ancient patrimonial system with new Hellenistic fiscal institutions, and it operated in two languages. The two famous texts that I discussed briefly are suggestive both of the scale of the new system and of the bureaucratization process that resulted, among other things, in the administration of justice that appears to be effective even at a time of severe internal crisis and external threat. The Ptolemaic system, whether it impeded economic growth or not (impossible to measure in any case), and however more effective or efficient it was compared to earlier systems, should also be judged by its ability to maintain the internal equilibrium of society. The historic lessons for modern Egyptian reform should be clear. There is no better case than Egypt for understanding the persistence of bureaucracy. But along with "efficiency" and "economic growth," any reformed civil service system should also consider the civil service's historic role in creating social stability and in instilling a strong sense of justice.

[33] For the early Chinese state system, I rely on Loewe 1999.

[34] Crawford 1978.

[35] Ibid., p. 199, catalogs some of the problems encountered.

[36] I hardly have the space here to treat even cursorily the role of war in state building, which has an enormous and constantly growing literature. For classic treatments, see the literature cited in Kiser and Young 2003 (pp. 513–15) and Tilly 1992. For one recent overview of the issues centered on medieval Japan, see Ferejohn and Rosenbluth 2010. I thank Andrew Monson for the reference. For the Ptolemaic period, see the study of Fischer-Bovet (2014, pp. 49–51). For war and state building from an evolutionary perspective, see Turchin et al. 2013.

[37] Finer 1997, p. 190; Kiser and Yong 2003, p. 515.

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Abbreviation

UPZ	*Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit: Ältere Funde*. 2 vols. Ulrich Wilcken. Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1927–1957.

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9

“Completamente distrutte” Réévaluation archéologique de Philadelphie du Fayoum, Égypte

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Souvent cité comme l’exemple type du phénomène des fondations et refondations engagé dans la *chôra* égyptienne par les premiers souverains lagides, le site de Philadelphie du Fayoum a été étrangement dénigré depuis plus d’un siècle par les missions archéologiques, pourtant nombreuses à l’heure actuelle dans l’oasis. Récemment encore, dans un recensement très étoffé des agglomérations gréco-romaines de cette région, Paola Davoli décrivait ainsi les vestiges: “*le rovine dell’antica città sono ormai completamente distrutte e pochi sono gli elementi encora giacenti in superficie*.” Si l’on considère cependant le site au-delà des limites qui lui étaient connues auparavant et à la lumière des nouvelles images satellites, ce constat ne semble pas correspondre totalement à la réalité des faits.

En effet, l’histoire et l’évolution de cette agglomération semblent avoir été essentiellement recomposées sur la base de la documentation grecque ou démotique qui en provient, l’ensemble du site étant parfois occulté par l’histoire personnelle et l’abondante correspondance de plusieurs de ses illustres résidents, tels Zénon ou Flavius Abinnaeus aux deux extrémités de l’occupation du site. Si l’on tente en revanche de regrouper les données issues du seul terrain archéologique, on constate que la grande majorité des éléments connus proviennent de la mission conduite par le Musée de Berlin durant l’hiver 1908–1909 et que l’unique plan du site repris jusqu’à présent est un relevé schématique très incomplet dressé par L. Borchardt lors d’un court passage en 1924.

Il n’existe donc pas pour cette agglomération un niveau d’observation et d’analyse intermédiaire entre une vision macroscopique et extrêmement fragmentaire — celle du plan de Borchardt — et une vision microscopique et au demeurant souvent anecdotique — celle de la documentation papyrologique. Si de multiples aspects économiques, administratifs ou démographiques de Philadelphie sont bien connus et ont été étudiés avec soin, il apparaît néanmoins que les hommes et leurs institutions auxquels on fait si souvent référence évoluent aujourd’hui encore dans un cadre urbain qui demeure totalement méconnu.

Après un rapide rappel historique de la fondation du site et du déroulement des fouilles anciennes, nous tenterons de rassembler ici de multiples éléments nouveaux rapportés par les images anciennes et récentes du site ou collectés en surface lors d’une visite extensive du site conduite à l’automne 2006; autant d’éléments qui nous permettront de reconsidérer l’extension, l’organisation et même l’évolution urbaine ou la parure monumentale de Philadelphie dont le potentiel archéologique semble loin d’être épuisé.

Une fondation originale

Philadelphie — Φιλαδέλφεια / *P3-ḥ.wy-n-t3-mr.t-sn* — se situe dans la *méris* d’Hérakleidès du nome Arsinoïte, à la bordure nord-est de l’oasis du Fayoum (fig. 9.1). Le village est une création *ex-nihilo* appartenant à la seconde génération des fondations lagides[1] et porte un nom dynastique en hommage à Arsinoé II, sœur-épouse de Ptolémée II Philadelphe, morte en l’an 270 av. J.-C. Également appelé la “*place des sycomores — N3-nh.w*,” le site

[1] Mueller 2006, p. 116.

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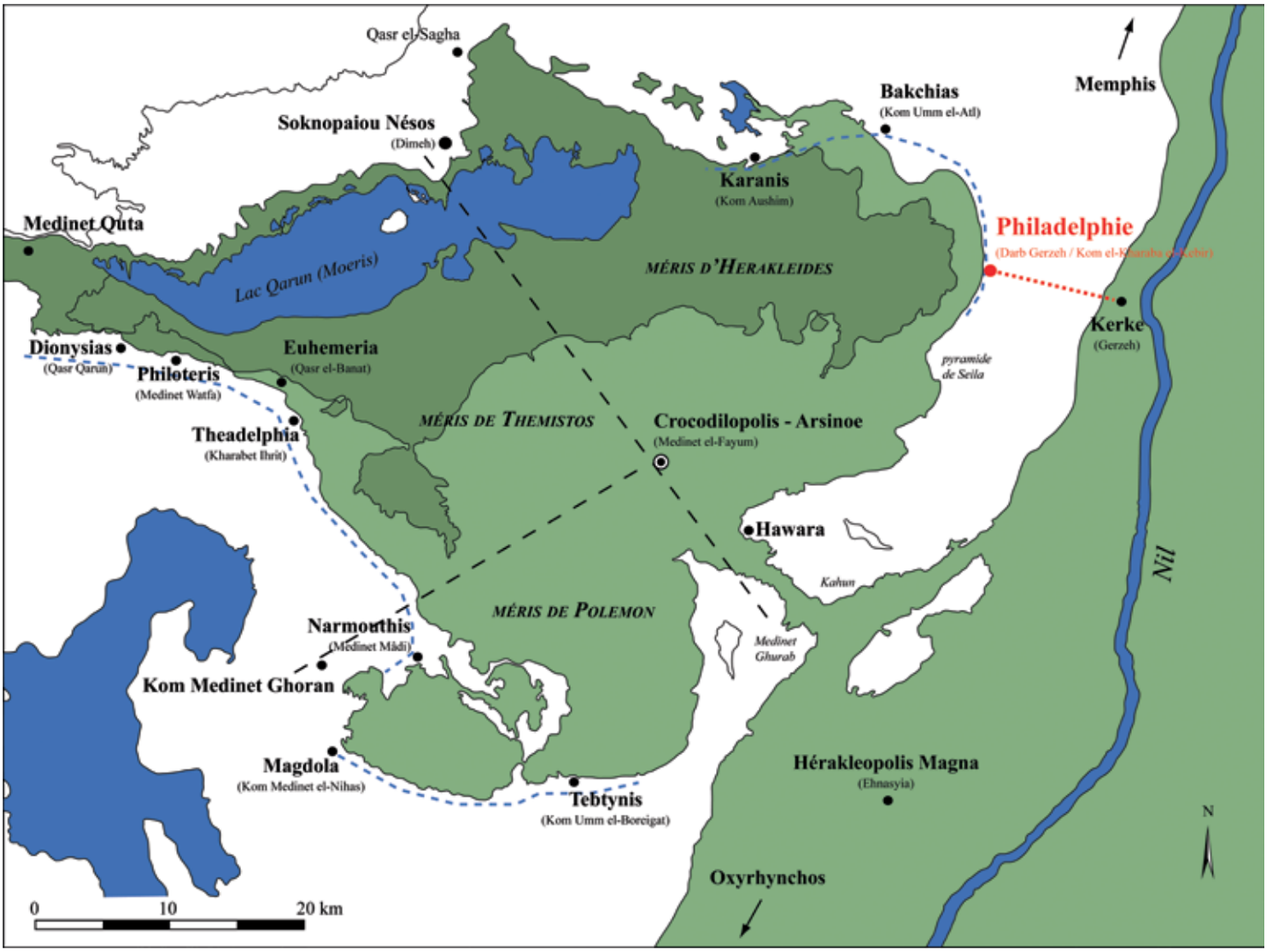


Figure 9.1. Carte de l'oasis du Fayoum à l'époque hellénistique et romaine (plan G. Marouard)

se trouvait hors des zones cultivables, en bordure de la plaine désertique et à l'ouest d'un large canal dont le creusement semble avoir précédé voire même conditionné l'implantation urbaine.[2]

Le choix du site s'est imposé en raison de la situation stratégique des lieux, dans une zone de frontière qui constituait, encore récemment, l'une des principales portes d'entrée et de contrôle de l'oasis. Comme le signale le toponyme actuel de *Darb Gerzeh*, Philadelphie était située sur une piste importante qui reliait, par le chemin le plus court, le Fayoum à la vallée du Nil et au port fluviale de Kerke;[3] le cordon désertique séparant les deux bassins ne dépassant pas dans ce secteur une dizaine de kilomètres.

Les premières constructions ne semblent pas avoir débuté avant 259–257 av. J.-C.,[4] peu de temps après la réception de la *doréa*[5] offerte par Ptolémée II au *diocète* Apollonios. Dès l'origine, la fondation reçut un statut de ville *clérouchique* destinée à fixer les vétérans de l'armée de Ptolémée I^er^ Sôter ayant reçu des terres

[2] Rostovtzeff 1922, p. 11. Le bornage du site pourrait avoir été entrepris lors des travaux d'arpentage accompagnant les grands projets hydrauliques alors en cours dans l'ouest de l'oasis (voir plus bas).

[3] Il s'agirait d'un axe économique ancien entre Kerke et le site pharaonique de Bihamu (Yoyotte 1962, pp. 79–89). Sur les relations entre Philadelphie et la Vallée, voir Clarysse 1980, pp. 95, 101.

[4] Parmi les plus anciens documents connus: P. Col. Zen 62 (259–257 av. J.-C.), P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59168 (256 av. J.-C.).

[5] Un vaste domaine agricole de 10000 aroures (2750 ha) situé à l'ouest de la nouvelle agglomération, dont le plan est illustré sur le papyrus P. Lille 1 (pour une synthèse voir Clarysse et Vandorpe 1995, pp. 41–47).

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dans le Fayoum. Selon M. Rostovtzeff, Philadelphie était également le chef-lieu d'une toparchie de la *méris* d'Hérakleidès dès le règne de Ptolémée III Evergète.[6]

Outre l'hellénisation importante de sa population et de certaines de ses institutions, la *komé* se différencie des autres fondations de l'oasis par l'originalité de son plan orthonormé de type hippodamien. En effet, l'agglomération a été planifiée selon une trame de rues de 5 m de large se coupant à angles droits et délimitant des îlots d'habitation de 100 m de côté d'est en ouest sur 50 m du nord au sud.[7] 27 de ces *plintheia* sont signalées sur le plan de Borchardt, un nombre qui peut être très nettement augmenté aujourd'hui comme nous le verrons plus bas. Les rues NS2 (= rue C) et EO3 (= rue 7) qui présentaient une largeur double - de 10 m - constituaient les deux axes majeurs et structurants (figs. 9.2 et 3). Enfin, si le plan urbain s'inscrit indéniablement dans un schéma standardisé d'inspiration grecque, l'habitat, caractérisé par l'usage d'un *typenhaus*, correspondrait techniquement et morphologiquement à la tradition égyptienne de la maison-tour.[8] Cette confrontation des innovations hellénistiques et des solutions traditionnelles souligne bien ici le caractère original et syncrétique propre à Philadelphie, qui fait figure d'épiphénomène parmi les fondations du Fayoum.

Jusqu'à l'époque romaine, Philadelphie demeure une agglomération secondaire et rurale active, vivant de son riche terroir agricole. Le village semble connaître une romanisation rapide, et concentre dès le I^er^ S. apr. J.-C. une forte population de citoyens romains, sans doute l'une des plus importantes du Fayoum.[9] Sur la base des documents fiscaux, R. et R. Alston estiment alors sa population aux alentours de 2500 à 2800 habitants (vers 32–33, 48 et 51 apr. J.-C.).[10] Toutefois, les papyrus démontrent aussi, dès l'époque de Claude ou Néron, les premiers signes de difficultés économiques, voire même, selon les auteurs, un début de déclin accompagné d'une dépopulation rapide.[11] Comme pour ses voisines Karanis ou Bakchias, les difficultés semblent s'accroître durant le II^e^ S. apr. J.-C. pour s'aggraver au III^e^ S. apr. J.-C.[12] Outre la "peste antonine" qui dut affecter significativement la population vers 165–170 apr. J.-C.,[13] il semble que l'abandon progressif des parcelles cultivées, la concentration des terres privées par de grands propriétaires ou l'envasement des canaux et la salinité croissante de l'eau d'irrigation aient pu affecter la vitalité agricole, économique et démographique de Philadelphie. Les tensions entre villages voisins, notamment avec Tanis, s'accentuent autour des problèmes de partage de l'eau comme en témoignent les complaintes des *komarchoi* rapportées dans le P. Wisc. I. 32 (305 apr. J.-C.).[14] Plusieurs institutions importantes comme le *grapheion*, le *pyle* — poste douanier — ou le *thesauros* ne sont plus attestés à partir du début du IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C.[15] et plusieurs requêtes, comme celle consignée dans le BGU 3.909 (359 apr. J.-C.), dévoilent le profond désemparement de la population locale, dont le nombre était sans doute déjà très limitée à cette époque.

La date la plus récente où Philadelphie apparaît avec un statut de *komé* est consignée dans le papyrus P. Gen. 2.69 daté de l'année 386 apr. J.-C. Si rien ne subsiste aujourd'hui des niveaux les plus tardifs et que l'on peut toujours spéculer sur le maintien d'une population éparse, à la fin du IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C., le site n'était plus alors qu'une petite bourgade dont l'abandon n'était vraisemblablement qu'une question de décennies.[16]

[6] Statut rapporté notamment par les papyrus P. Lille I. 3, 73–74 (216–215 av. J.-C.) et P. Sorb. I.56 (215 av. J.-C.). Voir Rostovtzeff 1922, 11; Clarysse et Thompson 2006, p. 121.

[7] Viereck 1928, pp. 8–9; Davoli 1998, p. 140. Le ratio de 1:2 des îlots correspond au rapport idéal d'isonomia des fondations hellénistiques (Mueller 2006, pp. 112–13, 116). Chaque îlot regroupait de 20 ou 26 à 30 maisons disposées en bordure extérieure tandis que le centre était réservé à des annexes et des cours domestiques de service (Marouard 2012, p. 130).

[8] Marouard 2012, p. 130, fig. 6; Marouard 2014a, pp. 116–21.

[9] Hanson 1989, pp. 438–39; Hanson 1992, pp. 133–45; Oates 1966, pp. 451–58. Plusieurs hauts personnages de la famille impériale possédaient apparemment des terres près de Philadelphie.

[10] Alston et Alston 1997, pp. 202–03, table 1; Mueller 2006, p. 94 n. 23. Karanis était à la même période, comme l'indiquent les tax-rolls contemporains, la plus grande komé de la méris d'Hérakleidès sa population dépassant celle de Philadelphie de plus d'un millier d'habitants (Lewis 1983, p. 68).

[11] Hanson 1988, pp. 261–77; Hanson 1989, p. 434 n. 21; Bernand 1975, p. 199.

[12] Rostovtzeff 1922, p. 14.

[13] Épidémie qui affecta des sites voisins tels Karanis ou Soknopaiou Nesos. Sur ses effets contestés, voir Van Minnen 2001, pp. 175–77; Bagnall 2000, pp. 288–92; Bagnall 2002, pp. 114–20; Scheidel 2010, pp. 15–23.

[14] Bagnall 1993, p. 142.

[15] Voir ci-dessous notes 51, 53, 54.

[16] Les papyrus P. Alex. 40 (475–599 apr. J.-C.) ou SB 16.12397 (Ve–VIe S. apr. J.-C.) révèlent encore une activité à Philadelphie. Le site serait mentionné au VIe S. apr. J.-C. — vers 540 apr. J.-C. — par Stéphane de Byzance (Ethnica, 665), qui signale une Philadelphie en Égypte sans que l'on puisse affirmer qu'il s'agisse de celle du Fayoum.

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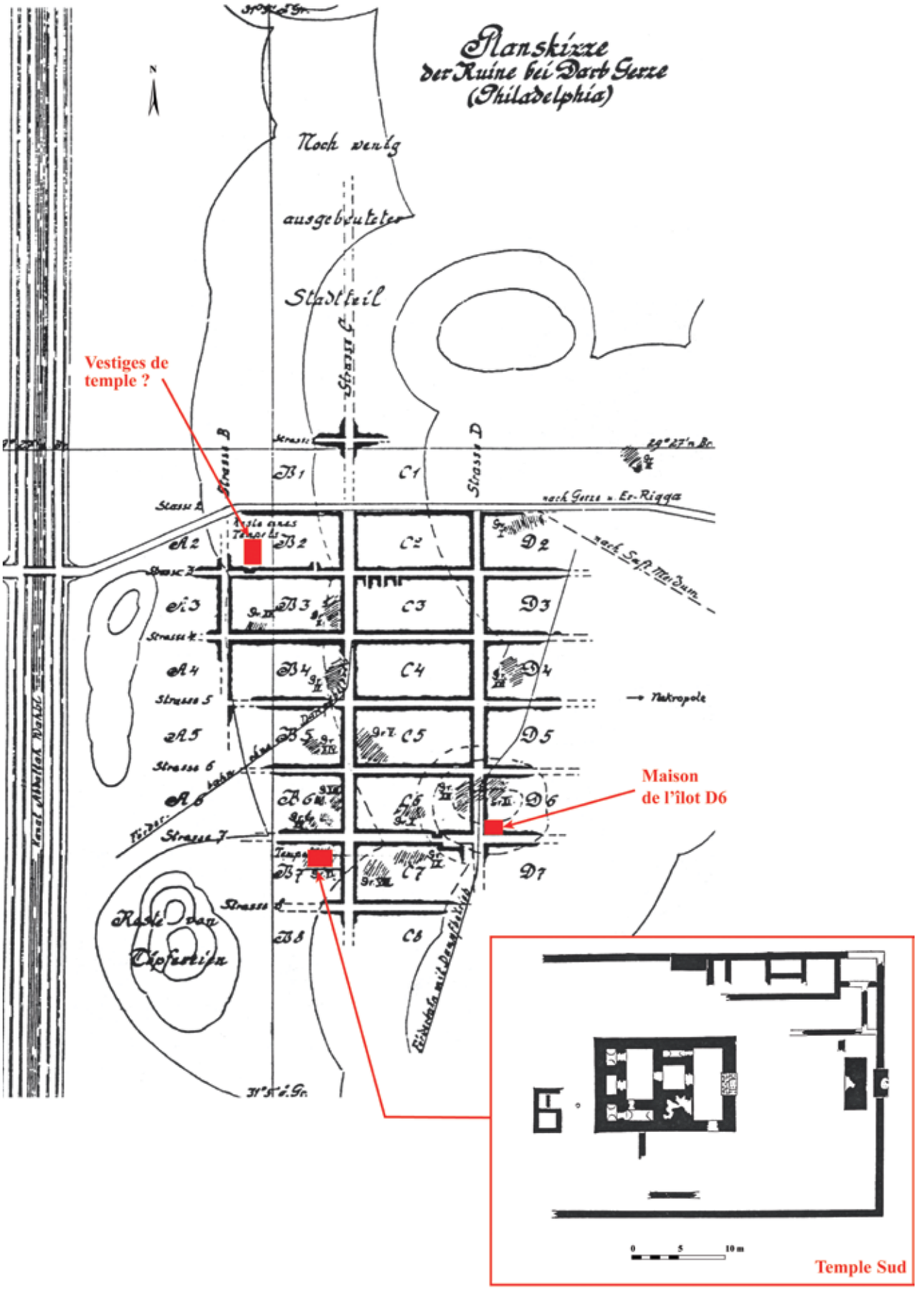


Figure 9.2. Plan schématique de Philadelphie par L. Borchardt (1924) et plan du temple sud de l'îlot B7 (d'après Viereck 1928, fig. 3 et pl. I)

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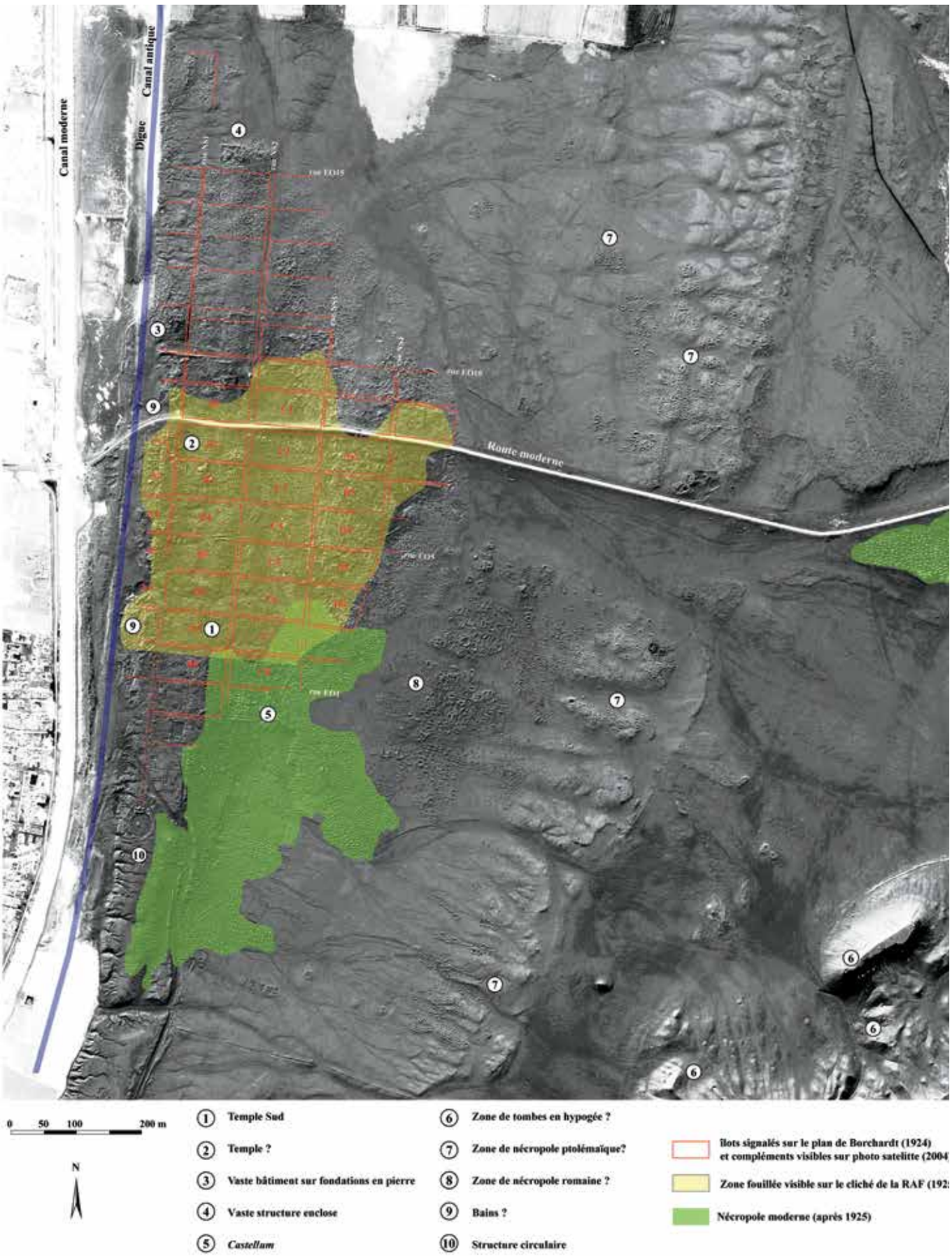


Figure 9.3. Plan général de Philadelphie avec repositionnement du schéma de L. Borchardt (plan G. Marouard, photo satellite retraitée d'après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)

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Historique des fouilles

Un historique a été proposé récemment par P. Davoli,[17] mais il ne paraît pas inutile de présenter à nouveau le déroulement des faits qui ont conduit à la désaffection actuelle de Philadelphie.

Le site archéologique — désigné tantôt par le toponyme *Darb Gerzeh*, tantôt par celui de *Kôm el-Kharaba el-Kebir* — n'apparaît pas sur la carte dressée en 1818 pour la *Description de l'Égypte*. Toutefois, on y constate la présence du village moderne de Rubayât, situé au nord-ouest du site archéologique et implanté en bordure d'un étroit canal périphérique correspondant à l'ancien Bahr el-Wardan d'époque médiéval (milieu du XIII^e^ S.).

Dans le dernier quart du XIX^e^ S., la popularité nouvelle des portraits du Fayoum, notamment ceux de la région de Rubayât, semble avoir sérieusement accentué l'activité des pilleurs d'antiquités. En mars 1887, le collectionneur D. Fouquet passe "*dans le désert proche de Gerzeh*" et signale des catacombes collectives apparemment situées sur une colline. P. Stadler, qui passe sur le site en 1889, rapporte pour sa part l'emplacement d'un cimetière sur une carte schématique du Fayoum. Il extrait quelques portraits de tombes romaines vraisemblablement collectives, qui ne sont pas situées cette fois dans des "*grottes*" mais dans une zone localisée à l'est des vestiges d'une vaste agglomération.[18]

Deux ans plus tard, F. Petrie signale également l'existence d'un vaste site d'époque romaine dans le secteur de Rubayât, qu'il désigne par le nom de *Kom 3* sans pour autant lui attribuer un toponyme moderne.[19] Dans une très succincte description, il signale qu'au-delà de la nécropole, dans la colline proche — "*behind it in the hill*" — ont été découverts des portraits ramenés à Vienne quelques années auparavant. F. Petrie indique à nouveau la présence de tombes collectives creusées dans la colline proche, certaines présentant plusieurs niveaux de *loculi*, un détail complétant la description de D. Fouquet.

Si la nécropole est déjà en cours de dégradation dès la fin des années 1880, le site urbain semble lui aussi en cours de pillage à cette même période, les *sebbakhin* investissant manifestement les niveaux supérieurs et tardifs du site comme en témoignent les achats importants de papyrus par E. Naville. En Janvier 1893, ce dernier regroupe, sans connaître l'origine précise des papyrus, la majeure partie des archives de Flavius Abinnaeus, citoyen romain et préfet de cavalerie de l'*Ala Quinta Praelectorum* de Dionysias, qui se serait installé à Philadelphie à la fin de sa carrière vers 351 apr. J.-C.[20]

L'identification formelle du site n'a été finalement établie qu'en 1900 lors d'une courte campagne entreprise par les papyrologues B. Grenfell et A. Hunt.[21] Manifestement déçus par leur collecte de papyrus, ils abandonnèrent rapidement leurs investigations dans la nécropole déjà largement pillée.

La seule intervention à caractère archéologique a été conduite par P. Viereck et F. Zucker lors d'un court séjour durant l'hiver 1908–1909. Cette mission a été engagée à l'initiative du Musée de Berlin en raison de l'affluence des documents sur le marché et de l'intense activité des *sebbakhin* sur le site urbain. La presque totalité de nos connaissances archéologiques ont été collectées à cette unique occasion et les rares photos prises illustrent une surface déjà sévèrement pillée, même si certaines élévations de murs demeuraient importantes. Compte tenu de la taille, de l'état de dégradation du site et de la durée limitée de leur intervention, il semble que la majorité des structures signalées par les allemands n'ont pas été fouillées par leurs soins mais observées après le passage des pilleurs, leur mission s'apparentant plus à une opération de sauvetage. Les données ne seront d'ailleurs publiées qu'une vingtaine d'années plus tard, en 1926 en introduction du septième volume des BGU,[22] et il faudra encore deux années à P. Viereck pour présenter une description un plus précise des vestiges.[23]

Après le départ de la mission allemande les pillages semblent s'accélérer. En 1913, l'ensemble des inscriptions grecques publiées par E. Bernand arrive au Musée Gréco-romain d'Alexandrie, en provenance sans plus de précisions du *sebbakh* de Philadelphie.[24] Vers 1914–1915 et sans doute dès 1911, les fameux papyrus

[17] Davoli 1998, pp. 139–43. Voir également Rostovtzeff 1922, pp. 8–15; Préaux 1930, pp. 133–38; Bernand 1975, pp. 196–200.

[18] Doxiadis 1995, pp. 129–33. Sur les portraits de Rubayât, voir voir Davoli 1997, pp. 61–70.

[19] Petrie 1891, p. 31, pl. XXX.

[20] Bell 1962, p. 2.

[21] Grenfell, Hunt, et Hogarth 1900, pp. 11, 15–16; Grenfell et Hunt 1901, pp. 6–7.

[22] Viereck et Zucker 1926, pp. 1–13.

[23] Viereck 1928, pp. 7–25.

[24] Bernand 1975, p. 200.

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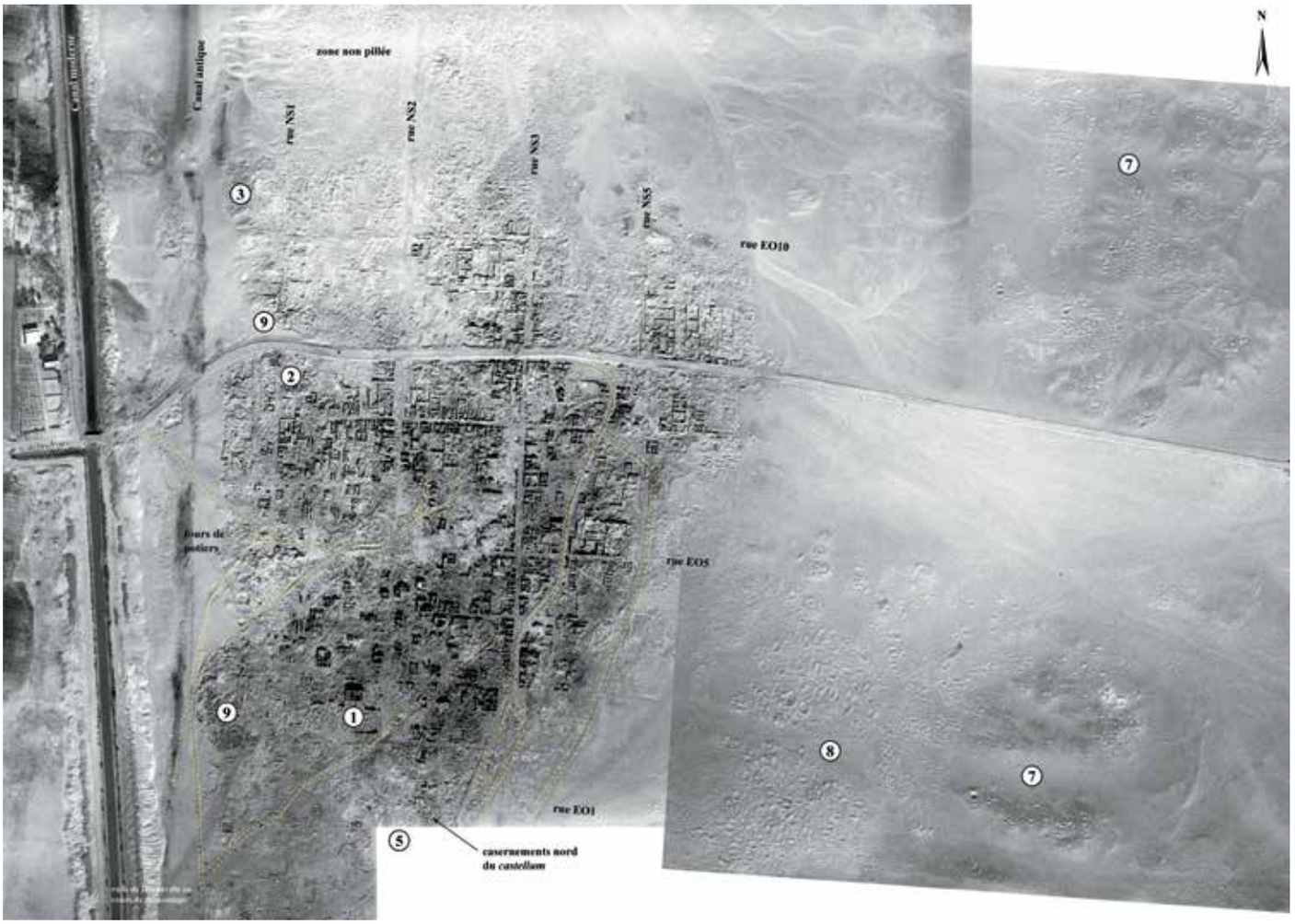


Figure 9.4. Remontage des photos aériennes de la RAF (1925) (4_1994, 4_1995 et 4_1196 des archives du Kelsey Museum, Ann Arbor)

de Zénon apparaissent sur le marché des antiquités. En 1922, M. Rostovtzeff propose une première vue d'ensemble de cette archive mais aussi une première synthèse sur le site qu'il ne visitera toutefois qu'en 1929, constatant alors l'étendue des dégâts et la disparition des vestiges visibles.[25]

La situation semble déjà dramatique en février 1924 lorsque L. Borchardt intervient à la demande de P. Viereck. Une disparition rapide du site est alors à craindre, son aspect ayant radicalement changé en raison d'une exploitation quasi industrielle du *sebbakh* qu'illustre la présence de plusieurs Decauvilles et les norias d'ânes et de chameaux transportant les débris du site vers les champs avoisinants.[26] C'est à l'occasion de ce court passage que l'égyptologue allemand dresse un schéma partiel du site, qui restera jusqu'à très récemment l'unique plan urbain de Philadelphie (fig. 9.2).[27]

Toutefois, l'année suivante, le relevé cartographique de la zone par le Survey of Egypt, appuyé par la RAF, produisit une série de clichés par avion qui constituent un meilleur document (fig. 9.4). Publié en basse résolution par C. Edgar en 1931 et plus récemment par R. Bagnall et D. Rathbone, il existe en totalité quatre clichés sur plaques de verre conservés au Kelsey Museum d'Ann Arbor.[28] Ces documents révèlent en 1925 l'intensité des pillages de la partie centrale et reflètent assez peu l'état du site investi par les archéologues allemands une

[25] Rostovtzeff 1929, p. 437; Bernand 1975, p. 197, n. 8.

[26] Viereck et Zucker 1926, p. 1, n. 1, et pl. I; Viereck 1928, p. 6, pl. I.

[27] Un premier plan alternatif a été proposé par l'auteur dans Marouard 2012, figs. 6 et 7.

[28] Edgar 1931, pl. I; Bagnall et Rathbone 2004, p. 136, fig. 5.2.4. Nous tenons à exprimer ici nos plus sincères remerciements à Michelle Fontenot, Registrar au Kelsey Museum of Archaeology de l'Université du Michigan qui a pu retrouver et nous transmettre ces remarquables documents. Les originaux de ces clichés sont inaccessibles du côté des archives militaires britanniques. Un double est conservé au Caire, au Geological Survey of Egypt, également inaccessible depuis quelques années.

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quinzaine d'années auparavant. Néanmoins leur définition exceptionnelle nous permet de reconstruire certains secteurs disparus et de présenter aujourd'hui un plan du site largement complété et réinterprété (fig. 9.6).

En 1930, S. Yeivin effectue un dernier passage notable.[29] Les arrivages de papyrus sur le marché des antiquités semblent ralentir à la même époque, les derniers achats par le Musée du Caire intervenant vers 1933.[30] Si le flot des documents se tarit, les clichés du satellite Corona de 1969 (fig. 9.5) démontrent toutefois que durant les trente d'années qui suivirent ceux de la RAF, les *sebbakhin* se sont attachés à démanteler systématiquement les derniers vestiges en briques crues mis au jour dans la partie centrale. Durant cette même période, toute la moitié sud-est du site a été investie par un vaste cimetière moderne qui a occulté pour un temps certaines installations importantes qui seront évoquées plus bas.

Cette histoire, commune à tant d'autres sites du Fayoum, conduisit progressivement à penser que la totalité du site était perdue, les archéologues se détournant de Philadelphie à la faveur de *kôms* plus riches comme Tebtynis, Medinet Mâdi ou Soknopaiou Nesos. Depuis le début des années 2000, plusieurs clichés par satellite disponibles en ligne sur Google Earth démontrent un accroissement des zones cultivées, un encerclement et une réduction progressive de la zone archéologique, mais ces images permettent aussi de proposer une réévaluation significative du potentiel exploratoire du site.[31]

Les données à disposition

N'ayant fait l'objet que d'une seule mission, Philadelphie n'est connue sur le plan archéologique que par une très maigre documentation publiée:

- un plan schématique, dressé par L. Borchardt en 1924,[32] qui illustre la trame hippodamienne et note l'emplacement de deux temples sur les îlots B2 et B7;
- une série de photos du survey cartographique du Survey of Egypt et de la RAF de 1925;[33]
- un plan schématique de la zone du temple sud — dont la divinité éponyme demeure inconnue — et un plan plus détaillé du temple (fig. 9.2),[34] sans doute fondé au moment de l'implantation de la ville puis reconstruit. Un schéma du montage du mur du temple en briques crues avec chaînage de bois est également publié;[35]
- un plan et la description d'une maison-type à l'angle nord-ouest de l'îlot D6;[36]
- un plan de cave de maison,[37] non localisée et peut-être d'époque romaine;
- une dizaine de photos du site et moins d'une trentaine de photos d'objets,[38] dont la datation est presque toujours d'époque romaine ou romaine tardive.

Il s'agit donc paradoxalement d'un des sites gréco-romains d'Égypte les plus symboliques et pourtant l'un des moins documentés. Le site est en effet mieux connu par une large collection de portraits d'époque romaine et par les importantes archives de papyrus, dont au moins 3350 documents en grec.

Sur la base de cette abondante documentation A. Calderini put dresser, dès 1935, un premier inventaire toutes périodes confondues[39] et isoler quelques éléments importants du paysage urbain, sans qu'il ne soit

[29] Yeivin 1930, p. 28, pl. I/1.

[30] Pestman 1981, p. 75.

[31] Dans la synthèse archéologique qu'elle accorde au site en 1998, P. Davoli conservait toutefois un espoir pour certains secteurs du site moins densément détruits (Davoli 1998, p. 143).

[32] Viereck et Zucker 1926, pl. I; Viereck 1928, pl. I; Davoli 1998, fig. 60. Ce plan a été repris pendant 80 ans sans faire l'objet d'aucun complément (Mueller 2006, p. 117, fig. 3.1).

[33] Edgar 1931, pl. I; Davoli 1998, fig. 61; Bagnall et Rathbone 2004, fig. 5.2.4.

[34] Viereck et Zucker 1926, pl. II-A; Viereck 1928, fig. 3, pls. IV et V; Davoli 1998, figs. 64 et 65.

[35] Viereck 1928, fig. 1.

[36] Viereck et Zucker 1926, pl. II-B; Viereck 1928, pp. 10–11, fig. 2; Marouard 2012, pp. 130–31, fig. 6.

[37] Davoli 1998, fig. 63.

[38] Viereck 1928, pls. II à X. Des données complémentaires seraient sans doute à rechercher dans les archives photographiques du Musée de Berlin.

[39] *Dizionario* 5, pp. 74–78; voir également les *Dizionario Supplementi* 1 à 5 compilés par S. Daris.

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Figure 9.5. Vues de la région de Philadelphie en 1969 (Corona) et 2010 (Google Earth ©2011 DigitalGlobe)

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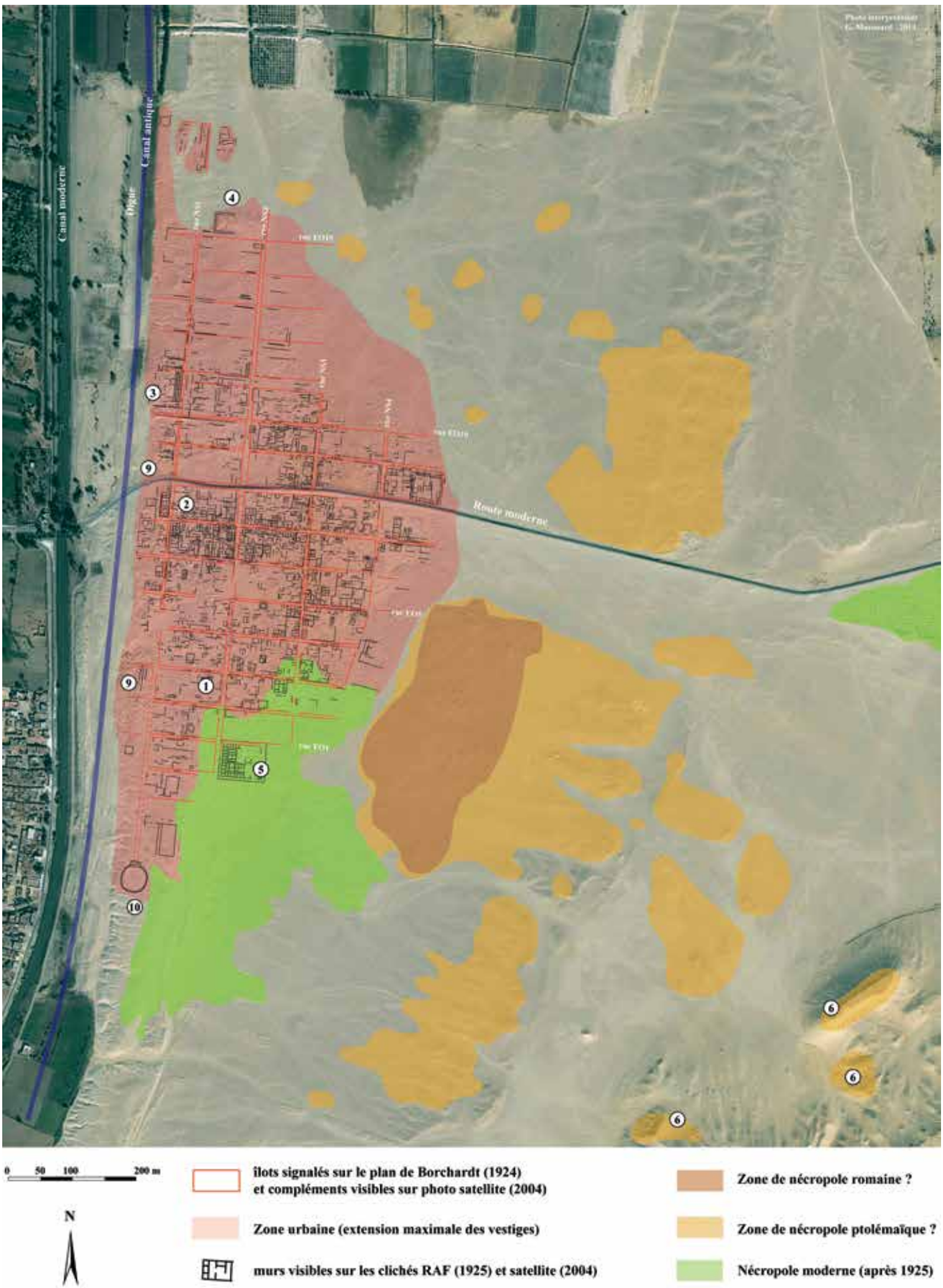


Figure 9.6. Plan interprété de Philadelphie et de sa nécropole
(plan G. Marouard, photo satellite retraitée d'après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)

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possible évidemment de les localiser avec précision. On connaît ainsi à différentes époques plusieurs sanctuaires:[40] un Ammoneion (temple à Ammon), un Arsinoeion (temple dynastique à Arsinoé II), un Démétrion[41] (sanctuaire à Déméter et à Coré), un Néméseion[42] (temple à Némésis, monument rare et souvent proche des contextes militaires), un temple à Sobek/Souchos et à Touéris,[43] un Hermaion[44] (temple à Hermès) ou encore un temple à Poremanres/Amenemhat III.[45]

Les archives de Zénon ont également révélé, dès les phases pionnières d'implantation du site, l'existence d'un Isieion et d'un Sarapieion reliés par une voie processionnelle (*dromos*),[46] ces deux structures aux dieux "*adelphoi*" — dieux-frères — étant sans doute en correspondance avec les mentions régulières d'un temple aux Dioscures.[47] S'agissant ici de temples dynastiques, l'Isieion et l'Arsinoeion ne seraient peut-être qu'une seule et même structure, tout comme le Sarapieion et le "*sanctuaire du roi* [...ἱερὸν] τοῦ βασιλέως."[48] Ces installations étaient localisées à l'ouest du site, en bordure du canal et sans doute organisées selon un axe nord-sud, peut-être sur le même axe que les temples à Hermès et à Amenemhat III dont la localisation est précisément rapportée par un dessin schématique au bas du P. Mich. Zen. 1.84.

Deux documents signalent aussi l'existence au milieu du II^e^ S. apr. J.-C. d'un Kaisareion, qui aurait pu se surimposer à un temple dynastique lagide, éventuellement le Sarapieion des papyrus de Zénon réaffecté *a posteriori* en édifice dédié au culte impérial.[49]

Plusieurs autres édifices publics, administratifs ou culturels sont également rapportés par les textes:

- un *gymnasion*, attesté uniquement à l'époque hellénistique;[50]
- un *grapheion*, attesté seulement entre le début du I^er^ S. apr. J.-C. et le IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C.;[51]
- un *thesauros*, une structure apparemment active dès le III^e^ S. av. J.-C., toutefois quatre des cinq attestations en grec remontent au III^e^ S. apr. J.-C.[52] et pourraient souligner jusqu'au début du IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C.[53] un rôle collecteur encore important du site;
- un *pyle*, destiné au contrôle et à la collecte des taxes pour les marchandises arrivant ou sortant du Fayoum par ce point stratégique sur la route du port de Kerke. Les attestations de ce poste douanier sont nombreuses dès le début du II^e^ S. apr. J.-C. et jusqu'au milieu du III^e^ S. apr. J.-C.[54] Rien ne permet

[40] Plusieurs inventaires existent déjà: Pestman 1981, pp. 511–12; Robert, Skea, et Nock 1936, pp. 69–72; Orrieux 1983, p. 94. Voir également Verreth 2011 et Verreth 2013.

[41] Son existence semble attestée par l'ostracon ptolémaïque BGU 7.1560, 4, par le P. Lond. 7.1974, et par une inscription du Haut Empire (Bernand 1975, n° 101, 206–07).

[42] Reconstruit par un citoyen romain en 59 apr. J.-C. (Bernand 1975, n° 99, 202–04); Levebvre 1914, p. 96.

[43] P. Dem. Zen. 12, 9 et P. Cairo. Zen. 3.59308, 3. Pestman 1981, 512.

[44] P. Mich. Zen. 1.84, 18.

[45] P. Mich. Zen. 1.84, 18–19 et commentaires dans Edgar 1931, p. 163, n. 18.

[46] On sait par les papyrus P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59168 et P. L. Bat. 20.28 = P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59169, que la construction de l'Isieion précède sensiblement celle du Sarapieion (commandée vers 256–255 av. J.-C.) et que ces temples devaient être reliés, suivant le souhait d'Apollonios, par une voie processionnelle longeant le grand canal (Clarysse et Vandorpe 1995, p. 51; Orrieux 1983, p. 93). Leur construction était apparemment achevée en 254 av. J.-C. Un dromos est toujours mentionné au IIe S. apr. J.-C. dans le P. Gen. (2) 1.81 (138–161 apr. J.-C., l. 29 "δρυμοῦ Φιλαδελφείας...").

[47] P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59168, PSI 6.580 = P. Cairo. Zen 4.59569, mais également P. L. Bat. 20.28 = P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59169 (milieu IIIe S. av. J.-C.) et P. L. Bat 20.13 (252 av. J.-C., pour une mention au temple des dieux-frères). Voir également Pestman 1981, p. 474.

[48] P. L. Bat. 20.28 = P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59169, 3–4. Le Sarapieion serait alors également un Ptolémaion.

[49] SB 5.7523Il (153 apr. J.-C.) et BGU 7.1655 (163 apr. J.-C.). Voir également *Dizionario* 5, p. 77; Strassi 2006, pp. 235–36 et 239–40. Le Kaisareion est un type d'édifice particulièrement rare dans le paysage urbain de la chora égyptienne à l'époque romaine. Outre le cas d'Alexandrie, les autres monuments connus sont situés dans des agglomérations au statut de métropole: Antinoopolis, Arsinoé, Héracléopolis, Oxyrhynchos, Eléphantine et Hermopolis (Strassi 2006, pp. 224–25, 227).

[50] BGU 6.1256; *Dizionario* 5, p. 77; Clarysse et Thompson 2006, p. 133, n. 38. Le gymnase pourrait confirmer la présence d'un temple dynastique de type Ptolémaion. À Cyrène, un gymnase du IIe S. av. J.-C. était rattaché à un temple dynastique lagide, qui sera lui même réaffecté au culte de César ou d'Auguste (Kaisareion) dans le courant Ier S. apr. J.-C. Voir aussi Strassi 2006, p. 231.

[51] *Dizionario* 5, p. 77.

[52] BGU 7.1610 (259 apr. J.-C.), BGU 7.1701 (271/288 apr. J.-C.), BGU 7.1704 (291 apr. J.-C.), BGU 7.1698 (IIIe S. apr. J.-C.).

[53] A. Calderini inventorie 15 mentions de sitologues (*Dizionario* 5, p. 77), toutes d'époque romaine, échelonnés entre 101 apr. J.-C. (P. Grenf. II.44) et 304 (P. Mich. 12.646) ou 301–324 apr. J.-C. (SB 5.7621). Voir également la liste liturgique des sitologoi de Philadelphie, entre 310 et 324 apr. J.-C., dans Bagnall et Worp 1984, pp. 58–59.

[54] *Dizionario* 5, p. 77 (voir également *Dizionario Supp.* 2, p. 230; *Dizionario Supp.* 3, p. 159).

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de localiser précisément cette structure, mais on pourrait lui attribuer une position périphérique voire un aspect semblable à celle du poste de police — enclos des *eremophylakes* — du début de l'époque romaine récemment découvert à Tebtynis.[55]

Enfin, parmi les activités à caractère industriel qui auraient pu laisser des traces archéologiques sur le site, notons les activités de meuniers professionnels enregistrés dans le P. Mich 12.627 (298 apr. J.-C.) ou la production des quatre-vingt tisserands mentionnés vers le milieu du II^e^ S. apr. J.-C. dans le BGU 7.1564 (138 apr. J.-C.).[56] Malgré les fortes présomptions d'installations balnéaires publiques à l'époque romaine, dont certains vestiges sont visibles en surface du site, A. Calderini ne mentionne des bains qu'au début de l'époque hellénistique[57] mais une enquête documentaire serait sans doute à poursuivre.

Qu'en est-il aujourd'hui?

L'état du site est sans conteste très mauvais dans plusieurs secteurs, celui de la nécropole orientale et tout particulièrement la zone urbaine centrale dégagée par les *sebbakhin*. Ce secteur recouvre une surface d'environ 500 m de coté soit 25 ha qui ont totalement disparu aujourd'hui.

P. Viereck rapporte que le *kôm* mesurait 500 à 600 m du nord au sud pour 300 à 400 m de large d'est en ouest en 1908–1909, tandis que plus récemment P. Davoli estimait ses dimensions à 1000 m × 500 m.[58] Cette dernière évaluation s'avère très proche de ce que l'on peut reconnaître sur les clichés satellite récent. Si l'on considère en effet l'ensemble des anomalies archéologiques, depuis le canal à l'ouest et en incluant la nécropole à l'est, le site recouvre une surface de 1300 m du nord au sud pour de 1000 m à 1300 m d'est en ouest. Sans la nécropole, la surface urbaine totale couvre une surface de 60 ha.

Le plan de Borchardt de 1924 s'avère donc très incomplet car centré sur la seule partie fouillée, localisée de part et d'autre de la route asphaltée. Les dimensions reportées sur ce relevé schématique ne sont donc pas représentatives de l'ensemble de l'agglomération ni même de son plan d'origine.

La surface actuelle site[59] démontre rapidement que rien ne subsiste des vestiges en élévation sur le cliché de la RAF de 1925. Toutefois dans une large partie au nord de la route asphaltée on observe la présence de vestiges très érodés et des alignements de murs en surface. Si l'on compare les données de 1925 et les clichés récents, on constate que ce secteur n'a jamais fait l'objet de pillages importants, tout au plus des creusements anarchiques, et certains secteurs présentent encore une surface intacte. Si les élévations conservées ici sont probablement bien plus modestes que celles qui caractérisaient la zone centrale, ces secteurs nord demeurent exploitables et précieux pour recomposer plus précisément la trame urbaine de Philadelphie aux premiers temps de l'occupation hellénistique.

L'état de conservation dans la partie nord n'est toutefois pas simple à identifier de prime abord pour les non-initiés. Dans ces secteurs, les constructions semblent avoir été montées à l'aide de matériaux terreux particulier dont l'aspect laisse penser que le substrat géologique est affleurant. On observe un recours massif au *tafl*, une argile du désert lessivée et oxydée de couleur jaunâtre (fig. 9.7), à l'aspect bien éloigné des terres sombres et limoneuses caractéristiques des sites de la vallée ou du centre du Fayoum. Ce matériau a été exploité localement dans les zones désertiques à l'est du site, et il semble caractéristique des phases les plus anciennes de l'agglomération.[60] Utilisable en construction, cette argile reste médiocre et doit

[55] Gallazzi et Hadji-Minaglou 2000, p. 22, fig. 2; Grimal 1994, pp. 409–15, fig. 5.

[56] Lewis 1983, pp. 174–75; Alston 1995, p. 111, n. 33.

[57] *Dizionario* 5, p. 77. Il s'agit d'un bain — βαλανεῖον — cédé en bail par Zénon (P. Col. Zen. 1.57, P. Cairo. Zen. 4.59665 et P. Cairo. Zen. 4.59667). Ces documents attestent de l'introduction de cette tradition hellénique à Philadelphie dès les toutes premières phases d'occupation (vers 250 av. J.-C.). Le P. Cairo. Zen. 4.59665 dévoile aussi une organisation à double tholos, une pour les hommes et une pour les femmes (Vanderborght 1942, p. 120; Boussac, Fournet, et Redon 2009, p. 116; Lewis 1933, pp. 397–99).

[58] Viereck 1928, p. 8; Davoli 1998, p. 139; Mueller 2006, pp. 90, 116–17.

[59] Nous avons pu accéder au site avec une autorisation officielle du CSA durant l'automne 2006 à l'occasion de nos recherches de thèse sur l'habitat d'époque hellénistique et romaine.

[60] Ce constat est également valable pour les sites voisins et périphériques de Karanis ou de Bakchias, et reflète peut-être des restrictions voire des interdits qui pesaient, en particulier à l'époque hellénistique, sur l'emploi de certaines terres riches pour l'architecture (les meilleures terres agricoles sont également les meilleures terres à bâtir). Les terres limoneuses étant

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être enrichie d'un stabilisant pour le façonnage des briques. Outre un abondant dégraissant végétal, on observe ici l'usage d'une forte proportion de petits et moyens galets de silex (fig. 9.7). Les pluies et l'érosion éolienne ont sévèrement affecté les murs construits avec ce matériau mais, si l'argile des briques crues a disparu avec le temps, les galets, plus lourds, sont restés en place sous la forme d'un semis dense conservant la mémoire du tracé des murs et parfois le plan au sol de plusieurs constructions (fig. 9.8). Plus que l'action des *sebbakhin*, il semblerait donc que l'érosion naturelle et une probable récupération des matériaux dès l'Antiquité soient à l'origine de l'arasement important de ce secteur nord.[61] L'aspect de la surface du site ne préjuge donc pas de l'état de conservation ni de l'intérêt des vestiges qu'il recèle.



Figure 9.7. Mur de briques de *tafl* jaune et détail des briques avec inclusions de galets (photo G. Marouard)

Les alignements qui apparaissent dans le secteur nord permettent ainsi d'avancer deux idées importantes: celle d'une occupation qui dépasserait les limites du plan de Borchardt et par conséquent, celle d'une planification urbaine plus large que présupposée. La photo de la RAF et les nouveaux clichés par satellite confirment bien cette réévaluation du plan général et il semble possible d'augmenter le plan de 1924 de plus de six rangées (est–ouest) de trois à quatre îlots, dont cinq rangées au nord et au moins une rangée supplémentaire au sud (figs. 9.3–6). On peut également affirmer l'existence d'au moins quatre îlots supplémentaires à l'est de la zone centrale. En totalité, et en ne considérant que les éléments archéologiques probants, on peut ajouter au moins seize îlots supplémentaires auxquels il faut ajouter, le long du canal, environ neuf demis-îlots d'une cinquantaine de mètres de côté, sept au nord le l'îlot A2 et deux au sud de l'îlot A6.

Rien ne permet d'affirmer que ces surfaces supplémentaires aient été durablement utilisées ou même construites, il ne pourrait s'agit ici que d'un tracé d'urbanisme simplement ébauché et préparatoire. Toutefois plusieurs trous de pillages récents permettent d'observer, en particulier au nord de la route asphaltée, des arases de murs de briques crues conservées sur quelques assises et directement fondées sur des strates de sable géologique gris. Ces mêmes secteurs présentent également des concentrations importantes de fragments de marmites, de cratères et surtout d'amphores ptolémaïques de production égyptienne généralement datées de la fin du III^e^ et du II^e^ S. av. J.-C., mais très peu de conteneurs de ce type appartenant aux époques postérieures.

À ce stade de notre réexamen, l'extension maximale de la trame directrice peut être doublée, le site ayant été planifié dès l'origine sur une surface large et bien supérieure à celle considérée auparavant, une cité à la mesure de la *doréa* d'Apollonios.[62] La présence dans la zone nord d'un mobilier assez précoce et ptolémaïque,

réservées aux cultures — une propriété du roi à l'époque hellénistique — et les terres issues des canaux uniquement exploitées pour l'enrichissement des parcelles ou l'entretien des canaux, la construction — en particulier domestique — n'avait alors comme seule solution qu'un recours aux argiles jaunes d'origine désertique. On peut tout à fait imaginer que la création d'une nouvelle agglomération comme Philadelphie, aurait pu rapidement dépouiller son environnement proche des meilleures terres arables, d'autant que ces terres à l'ouest étaient celles de la dôréa d'Apollonios.

[61] Le tafl du désert n'étant pas une terre fertile, l'emploi extensif de ce matériau a pu contribuer à une meilleure préservation de ces parties du site jugées peu intéressantes par les sekkakhin.

[62] Il n'est pas inconcevable à présent de mettre en miroir le nouveau plan proposé ici avec celui de la dôréa d'Apollonios, dont la subdivision rappelle bien celle du site urbain. Le plan d'irrigation proposer par Stotoëtis (P. Lille 1) montre un découpage en 40 bassins, 4 dans la largeur est-ouest sur 10 du nord au sud.

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Figure 9.8. Tracés des murs et des pièces visibles le long de la rue NS1, secteur nord du site (photo G. Marouard)

d'une construction essentiellement à l'aide de *tafl* jaune et d'un arasement important des bâtiments — alors que les dégradations des *sebbakhin* n'y semblent pas profondes — tendraient à signaler un abandon assez ancien de ce secteur, dès l'Antiquité. Pour des raisons que seule la documentation serait en mesure d'expliquer pour le moment, il semblerait que l'agglomération se soit progressivement rétractée et concentrée dans sa moitié sud, la cité étant un semi-échec et ne retrouvant jamais par la suite ses limites maximales d'époque hellénistique. Liée à une accentuation des problèmes agricoles, hydrographiques, économiques et démographiques (phénomène de dépopulation rapide), cette contraction était sans doute bien marquée dès le courant du I^er^ S. apr. J.-C. et se serait aggravée après le règne d'Hadrien et sous l'effet de divers facteurs comme la peste antonine ou le recul des terres agricoles.

La concentration des occupations successives sur plus de six à sept siècles aurait conduit à une accumulation anthropique très importante dans la partie sud du site qui, plus tardive, et riche en *sebbakh* ou en objets archéologiques, aurait été privilégiée par les *sebbakhin.*[63] À l'inverse, un repli progressif et précoce du site aurait laissé des îlots entiers à l'abandon et exposé à l'érosion. On serait alors en droit d'attendre en surface des secteurs nord, des séquences ptolémaïques voire des niveaux correspondants aux phases primitives de l'agglomération (III^e^ S. av. J.-C.); une hypothèse qui pourrait se vérifier facilement par des prospections pédestres extensives et statistiques et par une prospection géophysique.

[63] À l'exception des papyrus, la totalité du mobilier archéologique rapporté par les clichés de P. Viereck date de l'époque romaine voire romaine tardive (Viereck 1928, pls. II à X).

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Un potentiel exploratoire encore important?

Les zones les plus méconnues sont logiquement situées en dehors du secteur central pillé par les *sebbakhin*, dans le tiers nord et à l'extrémité sud du site. Outre un tracé des rues très sensible, on y observe plusieurs constructions importantes et inédites.

Elément majeur de la structuration du site, le canal n'apparaît pas sur le plan de 1924 mais il est particulièrement visible sur les images anciennes et plus récentes (fig. 9.6). Bien que l'extension des cultures modernes ait occulté son tracé depuis une vingtaine d'années, on peut le suivre aisément sur les clichés Corona de 1969, sur plus de 15 km en direction du nord et du site de Bakchias/Umm el-Atl. Au sud, après 3 km il disparaît sous l'actuel canal 'Abdalla Wahbi (construit entre 1900 et 1907) qui a lui-même repris le tracé du Bahr Wardan d'époque médiéval (milieu du XIII^{e} S.).[64]

Bordant immédiatement le site à l'ouest, son tracé est rectiligne et parallèle aux orientations majeures nord-sud de l'agglomération. La réalisation de cet ouvrage pourrait être attribuée aux ingénieurs Kléon et Théodoros, en charge des importants travaux hydrographiques rapportés dans le P. Petrie 2.IV, 4 et qui pourraient avoir précédé de peu voire même accompagné l'implantation du tracé urbain de Philadelphie.[65]

Le canal est régulièrement signalé dans la documentation papyrologique en grec dès l'origine du site, tels les archives de Zénon P. Cairo. Zen 2.59296 (250 av. J.-C.), P. L. Bat 20.27 (245 av. J.-C.) ou P.Cair.Zen 4.59745, 30 (255–254 av. J.-C.) où il est nommé *mégalê diôryx* "μεγάλη διῶρυξ," le "grand canal."[66] Au II^{e} S. av. J.-C. un *drymos* — une forêt d'arbres rares — se trouve à proximité (P. Tebt. 3.1073 et P. Gen. 81.29), probablement implantée sur la digue même afin de la consolider.[67]

Le tracé du canal est bien perceptible aussi sur le terrain, caractérisé par une zone très humide et à forte végétation. On observe à l'ouest de ce dernier un large talus constitué par des déblais de creusement.[68]

Ces derniers formaient ici une imposante digue à la surface manifestement aplanie (fig. 9.9), d'une largeur assez constante comprise entre 18 et 22 m (35 à 40 coudées) et peut-être aménagée pour la circulation. La largeur du canal demeure difficile à évaluer, elle aurait pu atteindre une dizaine voire une quinzaine de mètres si l'on considère les sections visibles. Toutefois, les creusements et curages successifs ont pu conduire à un élargissement progressif du lit. Faisant encore l'objet de travaux d'entretien au II^{e} S. apr. J.-C. (P. Lond. 2.166b, 186 apr. J.-C.) et de corvées régulières jusqu'au III^{e} S. apr. J.-C., son ensablement était avancé dès le IV^{e} S. apr. J.-C.[69] et sans doute définitif dans le courant des V^{e} S. ou VI^{e} S. apr. J.-C.

Cet axe est donc dès l'origine un élément structurant du paysage urbain et il semble que la zone du village située immédiatement en bordure du canal ait été une situation importante et recherchée en raison de la fraicheur, de la proximité de l'eau et de son rôle probable d'axe de communication. On sait ainsi, par un tracé schématique au bas du P. Mich. Zen. 1.84 (milieu III^{e} S. av. J.-C.), que la maison d'Artémidoros — le médecin personnel du *diocète* Apollonios — était localisée en bordure du canal. Ce même document illustre, plus au sud et toujours en bordure du canal, la présence de deux monuments religieux: le temple de Hermès et le temple à Poremanres/Amenemhat III.[70]

Comme mentionné plus haut, deux documents signalent la présence le long du canal de deux autres temples majeurs, implantés dès la fondation du site, l'Iseion/Arsinoeion et le Sarapeion.[71] Outre un *dromos* entre ces deux temples, qui pourrait simplement correspondre à l'axe de rue NS1 (figs. 9.3 et 6), on apprend également l'existence d'un "bois sacré — ἄ[λσος," [72] assez inhabituel mais que la proximité du canal rendait

[64] Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth 1900, pp. 15–16. Voir la synthèse récente dans Kraemer 2010, pp. 365–76.

[65] Rostovtzeff 1922, p. 11.

[66] Bonneau 1993, pp. 13–18.

[67] Bonneau 1993, pp. 35 et 123–35 (pour l'entretien des digues).

[68] Ces déblais sont caractérisés par une matrice de sable gris d'origine lacustre ou marine qui caractérise l'ensemble du sous-sol du site dans ce secteur du site.

[69] Conséquences de l'absence d'entretien des canaux, les problèmes s'accentuent autour du partage de l'eau comme en témoigne le P. Wisc. 1.32 (305 apr. J.-C.). Voir Bagnall 1993, p. 142.

[70] Le document concerne la mise en place d'un enclos pour les cochons situés entre les deux temples et en bordure du canal. Voir les commentaires du P. Mich. Zen 1.84 dans Edgar 1931, p. 162; Robert, Skea, et Nock 1936, pp. 69–70; Mueller 2006, pp. 128–29.

[71] Voir notes 46 à 48 supra.

[72] P. L. Bat. 20–28, 5 et commentaires dans Pestman 1981, p. 127. Pourrait-il s'agir ici du drymos rapporté par les papyrus P. Tebt. 3.1073 et P. Gen. 81.29?

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Figure 9.9. Axe du canal (zone humide avec végétation) et de la digue, secteur nord du site (photo G. Marouard)

sans doute possible. Enfin, le P. Cairo. Zen 4.59745 signale l'existence d'un conduit souterrain (*hyponomos*) alimentant le temple d'Arsinoé (Arsinoeion), un autre élément qui confirmerait la position de ce sanctuaire en bordure du canal.

À ce jour, les deux temples reconnus sur le site demeurent anonymes, mal datés, et sont localisés dans les îlots B2 et B7 du plan de Borchardt[73] (fig. 9.2). Leur situation n'est donc pas à proprement parler en bordure du canal et il semble peu probable de reconnaître ici les deux structures rapportées par le P. Mich. Zen. I.84.

C'est sans doute dans la série hors-normes des demi-îlots A, qu'il faudrait rechercher certains des bâtiments cultuels ou administratifs signalés dans les papyrus. Ainsi, au nord l'îlot A1 (fig. 9.3), on remarque une construction importante qui semble occuper la totalité d'un îlot non signalé par Borchardt, soit une cinquantaine de mètres de côté. Les fondations de cette construction sont exclusivement composées de blocs de calcaire, comme en témoignent plusieurs assises encore en place (fig. 9.14). Il semble que les niveaux supérieurs de l'élévation — probablement en briques crues — aient disparu, toutefois la comparaison des clichés anciens et récents démontre que les *sebbakhin* n'ont que très peu investi cette zone avant 1925. Rien ne permet d'affirmer ici une destination cultuelle ni même une fonction spécifique, toutefois ce bâtiment confirme bien le statut particulier de ce secteur en bordure du canal. Dans sa partie orientale située le long de la rue 1, le seul trait remarquable de ce bâtiment est le plan "en damier" de ses fondations, les espaces internes étant apparemment subdivisés en plusieurs dizaines d'espaces carrés de petite taille (fig. 9.13). Cette organisation pourrait rappeler

[73] Viereck 1928, pp. 12–14, fig. III; Davoli 1998, p. 141, figs. 64–65.

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le plan caractéristique des *thesauroi* découverts à Karanis,[74] ou plus récemment à Tebtynis[75] ou Medinet Watfa.[76] Toutefois, les dimensions surpassent largement les exemples connus. Cette construction, toujours exploitable sur un plan archéologique, se démarque donc nettement; il s'agit d'un des plus grands bâtiments reconnus à Philadelphie et des investigations complémentaires seraient nécessaires pour mieux définir sa fonction.[77]

Les installations balnéaires représentent une autre catégorie de structure à rechercher dans la zone en bordure du canal. Seul le bain à double tholos de la demeure de Diotimos semble rapporté par les papyrus.[78] Toutefois, la surface du site conserve en plusieurs endroits la trace d'installations hydrauliques, notamment dans la série des demi-îlots A. Ainsi dans le secteur visité par S. Yeivin au nord de la route asphaltée, l'îlot A1, ce dernier signalait l'existence d'une canalisation souterraine en briques cuites, creusée dans le substrat naturel, et d'une sorte de citerne en pierre qu'il a interprété comme un système collectif d'alimentation en eau.[79] Bien qu'aujourd'hui très dégradé, on peut observer dans ce secteur plusieurs murs en brique cuite recouverts de chaux, les vestiges d'une baignoire et d'une grande colonne, ainsi que de fortes concentrations de vitrifications qui signalent l'existence d'un ensemble thermal dont la datation demeure incertaine (mais de préférence romaine).

Environ 300 m au sud, à l'est des îlots B6 et B7, la surface actuelle présente une concentration extrêmement importante et très stratifiée de cendres et de fragments de briques vitrifiées. Considéré comme un lieu d'activité de potiers par Borchardt,[80] un constat que la proximité du canal rend tout à fait pertinente, c'est toutefois plus au nord que des arases de fours apparaissent.[81] Les concentrations de cendres et de briques surpassent celles d'un atelier de potier et ne présentent apparemment pas de ratés de production. Ces dernières affectent l'aspect de niveaux successifs de dépotoir et de curage issus du nettoyage des systèmes de chauffage des bains, plus particulièrement ceux d'époque romaine. On note aussi dans ce secteur de nombreux vestiges de murs de brique cuite et une large structure circulaire très dégradée dont l'intérieur est enduit de chaux; autant d'éléments qui confirmeraient la présence ici d'un autre ensemble balnéaire. Si ce secteur est aujourd'hui sérieusement perturbé, la photo RAF révèle d'importants alignements de murs, continus sur une longueur de plus de 20 à 35 m, qui occupaient un îlot non signalé par L. Borchardt, délimitée au nord par la rue EO7 (fig. 9.3-n° 9 et 4).

Deux vastes constructions aux marges nord et sud du site?

On observe à l'extrémité nord du site (fig. 9.3-n° 4), une très vaste construction dont l'emprise est inférieure à celle d'un îlot. Elle est délimité au sud par la rue EO15 et prend place à l'extrémité nord des rues NS1, à l'ouest, et NS2, à l'est. Les images par satellite démontrent qu'elle est isolée de toute construction adjacente à l'est, au nord et, dans une moindre mesure, à l'ouest (fig. 9.10). On perçoit également sur le terrain une forte élévation de ce secteur par rapport aux vestiges environnants (fig. 9.11). Cet ensemble se démarque surtout par son plan rectangulaire et ses dimensions importantes, d'une largeur de 35 m pour une longueur de 40 à 50 m, qui pourrait atteindre 86 m si l'on prolongeait ce secteur jusqu'à la rue NS2. Dans toute la moitié ouest, les limites visibles semblent correspondre à un large mur périphérique, peut-être un *temenos*, sans ouverture et qui délimitait un espace orienté d'est en ouest ouvert à l'est sur la rue NS2. Il demeure difficile d'être plus précis sans l'appui de travaux de terrain, mais ces données signaleraient ici une possible installation cultuelle, importante tant par sa taille que par sa position symbolique à l'extrémité de l'axe majeur du site. Son éloignement du

[74] Husselman 1952, pp. 56–73; Husselman 1979, plans 18 à 22 (C123 et C65).

[75] Grimal 1999, fig. 5.

[76] Herbich 2011, p. 237, fig. 7.

[77] Sur le (les) thesauros de Philadelphie, voir notes 52 et 53 supra. L'aile orientale qui se détache sur le cliché par satellite mesure 50 m de long, environ 12 m de large et compte une quinzaine d'espaces subdivisés en 3 sous espaces carrés, d'environ 3 m de côté. En correspondance, le plan complet du temple reconnu au sud de la ville (îlot B7) mesurait 16 m par 11 m et l'ensemble supposé de l'espace sacré occupait le quart d'un îlot (50 m × 25 m).

[78] Voir note 57 supra, et Vanderborght 1942, pp. 119–20. Si l'on considère que la maison de Diotimos était bien localisée sur le site de Philadelphie même, on pourrait également la localiser dans le secteur de la ville situé en bordure du canal, tout comme la maison d'Artémidoros (P. Mich. Zen. 1.84).

[79] Yeivin 1930, p. 28.

[80] Viereck et Zucker 1926, p. 2, pl. I; Viereck 1928, pl. I.

[81] À l'est des îlots A4 et A5, dans une zone peu perturbée dans la pente en direction du canal.

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Figure 9.10. Vue satellite de la structure enclose (voir localisation N°4 sur la fig. 9.3) au nord de la rue NS2 (plan G. Marouard d'après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)



Figure 9.11. Vue du secteur de la structure enclose (voir localisation N°4 sur la fig. 9.3) depuis le sud-ouest (photo G. Marouard)

canal, situé à plus d'une centaine de mètres à l'ouest, semble exclure ce monument de la série des temples signalés en bordure du canal par les archives de Zénon (Isieoin/Arsinoeion, Sarapeion, Hermaion, Temple à Poremanrès). Néanmoins, dans l'hypothèse d'un édifice à caractère cultuel, ses dimensions par rapport aux autres installations monumentales identifiées à Philadelphie indiqueraient une association avec une divinité (Sobek-Souchos?) ou un personnage (culte dynastique ou impérial?) au rayonnement important à l'échelle du site et de la région. Les dimensions en présence sont évidemment bien inférieures à celles des sanctuaires de tradition égyptienne de Tebtynis (113 m × 63 m) ou de Soknopaiou Nesos (125 m × 84 m).[82] De plus, le complexe n'est ni au centre, ni à l'origine de la structuration du réseau urbain,[83] il semble à l'inverse s'y conformer et avoir été inclus à la trame viaire, selon un schéma très comparable à celui du temple sud. L'axe principal nord-sud NS2 aurait alors formé une sorte de voie processionnelle dissimulée dans le plan hippodamien et dont la disposition à 90° aurait été soumise aux impératifs du schéma directeur;[84] une combinaison originale de la tradition égyptienne du *dromos*[85] et du plan en damier hellénistique qui soulignerait à nouveau le syncrétisme caractéristique de Philadelphie.

La position de cet ensemble à l'extrémité nord du site, dans un secteur urbanisé dès l'époque lagide, et son intégration à la trame viaire originelle, indiqueraient une construction dès les premières phases d'occupation du site. Contrairement aux secteurs environnants apparemment abandonnés dès la fin de l'époque hellénistique, il semblerait que cette zone soit aussi restée active plus longtemps, comme le signalent plusieurs réinstallations (fig. 9.12) et l'abondance en surface d'un mobilier céramique d'époque romaine et romaine tardive.[86]

[82] Rondot 2004, pp. 9–10

[83] Sur d'autres fondations ptolémaïques du Fayoum comme Dionysias, Tebtynis, Karanis ou Soknopaiou Nesos, le temple et son dromos sont, dans la tradition urbaine égyptienne, les éléments structurants du plan (Pensabene 1995, pp. 205–17).

[84] Rappelons que les papyrus P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59168 et P. L. Bat. 20.28 = P. Cairo. Zen. 2.59169 mentionnent une voie processionnelle — dromos — entre les temples voisins de Sarapis et d'Isis/Arsinoé.

[85] Pensabene 1995.

[86] Les plus importantes arases de murs qui apparaissent dans la zone montrent une construction en briques de tafl jaune et de grand module (supérieur à 34–36 cm de long), deux traits caractéristiques de la construction en briques crues d'époque hellénistique. On remarque également des phases de murs plus tardives construites en briques limoneuses grises de petit module. Notons enfin que des pillages récents ont révélé au centre de la structure un espace recouvert d'un enduit de chaux soigné, équipé de niches et d'une baignoire, qui semble appartenir à un petit ensemble balnéaire probablement d'époque romaine.

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Figure 9.12. Espaces internes pillés au centre la structure enclose (voir localisation N°4 sur la fig. 9.3) révélant plusieurs phases successives d'occupation (photo G. Marouard)

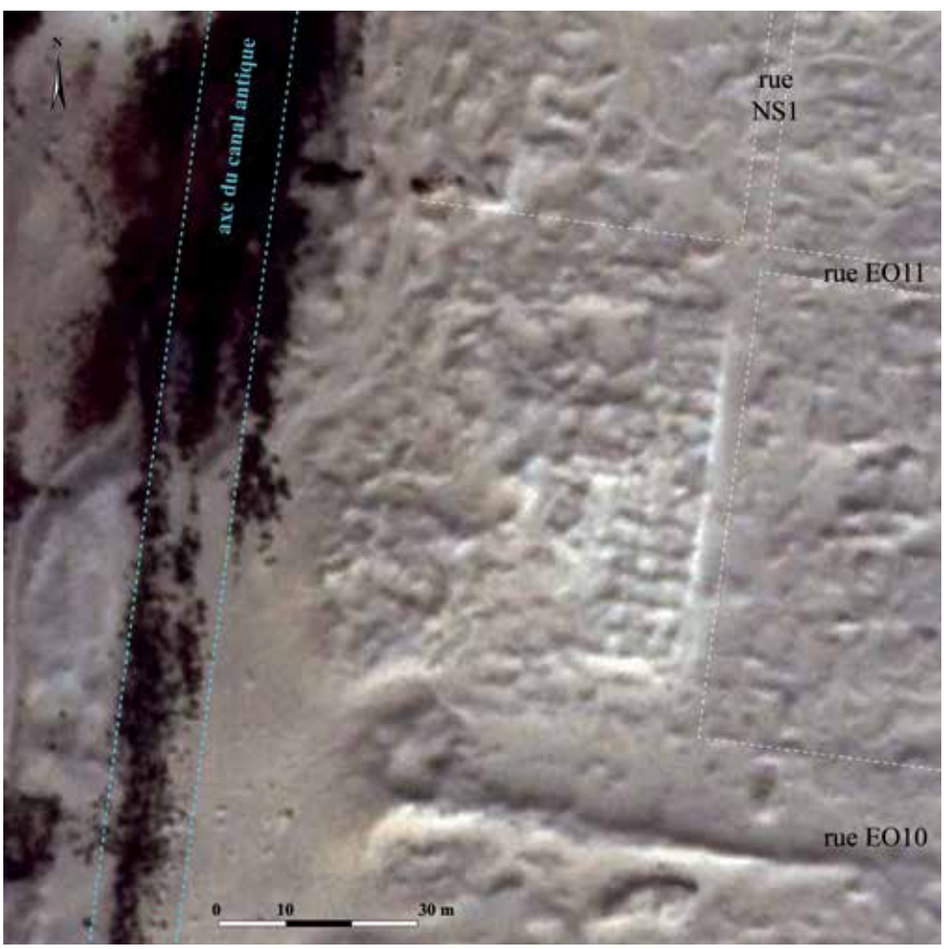


Figure 9.13. Vue satellite du grand bâtiment sur fondations en pierre (voir localisation N°3 sur la fig. 9.3) situé en bordure du canal et au nord de la rue EO10 (plan G. Marouard d'après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)

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Figure 9.14. Vue générale du grand bâtiment (voir localisation N°3 sur la fig. 9.3) et détail de ses fondations en pierre, depuis le sud-est (photo G. Marouard)



Figure 9.15. Arase d'un four de potier à l'ouest de l'îlot A4 (photo G. Marouard)

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Figure 9.16. Accumulation de couches de cendres et de fragments de briques vitrifiées (voir localisation N°9 sur la fig. 9.3) à l’est de l’îlot A7 (photo G. Marouard)



Figure 9.17. Murs de briques cuites enduits de chaux signalant une installation balnéaire (voir localisation N°9 sur la fig. 9.3) en surface de l’îlot A7 (photo G. Marouard)

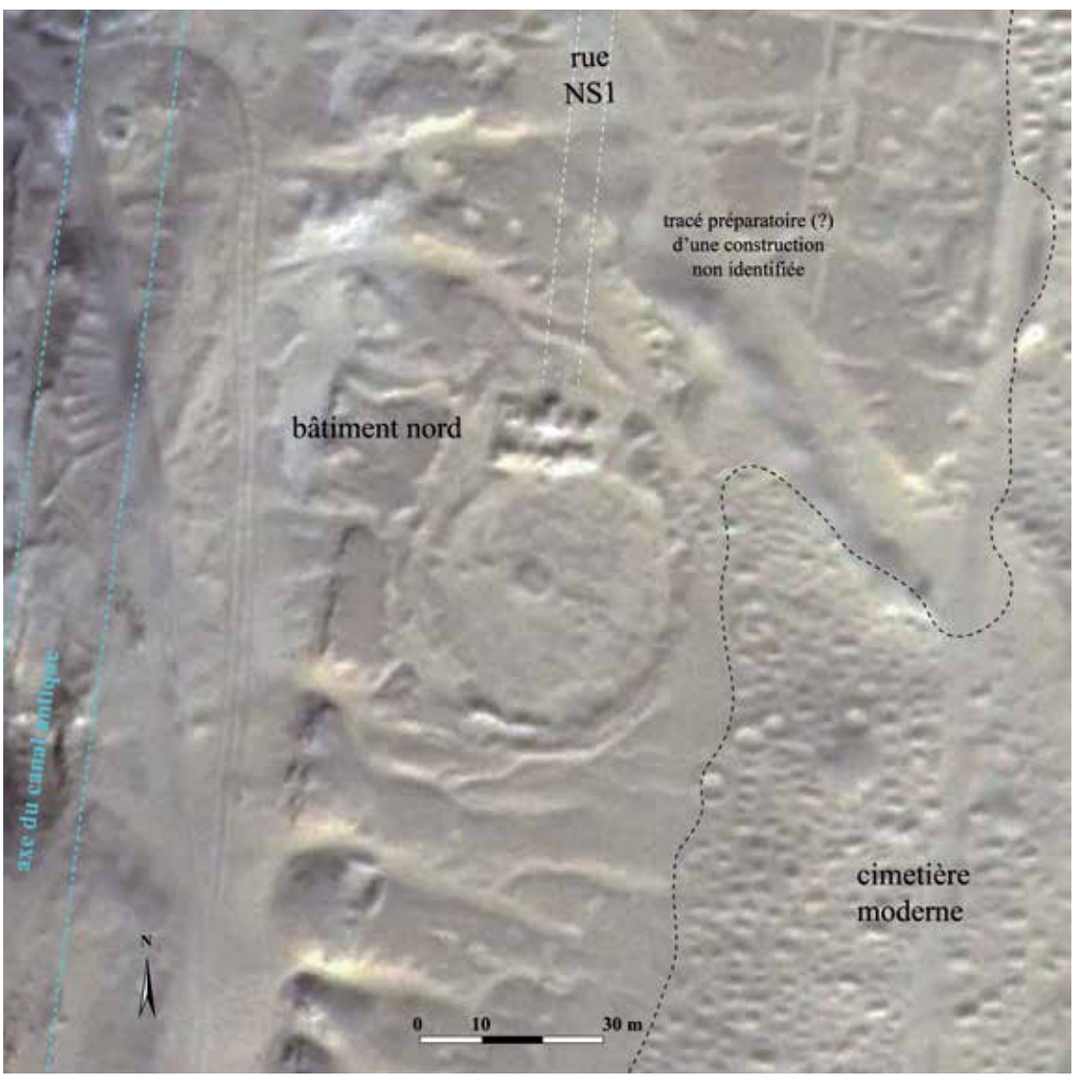


Figure 9.18. Vue satellite de la structure circulaire (voir localisation N°10 sur la fig. 9.3) à l’extrémité sud de la rue NS1 (plan G. Marouard d’après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)

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À l'extrémité sud de l'agglomération, une structure circulaire très singulière a été révélée par les récentes images par satellite. Cette dernière se trouve en bordure ouest du site et en dehors de la trame urbaine, dans une zone plane qui surplombe le canal (fig. 9.3-n° 10).[87]

Elle présente une aire circulaire de 40 m de diamètre dont la surface interne a été excavée et aplanie pour offrir un espace assez régulier (fig. 9.18). Les déblais de creusement ont été disposés tout autour de cet espace afin de former un petit talus périphérique (fig. 9.19). On ne retrouve pratiquement pas de mobilier céramique en surface et son ancienneté pourrait être contestée. Toutefois, au nord de la zone excavée, une large structure en brique crue apparaît nettement en surface (fig. 9.20a). Construite en briques de *tafl* jaune de grand module, elle est fortement pillée et dégradée mais conserve un plan au sol d'environ 16 m d'est en ouest sur 11 m du nord au sud. Cette structure est située à l'extrémité sud de la rue NS1 et son orientation reprend les axes dominants du plan urbain. Un seul élément remarquable se rencontre en surface, à savoir un bloc d'architecture en calcaire local, caractérisé par une longue surface plane et deux appuis parallèles inférieurs (fig. 9.20b). Cet élément, dont la forme rappelle fortement celle d'une banquette, pourrait soutenir la présence ici d'une sorte de tribune incluant des zones assises.

La fonction de cet ensemble très atypique reste inconnue en l'état des données. Considérant la vaste surface dégagée, l'hypothèse d'une aire de représentation, de spectacles ou de jeux pourrait être prudemment avancée, à moins qu'il ne s'agisse d'un projet simplement ébauché ou des vestiges en négatif d'une structure

[87] Elle ne semble pas isolée pour autant, comme le signale le tracé d'une autre installation de grande taille disposée selon les orientations directrices de la trame urbaine (fig. 9.18). Après vérification sur le terrain, il ne s'agirait toutefois que du tracé préparatoire ou des tranchées de fondation d'une construction inachevée.

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Figure 9.19. Vue générale de la structure circulaire (voir localisation N°10 sur la fig. 9.3), depuis l'est (photo G. Marouard)

intégralement démantelée; un point que le cliché de la RAF, qui ne couvre pas cette partie du site, ne permet pas de vérifier.

Seuls deux papyrus des archives de Zénon mentionnent de manière très anecdotique une structure de spectacle clairement désignée par le terme de théâtre, mais aucune autre mention d'un tel monument ne se rencontre dans le reste de la documentation d'époque hellénistique et romaine.[88] La structure de Philadelphie n'affecte en aucun cas la forme d'un théâtre ou d'un amphithéâtre[89] et elle ne trouve à première vue aucun équivalent dans le Fayoum. Toutefois, les prospections géophysiques conduites dans un secteur à caractère public localisé directement au nord du théâtre de Tell el-Farama (Péluse), ont récemment révélé une structure circulaire tout à fait semblable, au tracé et au diamètre équivalent (environ 35 m) mais apparemment incluse dans un espace de plan carré. Les archéologues polonais ont avancé une fonction très incertaine de *bouleuterion* et n'ont pas pu lui attribuer une datation précise.[90]

[88] Au verso du P. Cairo. Zen 5.59823 (253 av. J.-C.) une note rappelle à Zénon de "remonter/reconstruire le théâtre (τὸ θέατρον οἰκ[οδο]μῆσα)," sans que l'on ne puisse pour autant préciser le type d'installation et son caractère public. Il pourrait s'agir ici d'une petite structure de spectacle, démontable, peut-être privée, et reconstruite ponctuellement pour certaines occasions. Le P. Lond. 7.2140, 4 (IIIe S av. J.-C.) mentionne également un théâtre. Voir également Bagnall et Rathbone 2004, p. 136.

[89] Aucun amphithéâtre n'a été découvert en Égypte. Quatre théâtres sont connus, tous d'époque romaine (IIe S. apr. J.-C.), à Oxyrhynchos, Antinoopolis et Péluse - Tell el-Farama et Tell el-Kana`is (Le Bian 2012, pp. 142–47). Un cinquième théâtre d'époque romaine (de tradition antonine), a été récemment identifié par nos soins sur une importante fondation côtière du Delta oriental, au Kom ed-Dahab (Marouard 2014b, pp. 26–27).

[90] Herbich 2012, pp.13–14. Voir également le rapport en ligne de la PCMA: http://www.pcma.uw.edu.pl/pl/newsletter-pcma/2009/hellenistic-and-graeco-roman-period/pelusium-tell-farama-egypt/. Sur la fonction de bouleuterion, voir Jakubiak 2009, p. 68.

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a



b

Figure 9.20.
(a) Vue du bâtiment situé au nord de la structure circulaire (voir localisation N°10 sur la fig. 9.3) depuis le sud (photo G. Marouard); (b) détail de la banquette en calcaire, bâtiment nord de la structure circulaire (voir localisation N°10 sur la fig. 9.3) (photo G. Marouard)

Un *castellum* d'époque romaine tardive

Une dernière structure importante apparaît sur les clichés satellites, dans une zone une zone reconvertie en cimetière dans les décennies qui suivirent le pillage du site. Elle se trouve en limite sud de l'agglomération (fig. 9.3), au sud de la rue EO1 et à l'est de la rue NS2, cette implantation le long de l'axe majeur nord-sud n'étant sans doute pas due au hasard.

Seule une petite partie nord de cette construction apparaît sur le cliché de la RAF et il semblerait qu'en 1925, ce secteur n'avait pas encore été démantelé ni même fouillé par les *sebbakhin*. Les clichés du satellite de Corona démontrent cependant que le bâtiment était déjà dans son état actuel en 1968. Il apparaît que la structure a fait l'objet, entre 1925 et 1968, d'une opération de récupération systématique des matériaux de construction, pierres et/ou briques. La surface archéologique actuelle révèle en effet de profondes tranchées parallèles qui correspondent à des "*ghost-walls*" (fig. 9.22); c'est à dire que seuls les emplacements en négatif des murs sont aujourd'hui visibles, ces derniers ayant été retirés jusqu'aux fondations alors que les niveaux de sols et d'occupation internes ont été laissés en place.

Cette destruction un peu particulière et la localisation des vestiges RAF au milieu d'un cimetière moderne n'ont pas facilité pour un certain temps son interprétation, mais le plan masse révèle très clairement la présence ici d'un *castellum*, une forteresse romaine jamais signalée auparavant. Si une tablette (BGU 7.1690) évoque le stationnement hivernal à Philadelphie de la *coh*(*ortis*) *II Theb*(*aeorum*), en 131 apr. J.-C., il est très improbable que cette structure en soit le témoignage. Les similitudes importantes du plan avec d'autres exemples égyptiens désignent un plan de type "basilical" propre aux forteresses d'époque tétrarchique.

Nettement lisible sur les deux-tiers de sa surface (fig. 9.21), le plan est grossièrement carré, mesurant de 68 à 70 m d'est en ouest pour 64 à 65 m du nord au sud. Les tours d'angle ne sont pas visibles, mais des sections du mur d'enceinte apparaissent sur trois côtés au nord, à l'ouest et plus clairement au sud, sur plus de 40 m de long. On observe à l'intérieur au moins sept espaces de casernements contre le mur d'enceinte sud et dix contre la face orientale du mur ouest. Des traces de casernements apparaissent aussi contre le mur nord.[91] On reconnaît également à l'intérieur trois corps de bâtiment complets. Le plan symétrique de ce type de construction permet d'en restituer deux autres dans la partie manquante à l'est. La présence, au centre de la moitié nord, d'un vaste espace libre d'environ 25 m × 15 m permet de situer l'axe de la *via praetoria* et donc de repositionner l'entrée principale au centre de la façade nord. Le corps de bâtiment situé directement au sud, et dont le plan symétrique présente une série d'espaces alignés, ferait office de *principia* incluant la *bêma*.

[91] Ils sont également visibles sur le cliché RAF de 1925 (fig. 9.4).

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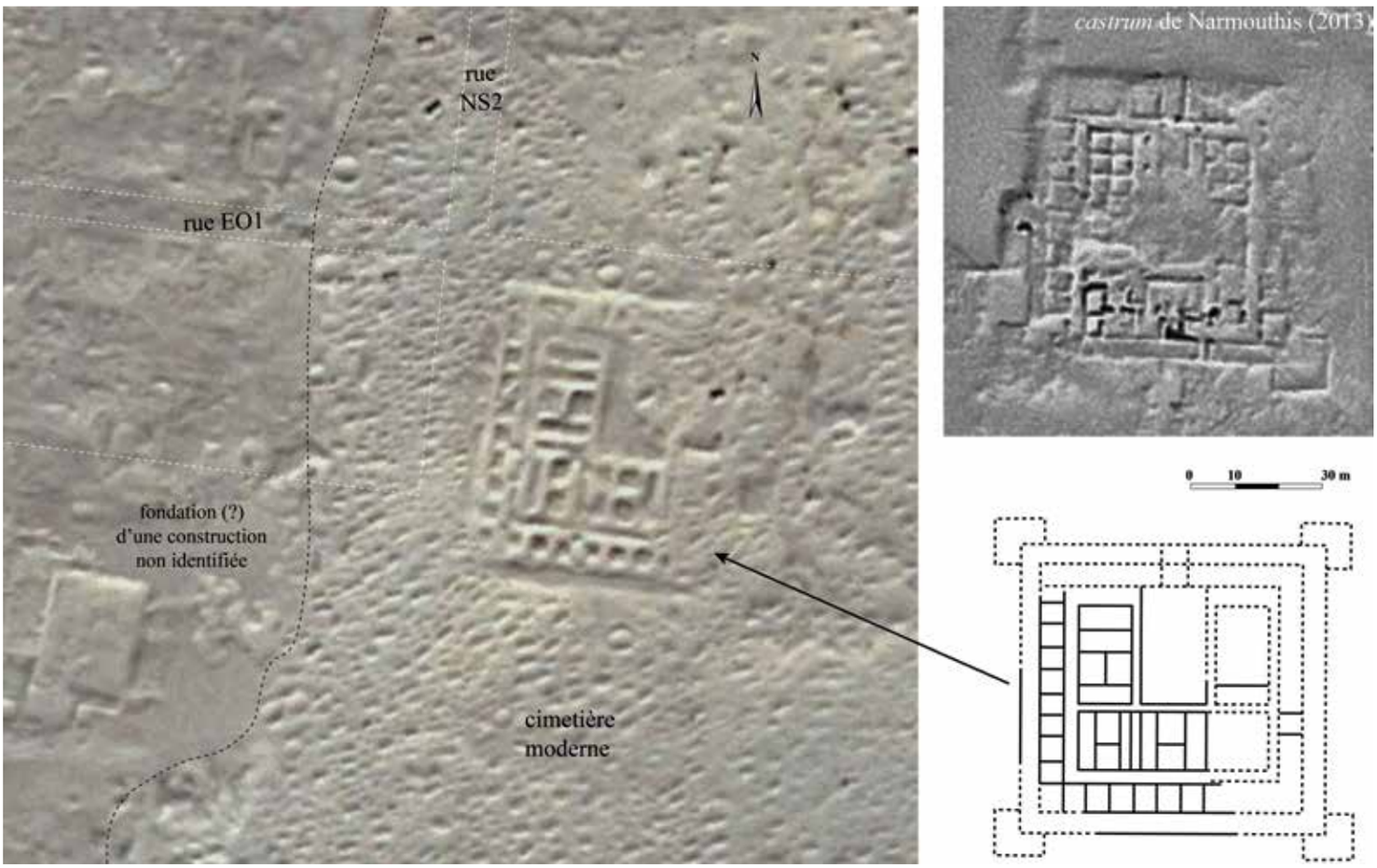


Figure 9.21. Vue satellite et plan schématique du *castellum* tétrarchique de Philadephie (voir localisation N°5 sur la fig. 9.3) comparé à la forteresse découverte en 2006 à Narmouthis (plan G. Marouard d'après Google Earth ©2002 DigitalGlobe)



Figure 9.22. Vue des négatifs des murs du *castellum* de Philadephie (voir localisation N°5 sur la fig. 9.3), depuis le sud-ouest (photo G. Marouard)

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Ce plan est conforme aux structures équivalentes connues par ailleurs en Égypte, par exemple dans le désert oriental (à Abu Sha'ar), la vallée du Nil (à El-Kab) ou le Fayoum. Dans le nome Arsinoïte, deux forteresses étaient connues jusqu'à présent, à Dionysias/Qasr Qaroun[92] et à Narmouthis/Medinet Mâdi (fig. 9.21).[93] Cette dernière, mise au jour en 2006–2007, présente un plan et des dimensions presque identiques à l'installation de Philadelphie. À l'inverse de Dionysias et Narmouthis, où l'implantation cardinale des fortifications n'a pas respecté le tracé des rues, le *castellum* de Philadelphie s'est strictement conformée au plan directeur de la ville, manifestement toujours de rigueur durant cette phase tardive de l'occupation.

Cette nouvelle installation militaire soulève des interrogations concernant l'occupation et surtout l'importance de Philadelphie au IVe S. apr. J.-C. On sait par la *Notitia Dignitatum* (XXVIII.46)[94] que la forteresse de Narmouthis fut sans doute occupée jusqu'à la fin du IVe S. apr. J.-C. par la *Cohors Quarta Numidarum*, quatrième et dernière cohorte d'Arcadie. Sensiblement plus importante, la forteresse de Dionysias est également signalée dans la *Notitia Dignitatum* (XXVIII.34) comme lieu de casernement de l'*ala quinta praelectorum*, la quatrième et dernière *ala* d'Arcadie.[95] Ces deux installations ont été implantées à l'extrême fin du IIIe S. apr. J.-C.[96] ou dans les premières années du IVe S. apr. J.-C. Les forteresses étaient alors achevées, en fonctionnement et en relation, comme l'attestent quelques documents dont le papyrus P. Thead. 4 (307 apr. J.-C.).[97]

Il transparaît donc ici plusieurs informations majeures pour le site mais également pour l'histoire du Fayoum. Lors de la restructuration de l'armée romaine sous Dioclétien et de la fortification du nome Arsinoïte vers la fin du IIIe S. apr. J.-C., trois forteresses auraient été construites dans chacune des trois *méris* du Fayoum: à Dionysias pour Thémistos, à Narmouthis pour Polémon et à Philadelphie pour l'Hérakleidès.

Ce constat soulignerait le maintien de la tripartition administrative de l'oasis au moins jusqu'au début du IVe S. apr. J.-C. Cette installation tendrait également à souligner une activité et un statut encore important de Philadelphie au début du IVe S. apr. J.-C., alors qu'un site plus actif et plus densément habité de l'Hérakleidès comme Karanis n'a pas fait l'objet d'une telle implantation. Le choix de Philadelphie se justifiait en premier lieu par sa position très stratégique, à l'entrée du Fayoum et sur la route caravanière vers la vallée du Nil. La troupe en stationnement devait aussi assurer la défense de la population,[98] la surveillance des administrations locales, la collecte des revenus des domaines impériaux et probablement, à l'échelle de la *méris*, la collecte et la protection de l'*annona militaris*.[99]

En second lieu, le choix du site pourrait être lié aux rapports nombreux et anciens de cette agglomération avec le monde militaire; la forteresse tardive ayant probablement remplacé une structure similaire préexistante ici ou ailleurs sur le site. Créée dès l'origine pour l'installation de vétérans grecs, la cité a

[92] Largement démantelée, la structure mesurait 94 m d'est en ouest pour 80 m du nord au sud. Schwartz et Wild 1950, pp. 63–71, figs. 11–12; Schwartz, Badawy, et Wild 1969, pp. 1–82.

[93] La structure mise au jour par la mission italienne présente un plan carré de 60 m de côté (et non de 50 m), Bresciani et Pintaudi 2007, pp. 30–32; Bresciani 2007, pp. 5–7; Bresciani 2006, pp. 65–68. Voir également les rapports préliminaires en ligne: http://www.egittologia.unipi.it/pisaegypt/medinet.htm.

[94] Notitia Dignitatum in Partibus Orientis. XXVIII. Comes limitis Aegypti. Ce document a été parfois considéré, pour l'Égypte, comme un état de fait remontant au règne de Dioclétien (Bell 1962, p. 13). Hoffman et Price ont cependant bien démontré la datation — entre 395 et 408 apr. J.-C. — du document (Price 1976, pp. 144–45; Valbelle et Carrez-Maratray 2000, p. 48).

[95] Les alae, unités auxiliaires de cavalerie, sont listées en premier dans la Notitia Dignitatum. La présence d'une ala à Dionysias pourrait justifier le plan plus vaste et complexe de cette forteresse de type castrum. Le plan plus modeste de Narmouthis, destiné à une cohorte, pourrait indiquer une affectation similaire de troupes auxiliaires à Philadelphie.

[96] En Egypte, la première génération de forteresses d'époque dioclétienne est implantée vers 288 apr. J.-C. (Schwartz, Badawy, et Wild 1969, p. 1; Bell 1962, p. 8)

[97] Le P. Thead. 4 rapporte la vente d'une jument entre un soldat de Narmouthis et un centurion primipilaire de Dionysias, et confirme l'existence des deux installations en 307 apr. J.-C. Voir Bell 1962, p. 21 n. 2.

[98] Le P. Princ. II.29 a été parfois utilisé pour évoquer l'instabilité régionale et le pillage du site par une troupe de Lybiens en 258 apr. J.-C. (Lallemand 1964, p. 31). Toutefois, ce document ne rapporte pas des faits produits à Philadelphie mais à Kaminou, dans la méris de Polemon (*Dizionario* 5, p. 63). Les campagnes engagées par Dioclétien en Egypte contre les Blemmyes (prise de Coptos en 296 apr. J.-C., seconde campagne en 302 apr. J.-C.) semblent néanmoins à l'origine de la fortification du nome Arsinoïte.

[99] Bell 1962, pp. 16–18; Price 1976, pp. 143–46, 149–50. Aucun dépôt ou lieu de transfert de l'annona militaris n'est rapporté dans la documentation papyrologique. Un thesauros et la mention d'un sitologue sont attestés à Philadelphie jusqu'au début du IVe S. apr. J.-C. (P. Mich. 12.646 (304 apr. J.-C.), SB 5.7621 (301–324 apr. J.-C). Ces dernières attestations correspondent sensiblement à la date d'implantation du castellum de Philadelphie. Faut-il y voir pour autant une corrélation?

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conservé durant toute l'époque romaine une importante population de soldats et de vétérans,[100] mais aussi un grand nombre de citoyens romains[101] dont la seule présence aurait pu justifier l'installation d'une garnison.

Une dernière information importante à retenir est l'absence de Philadelphie dans la liste de la *Notitia Dignitatum*. À la fin du IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C., soit moins d'un siècle après son installation, la garnison avait donc manifestement quitté les lieux. Comme la situation rapportée dans le BGU 2.669 (359 apr. J.-C.) le laisserait alors entendre, le déclin irréversible du site et la disparition d'institutions et d'administrations clefs auraient rendu obsolète un tel stationnement dès le milieu du IV^e^ S. apr. J.-C. Cette disparition pourrait être aussi la conséquence d'un redécoupage ou d'une réorganisation de la défense du nome Arsinoïte intervenu entre les règnes de Dioclétien et de Constance II (voire d'Arcadius) et qui n'aurait pas affecté les deux autres installations de Narmouthis et Dionysias.[102]

Les secteurs de la nécropole

Les visiteurs du XIX^e^ S. désignaient clairement deux zones d'inhumations, l'une située dans de petites collines proches du site, l'autre dans une zone plane à l'est du site urbain. Comme signalé plus haut, les témoignages de D. Fouquet en 1887, puis de F. Petrie en 1889, révèlent l'existence d'un secteur d'hypogées; des tombes creusées, éventuellement collectives et à *loculi.*[103] Si aucun auteur ne mentionne par la suite de tels aménagements, encore inconnus dans les contextes funéraires du Fayoum, la description de Petrie pourrait être confirmée par la présence de nombreux creusements bien visibles sur les flancs de trois petites collines situées au niveau des premiers contreforts du plateau désertique (fig. 9.3-n°6).[104]

Mais ce secteur ne représente qu'une partie très limitée de la nécropole qui s'étend presque exclusivement dans la vaste plaine voisine du site à l'est. Cette zone présente une extension sensiblement équivalente à celle de la zone urbanisée (fig. 9.6). En surface, on observe de nombreuses inhumations perturbées anciennement, des concentrations d'ossements humains blanchis, de fragments de tissu et plus ponctuellement des vestiges de murs signalant la présence de tombes maçonnées (fig. 9.23). Une rapide comparaison entre le cliché de la RAF et les images récentes révèle que la surface de la nécropole a peu changé depuis 1925, les pillages ayant atteint leur intensité maximale dans le dernier quart du XIX^e^ S., lors de la recherche frénétique des portraits d'époque romaine.

Ce vaste cimetière, qui correspond à une période d'au moins six à sept siècles, n'a vraisemblablement pas connu une formation linéaire et homogène. Les clichés révèlent en effet deux zones distinctes qui correspondraient à des phases voire même des modes d'inhumations différents. Un premier ensemble est reconnaissable dans les secteurs les plus éloignés de la ville, à l'est. Il occupe une vaste surface de 1400 m du nord au sud pour 200 à 250 m de largeur. Il est composé exclusivement de petites inhumations, peu organisées, sans doute individuelles et visiblement peu perturbées (fig. 9.3-n° 7).

Un second ensemble se différencie nettement du premier (fig. 9.3-n° 8), notamment par l'importance des pillages dont il semble avoir fait l'objet avant 1925. Il se limite à une surface d'environ 500 m du nord au sud pour 200 à 250 m d'est en ouest. Les inhumations sont de tailles plus importantes, plus denses et rapprochées, agencées de manière ordonnée selon une orientation dominante nord-nord-est/est-sud-est, légèrement désaxée par rapport aux orientations directrices de l'agglomération. Autre caractéristique bien confirmée par les observations de surface, on constate la présence de nombreuses structures maçonnées en briques crues

[100] Par exemple le BGU 3.899 du IVe S. apr. J.-C. Vers 351 apr. J.-C., Flavius Abbinaeus, le préfet de cavalerie de la forteresse de Dionysias, choisit Philadelphie comme le lieu de retraite probablement en raison de possessions personnelles mais également de la présence d'une forte population de citoyens romains.

[101] Au début du IIIe S. apr. J.-C., les citoyens romains représentaient un cinquième des propriétaires terriens à Philadelphie (Lewis 1983, p. 22), une caractéristique que ne partageaient sans doute pas d'autres villages importants de la méris d'Hérakleidès.

[102] La forteresse de Dionysias est toujours en activité vers 362 apr. J.-C. (P. Flor. 30, 5–6; Bell 1962, p. 16). La capitale du nome, Arsinoé, est aussi occupée par une garnison, au moins entre 319 et 359, mais elle n'apparaît pas non plus sur la liste de la Notitia Dignitatum (Price 1976, p. 146).

[103] Doxiadis 1995, pp. 129–33; Petrie 1891, p. 31.

[104] Nous n'avons pas pu visiter ce secteur qui mériterait de plus amples observations à l'avenir, même si des dégradations importantes sont à craindre.

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Figure 9.23. Tombe construite pillée, secteur nord de la nécropole d'époque romaine (voir localisation N°8 sur la fig. 9.3) (photo G. Marouard)

limoneuses — non en *tafl* jaune — notamment dans la partie nord où l'on pourrait identifier plusieurs tombes collectives (fig. 9.23).

Si les caractéristiques propres à ces deux secteurs peuvent éventuellement refléter des différences sociales, il serait plus tentant d'identifier ici des différences chronologiques dans l'évolution même de la nécropole. La partie la plus ancienne et d'époque hellénistique pourrait être à rechercher dans la zone orientale de la nécropole; ce que confirmerait une observation de B. Grenfell et A. Hunt qui, vers 1900, situaient la nécropole ptolémaïque plus à l'est de la nécropole romaine.[105] Outre sa position raisonnablement éloignée de l'agglomération, on note une répartition nord-sud homogène et très diffuse des inhumations, qui semble bien refléter l'extension originale et maximale de l'agglomération que nous considérons propre à la seule époque hellénistique.

La zone plus modeste mais densément occupée située dans la partie sud-ouest de la nécropole refléterait pour sa part une phase plus tardive et d'époque romaine (fig. 9.3-n° 8). Ce secteur, pourrait d'ailleurs correspondre à la zone que P. Stadler investit en 1889, révélant des tombes construites et collectives romaines, certaines ayant livré des portraits. L'intensité particulière des pillages confirmerait bien une datation d'époque romaine: les *sebbakhin*, délaissant les zones hellénistiques moins riches, auraient concentré leurs efforts sur cette zone où les portraits étaient potentiellement les plus nombreux. La position de ce secteur très au sud et en bordure immédiate de l'agglomération confirmerait alors certaines conclusions sur l'évolution tardive du site, ville et cimetière ayant suivi des schémas d'évolution parallèles. La nécropole aurait ainsi accompagné le phénomène de rétraction et de concentration de la zone urbaine vers le sud, le cimetière d'époque romaine se situant exactement à l'est de la ville contemporaine et présentant une extension proportionnellement équivalente.

[105] Grenfell et Hunt 1901, p. 6.

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En conclusion, en l'absence d'une reprise rapide des fouilles tous les éléments présentés ici soulèvent autant de questions sur l'occupation du site qu'ils n'en que résolvent réellement. Il ressort néanmoins de cette réévaluation, qu'en dépit de l'état dramatique du site, réel ou présupposé, le potentiel archéologique, historique et même papyrologique de Philadelphie ne doit pas être condamné avec trop de hâte.

Investie une seule fois et il y a plus d'un siècle par une mission scientifique, l'agglomération demeure encore largement méconnue et conserve de vastes zones moins dégradées, notamment au nord de la route asphaltée, où des sondages archéologiques sont à envisager. Plusieurs enquêtes approfondies seraient également à conduire sur les quatre nouveaux monuments présentés dans cette étude, l'un d'entre eux présentant notamment toutes les caractéristiques d'un ensemble cultuel de première importance. Enfin, une exploration extensive, ciblée sur certains îlots à l'aide de méthodes de prospection modernes (statistiques et géomagnétiques), pourrait conduire à une revalorisation de cette fondation majeure et syncrétique du Fayoum, qui se trouve probablement être le dernier site hippodamien d'Égypte à ne pas encore avoir disparu sous des implantations modernes.

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Abréviations

Toutes les abréviations papyrologiques mentionnées ici se rapportent à la Checklist of Edition of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets (web edition: http://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/scriptorium/papyrus/texts/clist_papyri.html [accessed June 11, 2018])

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10

Fragments of a Late Roman Doorway at Medinet Habu

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To Jan Johnson's infectious enthusiasm for the later phases of Egyptian history is due in large part my inveiglement into the study thereof, and it is in gratitude for the happy results of this, and for many years of inspired instruction, encouragement, and sound advice, that the following article is offered.

Introduction

The fragmentary monument presented here[1] is a minor, though intriguing, selection from among the multitude of decorated stone walls, columns, shrines, gates, and other parts of temples, tombs, residential dwellings, and architectural varia, ranging in date from the early New Kingdom through Coptic times, broken vestiges of which were recovered over a long period extending from the mid-nineteenth century through the end of the Oriental Institute's excavations at Medinet Habu (1926–1933). Left on site following the completion of the Architectural Survey's final season of work and the division of the finds,[2] the collection of fragments at Medinet Habu (MH) thereafter increased greatly in both number and heterogeneity, as the precinct came to be used as a convenient repository for miscellaneous inscribed material of every conceivable kind, discovered in the surrounding region either in the course of formal archaeological work or through salvage. In 2007 the Epigraphic Survey initiated a project to catalog this corpus in its entirety and to transfer all the fragments, previously scattered throughout the Medinet Habu enclosure, to a newly constructed blockyard for safe storage and conservation.[3] Organization and sorting has now reached the point where the analysis of specific groups may be undertaken,[4] including the pieces discussed here.

Although several decorated structures attested by the Medinet Habu fragments may, with more or less certainty, be dated to the Roman period,[5] the distinctive style in which the reliefs of this small group are rendered, and the combination of deities whose figures are represented thereon, set it apart as a unique monument, apparently unrelated to the other known standing architectural remains from the terminal phase of the

[1] I am grateful to Julia Schmied, creator of the Medinet Habu fragment database, for providing the essential data on these pieces. Thanks are also due to John Larson, Oriental Institute Museum archivist, who graciously made available digitized copies of records from the Architectural Survey, including Hölscher's *Teilungsliste* cards. W. Raymond Johnson has offered several insightful remarks that have improved the accuracy of this article, and I am also indebted to Professor Ritner for suggesting a number of additional references and improvements. The photographs were kindly provided by Yarko Kobylecky.

[2] "The pieces to be sent away were packed and shipped to Cairo and Chicago respectively. Many of the larger reliefs, etc., especially such pieces as have to do with the structural coherence of the buildings of Medinet Habu, were left on the spot, to be arranged there in a local museum" (Nelson and Hölscher 1934, p. 92). The envisioned on-site museum was never built.

[3] For an initial description of the project, see Johnson 2008, p. 39, along with entries in subsequent issues of the *Oriental Institute Annual Report*.

[4] Of particular interest is a large collection of door lintel and jamb fragments from private monuments of Late Ramesside/Third Intermediate Period date, the study of which is included in the doctoral thesis of Julia Schmied (Department of Egyptology, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), currently in preparation. Some preliminary results of this study have already been published (Schmied 2011).

[5] For an overview of the architectural and archaeological remains of Roman date recovered at Medinet Habu, see Hölscher 1954, pp. 36–44, 58–61, with pls. 23–28, 34.

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Figure 10.1. MH block 3119, the cavetto cornice atop the doorway. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

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temple complex, and thus the group merits examination in detail. Some of the fragments (MH blocks 0628 and 3119) have already been published in Hölscher's excavation report,[6] but the opportunity to reexamine them closely and to relate them to previously undocumented pieces (MH blocks 1306, 1505a, 1505b, and 1846) has allowed a more complete understanding of the decorated doorway of which they formed a part.

Physical Description of the Blocks

The preserved section of the doorway consists of two blocks, the upper of which, comprising the cavetto cornice, is nearly complete, while the lower, which was the lintel proper, has been broken into several fragments, only some of which have been retrieved. Of the two jambs, presumably of sandstone, which would have supported these upper portions of the doorway, nothing certain is known.

The upper block, MH block 3119 (fig. 10.1), is a cavetto cornice with projecting corners at left and right, as is normally found surmounting a portal.[7] These corners, which extended slightly more than halfway (25 cm) across the thickness of the block, are now mostly broken away on either side (fig. 10.2). Including the missing corners, the cornice would have been approximately 215 cm wide at the top. The back corners of the top of the block are recessed 20 cm for the remaining 21 cm of its thickness, which totals 46 cm at the top of the stone. At its base, the block narrows to 177 cm in width and is 24–25 cm thick. The top of the block, which is roughly chiseled and now quite eroded, curves down slightly toward the finished front edge of the top of the cornice, which is 12 cm high across its width. The back is also roughly chiseled and shows an irregular concavity toward the bottom. Each side of the block displays a distinctly chiseled surface on the back 18–20 cm of the thickness, corresponding generally to the area cut out behind the projecting corners of the cornice (see fig. 10.2). In contrast, the vertical strip of surface below each corner, which narrows to 6–7 cm at the bottom of the block, is smooth. The bottom of the cornice block is flat and smooth, and forms a block line.

The front of the cornice block (fig. 10.1) is cut in a steeply curved cavetto, with a slight downward recurve at the fore edge (compare section, fig. 10.5). At the center of the cavetto is a raised rectangular boss, 39 cm wide and 24 cm high, that projects 6–7 cm above the curved surface, and whose surface is itself slightly concave. The raised boss and the flanking finished surfaces of the cavetto to either side are carved in raised relief. The fore edge of the top of the cornice also bears vestigial signs in raised relief (see below). There is no decoration on any other surface of the cavetto cornice.

Aside from the above-mentioned erosion to the top of the stone and the broken corners of the cavetto, the front of the cornice block has a deeply chiseled groove, 2–3 cm in width, running obliquely from the bottom of its right side up into the fore edge, where it widens to a gap of about 8 cm wide. This was cut through the raised relief of the surface, causing the loss of parts of the adjacent figures. Moreover, the chiseled groove extends across the bottom of the stone as well, the cavity having been made wider by subsequent erosion, but the feature does not continue onto the back of the block. This groove may represent the beginning of an attempt to cut the cornice down for later reuse. With the exception of the areas enumerated, damage to the block is limited to a moderate erosion of all its surfaces and minor breaks and cracks along the edges, which may be ascribed to exposure to the elements over time.

The lower block, which formed the lintel over the doorway, is now broken into several separate fragments. The largest of these, MH block 0628, consists of the right end of the lintel and the short extension where it would have joined the right jamb of the door. This fragment (fig. 10.3) is approximately 50 cm wide at its widest point, 61 cm high, and 25 cm thick. Its left side is broken where the center part of the lintel block would have been; its underside, partly broken away, is smooth for the preserved 15 cm at the lower right corner, forming a block line. The right (outer) side of the fragment shows a treatment similar to that of the sides of the cornice block above; the back 18 cm are roughly chiseled, but the front 7 cm are a smooth strip. The top of the block shows the same treatment, with the back 18 cm rough and the front 7 cm smooth. The

[6] MH block 3119 and MH block 0628 at Hölscher 1954, p. 58, with pl. 34 *G* and *I*.

[7] This holds true even for doors that are completely embedded in the surrounding wall surface, especially in the later periods; see Jéquier 1924, p. 118.

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Figure 10.2. Right side of MH block 3119, showing the broken front corner of the cornice and the chiseled surface towards the rear of the block. Photograph by the author

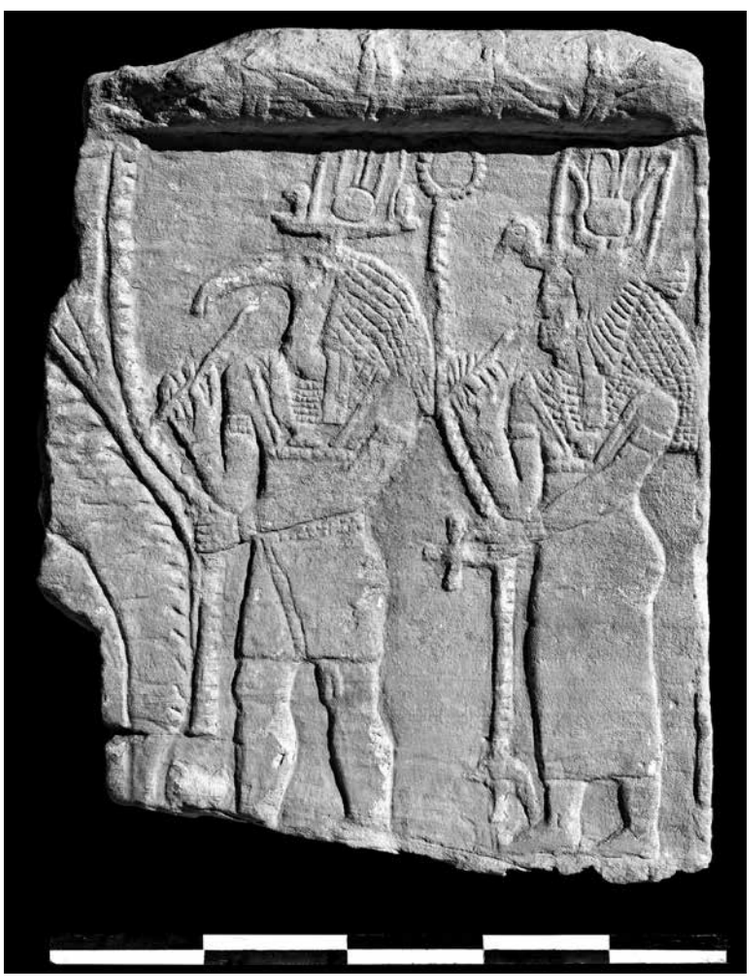


Figure 10.3. MH block 0628, fragment of the right side of the lintel. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

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Figure 10.4. MH blocks 1306, 1505a, 1505b, and 1846, fragments of the left side of the lintel. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

back of the block is cut flat and roughly chiseled. At the lower left corner, above the broken area of the bottom of the fragment, can be seen the smoothly cut interior upper right corner of the portal, extending the whole thickness of the block, with about 4 cm of the width of the soffit of the lintel preserved. At the top front edge of the block is a torus molding, 7 cm in width, with vertical and diagonal bands roughly cut in raised relief; the break shows that the torus would have extended all the way to the left across the top of the lintel. Below the torus, the front of the block is carved with raised relief decoration.

A group of four smaller fragments (MH blocks 1306, 1505a, 1505b, and 1846) is all that remains of the left-hand part of the same lintel block. The ensemble (fig. 10.4) measures about 42 cm wide by 22 cm high; none of the fragments preserves the full thickness of the block, the maximum thickness being around 20 cm. At the far left edge of the leftmost fragments, a finished corner is preserved, with two short sections of the smooth left end of the lintel in evidence. The top, bottom, and right sides of the group are all broken. The front of the group preserves part of a scene in raised relief, whose content shows that it corresponds to the more completely preserved scene on the right part of the lintel.

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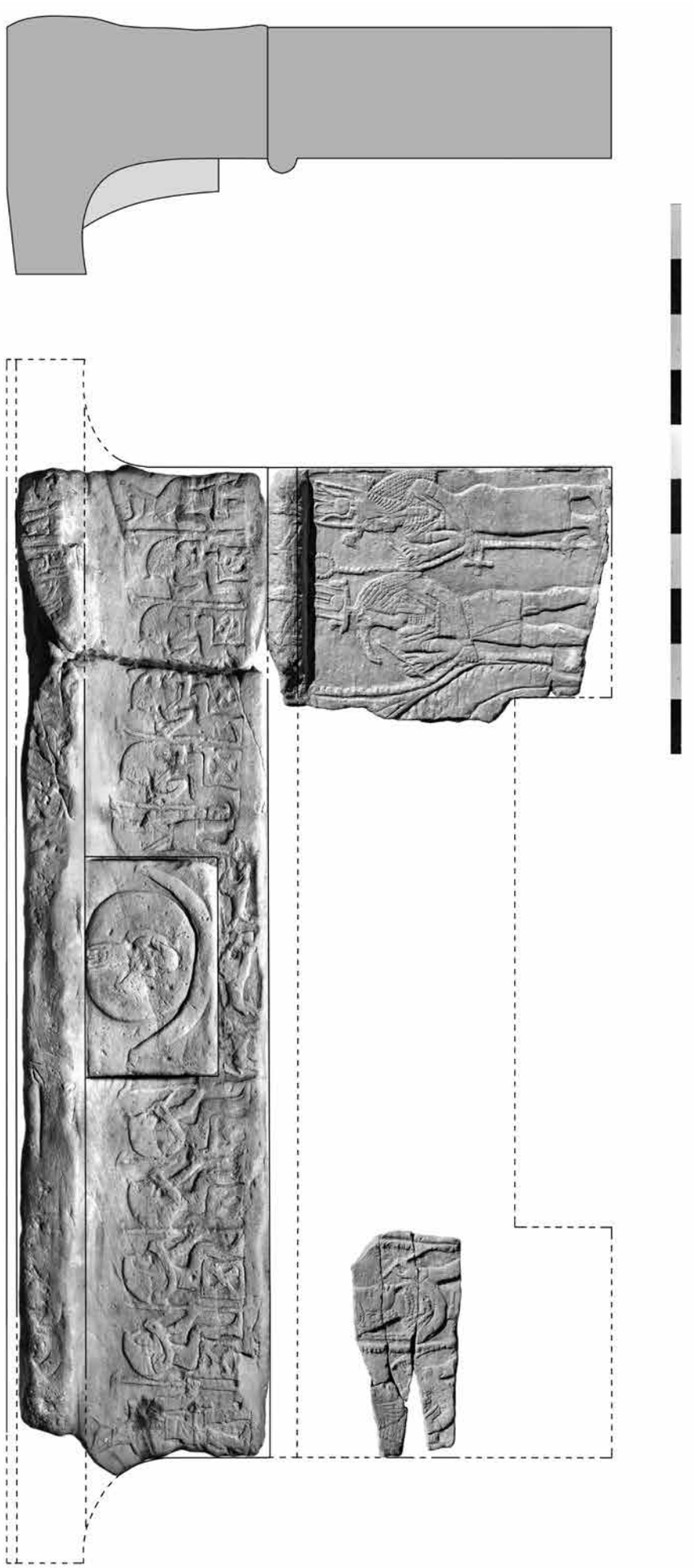


Figure 10.5. Elevation of the cornice and lintel of the doorway and section of the two blocks.
Photographs by Y. Kobylecky; reconstruction by the author

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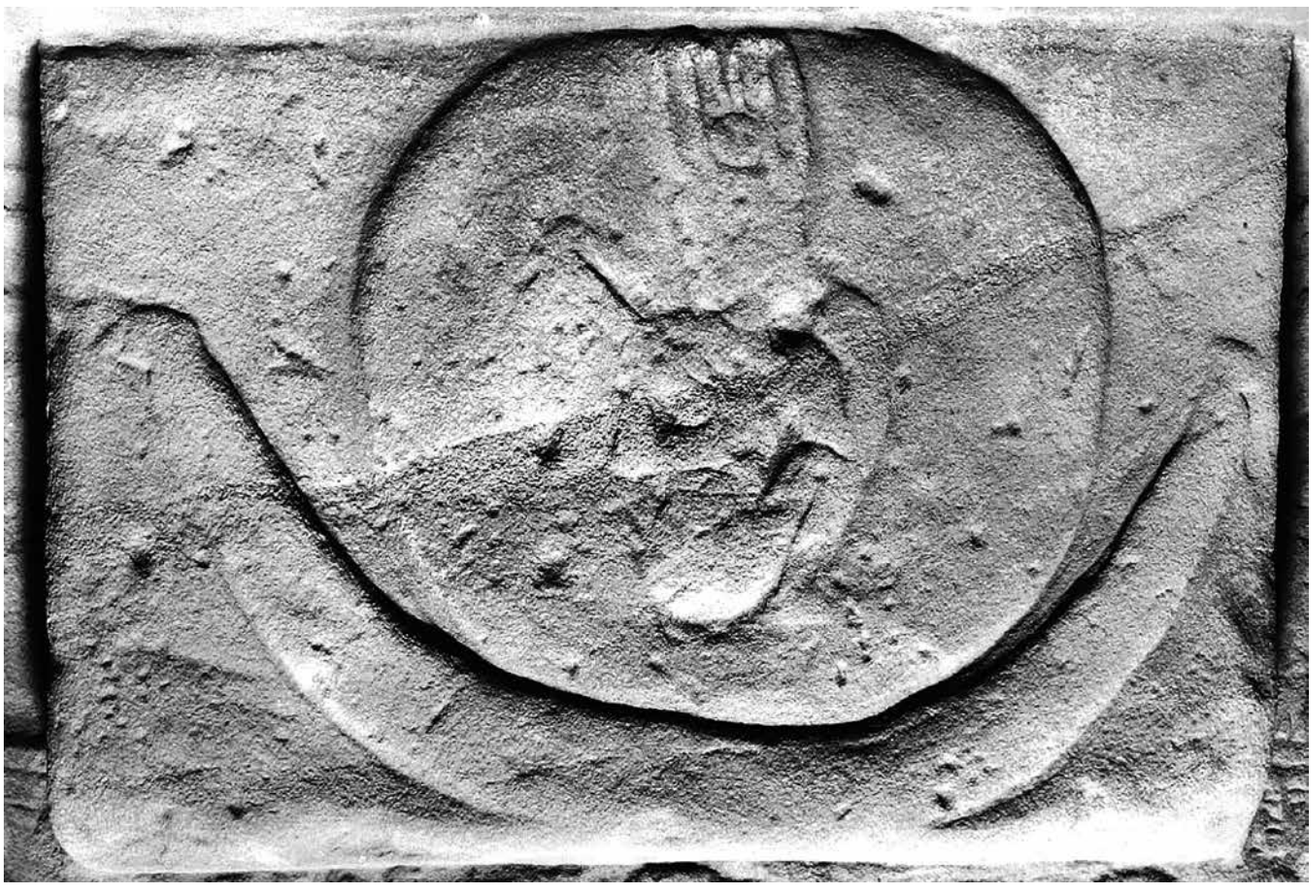


Figure 10.6. Detail of the child god in solar disk with papyrus boat. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

Decoration of the Blocks

The curved face of the cavetto cornice, including the raised rectangular boss in the middle, and the flat front surface of the lintel block are carved in a fairly high raised relief (fig. 10.5). The profile of the relief is distinctly flat, rather than rounded,[8] although the significant erosion of the whole surface has muted the effect somewhat. The deterioration of the surface has also caused the loss of some of the internal details of the figures, although enough vestiges remain to show that they were in fact intricately carved. No trace of any painted decoration remains, either on the cornice or on any of the lintel fragments.

The central figure on the cornice (fig. 10.6) is that of a child god within the solar disk, surmounting a curved base that, although at first glance resembling the lunar crescent, shows roughly carved protuberances at prow and stern, indicating that it is in fact to be identified as the solar papyrus boat.[9] The child god, in seated posture, faces right; his right hand is held to his mouth, and in his left hand, angling across his chest and shoulder, he holds a crook and flail. On his head he wears the double-plumed crown with sun disk atop a *modius*, of the type usually worn by Amun-Re; within the *modius* there are, only scarcely detectable, the eroded traces of a sidelock. The outlines of a *menat*-necklace can also be made out, curving from the back of

[8] In contrast to other examples of bas-relief of late Roman date found at Medinet Habu, e.g., the fragments at Hölscher 1954, pl. 34J–K, which show quite rounded contours. The style here differs dramatically as well from that of the gates of Claudius, Domitian, and Antoninus Pius (ibid., pl. 23*A*–*B*; Hölscher 1939, pls. 41–42).

[9] As already identified by Hölscher (1954, p. 58); I am grateful to W. Raymond Johnson for confirmation on this point. The elaborate recurved papyrus bundles commonly forming the prow and stern of the solar boat could be drastically simplified in Greco-Roman images thereof; compare the amuletic examples at Bonner 1950, pp. 286–88 and pls. IX–X (nos. 197, 199, 204, 209, and 210). Another example worthy of comparison is an ivory plaque from the Iron II period at Samaria, now at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (accession number IAA 1933-2574), which shows the solar boat as a stylized crescent with roundels at prow and stern. Normally the infant sun is shown emerging from a lotus borne within the boat; this feature, however, is omitted in the present tableau.

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Figure 10.7. Detail of the king with prisoners and attacking lion. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

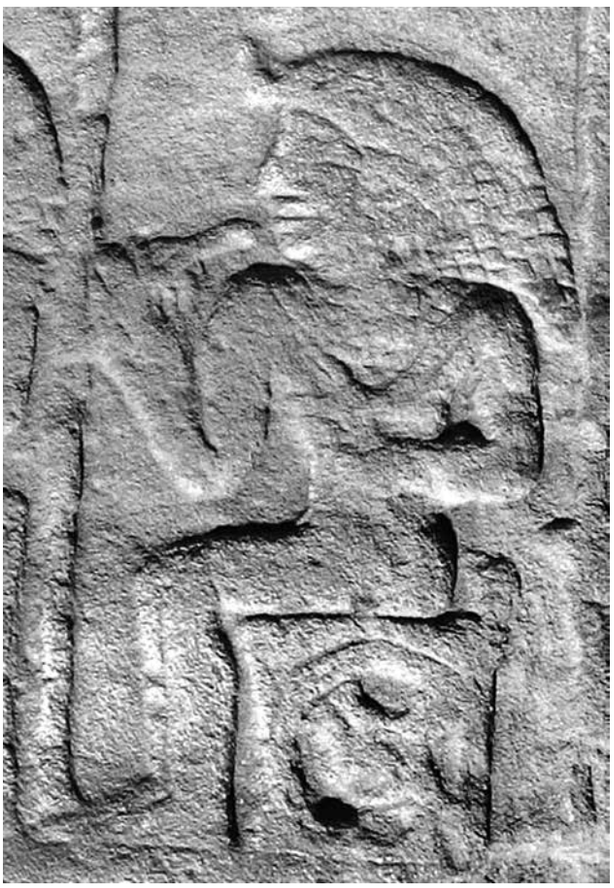


Figure 10.8. Detail of enthroned deity writing on *wꜣs*-scepter. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky

the neck, over the staves of the crook and flail, and ending behind the left shoulder. The outer edge of a broad collar is visible below the neck, and a belt may be seen at the god's waist.

Immediately to the right of the raised rectangular panel, on the adjacent curved surface of the cornice, is a standing figure, facing to the right, whose position and attributes identify him as the pharaoh, albeit without cartouche or other written indication (fig. 10.7). He wears a *nemes*-headdress, with a uraeus visible at the top of his high, angular brow. A broad collar with rows of square beads is draped across his shoulders, and two diagonal straps traverse his chest, extending to the belt at his waist. He wears a simple kilt, within which can be seen a diagonal fold and a pleat or fringe along the hem. His arms extend by his sides, and he wears segmented bracelets on both his upper arms and wrists. In each fist he grasps the hair of a kneeling, defeated enemy, depicted full face; the figure on the right is partly hidden behind the king's right leg, but the body of the left-hand figure curves below the corner of the raised panel.

Here, beneath the panel, can be seen a charging lion, who has caught the enemy's leg in his claws, while tearing at the unfortunate's arm with his teeth. The details of the lion's eye and ear, as well as some incised details on the back of his neck and tail, are still preserved. To the left is yet another enemy figure, also shown full face, being seized and mauled by a second lion. The latter is somewhat bigger, and his eye, snout, ear, and mane are rendered in more detail than that of the first lion, but the stance of both beasts is the same. Farther to the left, below the left corner of the rectangular boss, there is carved a winged lion, rendered in a standing pose. The creature's feline head is shown full face, with eyes and nose visible; two wings with curved tips are seen extending above the back, and the tail curls upward behind. The three beasts thus fill the rectangle of space below the raised panel, with the vestiges of the ground line preserved at bottom.

On either side of the raised central panel, occupying most of the curved face of the cornice, is a group of four seated deities (fig. 10.1). Those on the right side face the standing figure of the king, while the left-hand group faces the raised panel directly. Each of the seated gods wears a wig, with a uraeus at the brow, and

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before each stands a *wꜣs*-scepter, upon which the deity writes with a reed brush. The four deities on the left grasp their scepters, but each of the deities at right holds a scribal palette in the left hand, at the chest, and the scepter stands as if by itself (fig. 10.8). Several of the *wꜣs*-scepters have striations on their staves, indicating that they are to be considered as reeds similar to the *rnp.t*-staves on which the years of the king's reign are inscribed in more traditional pharaonic iconography. The costume of each deity consists of a broad collar, a girdle with two shoulder straps, and a kilt hemmed at the knee. All of the deities are seated upon square thrones, each with a rounded backrest whose shape, in contrast to the usual iconography, shows an elongated double curve. The internal details of the thrones are also unusual; each is decorated with what appears to be a wheel with four heavy spokes radiating, albeit at varying angles, from a central hub. Although the detailing is inconsistent from throne to throne, the device is the same in each case. The bases of the thrones and the feet of the deities rest upon a ground line that is higher than that seen below the creatures underneath the central panel, but is at the same level on which the king stands.

The eight seated deities are apparently androgynous. None has a beard, and the wig with lappet sported by each would suit either a male or a female divinity. This holds true even though the four gods at right have rows of hair ringlets indicated on their wigs, while those of the group at left lack this detail. The kilt of each god ends at the knee, which suggests male garb, but some of the figures lack visible belt lines, which would lend a feminine character to the costume, although admittedly the lines may be missing due to erosion.[10] Both legs and both feet of each figure are clearly delineated. Enough variation exists in the facial details and body proportions of the figures to preclude identification of the sex of any of them based upon such considerations; all of the figures have the high, pointed brow, uraeus, flattened facial profile, and prominent chin observed for the king.

The last two figures, Anubis and Horus, stand at the edges of the cornice facing the sun god at center. Their style and iconography are distinctive. Both wear the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; in the case of Anubis, the crown is shown most incongruously perched behind both of his canine ears. The jackal god also wears a headdress with lappets, a broad collar and pendant amulet, a girdle with shoulder straps, and a belted and pleated kilt; in his left hand he grasps a crook and flail, while holding a *wꜣs*-scepter in his right. Horus wears similar regalia and holds the same insignia, except that he holds only the flail in his left hand. Both deities have squat, squarish bodies and limbs, similar to those of the other figures in this ensemble. The head of the falcon god shows carefully chiseled details, particularly the feathers of the headdress, but the rendering of the eye, the angle of the beak, and the line of the back of the head are proportionally at odds with more canonical representations. It is notable that while Horus stands behind the right-hand group of deities on the same ground line as that of their thrones, and his head is slightly below the level of their heads, the figure of Anubis at left stands at a lower level than that of the ground line of the seated deities, though his head is at the same level, so that the latter is considerably the taller of the two attendant deities, giving the overall arrangement of the scene an unbalanced appearance.

The curved space between the heads of the figures and the top corner of the cavetto on both sides is smooth and uninscribed. The upper front face of the cornice, however, shows vestiges of an inscription in raised relief, visible on both its right and left ends; this decoration probably extended all the way across, but it is no longer visible in the middle section due to heavy erosion there. The remaining decoration is difficult to interpret. The traces on the left end suggest the wings of birds, perhaps with other elements of animal forms, and possibly a sun disk, but without any regular arrangement. More can be made out at right, past the eroded break in the cornice; following some indistinct signs, parts of the hieroglyphs , (?), and  can be observed in a vertical sequence, to the right of which appears to be a text divider. The elements to the right of this again may be parts of hieroglyphs, but they cannot be identified with any certainty. It seems clear from the rather rounded contours of what remains of the bas-relief signs, and particularly from the fact that the top edge of the cavetto has been cut through the vertically arranged elements that can be identified, that these are traces of earlier decoration on a block that was later re-cut to form the cornice. The front edge of a cornice is normally undecorated, and the presence of hieroglyphs, which are entirely absent from the other

[10] Belts can still be seen on the first figure in the right-hand group, and on the first, second, and third of the left-hand group.

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decorated parts of this doorway, also suggests that we are dealing here with the traces of an earlier phase. It is regrettable that more cannot be gleaned from these traces, but the fact that this large stone was re-used from part of an earlier monument inscribed in raised relief is not without interest. In the absence of additional clues, however, it is impossible to make any suggestion as to its origin.

The cornice originally rested atop a lintel block (fig. 10.5), the five remaining fragments of which are decorated in raised relief, in a style matching that of the scene on the cavetto just described. Across the top of this lintel, there extended a torus molding, the preserved part of which can be seen at right (fig. 10.3). It bears double vertical bands and double diagonals, which alternate in direction; these are somewhat roughly carved. Below the torus on either side, in the areas above the doorjambs, stands a pair of deities. The better-preserved section on the right shows the ibis-headed Thoth and a female deity, who can most likely be identified as Seshat;[11] they are, like the seated deities on the cornice above, in the act of writing on long plant stalks with reed pens. Thoth wears the double-plumed crown with sun disk, ram horns, and uraei; around his neck is a broad collar, over which hangs an amulet, below which there is a girdle with straps extending to the shoulders. His kilt is of the simple form with a fringe along the fold, and he wears bracelets on his upper and lower arms. Seshat is crowned with the double-plumed diadem, which incorporates a sun disk with cow's horns, and the vulture headdress. She also sports a broad collar, amulet, and upper- and lower-arm bracelets, and wears a long, close-fitting dress, fringed at the chest and hem. Each deity grasps the plant stalk in the left hand and the pen in the right; Seshat also holds an *ankh* in her left hand. The two plants on which they write are different; that of Thoth runs all the way to the torus molding at the top and ends with a square cut base just below the level of his knees, while that of Seshat has a curious round bifurcation or umbel at the top, and ends near her feet, with a -sign attached just above the bottom of the stalk. To the left of the plant on which Thoth writes can be seen the base of another floral element, which would have extended up toward the upper part of the lintel. Beyond this there can be seen the thick, ridged tail of a large crocodile or deity in crocodile form,[12] whose body must have occupied the right section of the now-missing center of the lintel surface.

Of the left end of the lintel (fig. 10.4), there remains the broken middle portion, showing the heads and upper bodies of a male and a female deity, also writing with reed pens upon the stalks of plants. The bearded male god wears a helmet with some vestiges of interior decoration and with bands of ribbon hanging down from the back to disappear behind his shoulder; he also wears a broad collar, amulet, and girdle with straps, and his belt is visible just above the break. The female deity behind him has a long pleated wig over which can be seen the wing of the vulture headdress; her broad collar and amulet are also partially preserved. To the right of the plant before the male god, immediately next to the break, can be seen the edge of another floral element similar to that observed on the right section of the lintel. The features of these deities, which are carved at a larger scale than those on the cornice, are modeled in some detail, with contours of the noses, lips, and jaw lines particularly accented; they give an idea of the original facial aspect of the now-eroded seated gods above.

Discussion

Though the extant portions of the doorway bear no texts, the characters depicted may be identified based upon their physical attributes and regalia. The child god on the raised boss of the cornice is the central figure in the ensemble. His infant attributes and his position within the sun bark identify him as Harpocrates (*Ḥr-pꜣ-ẖrd*),[13] but his double-plumed crown requires explanation. The seated pose suggests a connection with the Hermonthite child god *Ḥr-pꜣ-Rʿ-pꜣ-ẖrd*, but the latter is usually shown with the *hmhm* crown,[14] rather than

[11] On the later representation of Seshat with two horns, see the remarks of Bonnet (1952, p. 701).

[12] Identification already suggested by Hölscher (1954, p. 58).

[13] The child form of the sun god within the disk may of course also depict Re (e.g., Piankoff and Rambova 1957, pp. 22–23, 73, pl. 1), Re-Horakhty (Schott 1938, pl. VI), or Atum (Sauneron 1970, figs. 2–3), though with different regalia from those of the child god on the Medinet Habu cornice.

[14] For discussion of the various combinations of diadems found in relief examples, see Budde 2003, pp. 53–56.

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the double plumes. Though rare, at least one roughly contemporary three-dimensional image of Harpocrates with the double plumes and sun disk is known from elsewhere in Egypt.[15] This form of the deity has been described as "Die jugendliche Morgensonne Harpokrates mit den Insignien der künftigen Herrschaft als 'mittäglicher' Re."[16] Within the Thebaid, however, it is possible to suggest a more specific identification, based upon local parallels, with "Harpocrates, the very great, the eldest son of Amun" (*Ḥr-pȝ-ḫrd ʿȝ wr tpy n ʾImn*) as depicted in the temples of Shanhur[17] and el-Qal'a[18] and in the temple of Opet at Karnak.[19] What is unique in the present example is the central position of the god, flanked by other deities and forming the focal point of the doorway; for this orientation no other parallels are forthcoming. As the emergent sun in the form of the eldest offspring of Amun, however, his presence here makes sense in the context of the other gods who accompany him on the cornice.

Given their number and their arrangement in two groups of four, it is reasonable to identify the college of eight deities as the Hermopolitan/Theban Ogdoad.[20] There are several important differences, however, between the iconography of this group and the way that the Ogdoad are pictured in other reliefs on Ptolemaic and Roman monuments. The eight were usually depicted either as frog-headed (male) and snake-headed (female) deities, or (more commonly in the Greco-Roman period) as deities with human heads,[21] but in the latter case, the four males and the four females are usually distinguished from one another by their regalia and dress. The Ogdoad are often shown seated, as here, but holding their individual scepters (*wȝs*-scepters for the male deities and lotus scepters for the females), rather than writing on them as if they were *rnp.t*-reeds. The thrones on which the gods are seated are usually of the -type; the wheel design used here is unique, but could potentially be an incorporation of the city-sign ⊗, perhaps representing the city of Thebes.[22] Finally, although the king is often shown in the presence of the divine college, as he is here, at the head of the Ogdoad in many examples there also sits Amun the demiurge, who, although he appears on the lintel below, at left, is not given pride of place on the cornice itself. Instead, his place is taken by his offspring, the child form of the sun god Horus, the significance of whose relationship with the Ogodad is textually well attested in other sources.[23]

The seated Ogdoad are accompanied by Horus (right side) and Anubis (left side). Their presence must be understood to relate to the figure of the victorious king whose triumph over his enemies occupies a central place in the composition. Traditionally associated with the establishment of the king's reign, the role of Horus and Anubis in this scene relates to the unusual action on the part of the members of the Ogdoad, who inscribe (presumably) the king's regnal years on their plant-form *wȝs*-scepters, an action repeated by the deities shown on the lintel below. Thoth and Seshat, shown here on the right part of the lintel, are in all periods the iconic divine scribes responsible for predictively enumerating the years of the king's reign at the moment of his accession. The male and female deity at the left end of the block undertake the same action. The form and details of this god's headdress identify him as Amun, and he is most likely accompanied by Mut, who commonly bears the vulture headdress in representations from the New Kingdom onwards. Thus the Theban imperial deities also participate in the act of recording the regnal years of the triumphant pharaoh.

The lintel and its cornice thus display a combination of elements suggesting the accession and legitimacy of the king with a composition clearly relating to the Theban cosmogony, wherein the Ogdoad appear in the presence of the infant sun at the moment of his first manifestation.[24] It is difficult to explain how these two

[15] Observe the terra-cotta published by Breccia 1924, p. 21 (no. 4), pl. XVII, fig. 5. The disk-like "flower" behind the god should in fact be understood as a depiction of the solar orb.

[16] As remarked by Junge 2010, p. 550, n. 72, with reference to pl. 105, fig. 14.

[17] Quaegebeur 1995, p. 218, fig. 2b (= *LD* II, 70g), with Willems, Coppens, and De Meyer 2003, pp. 54–55, 78, and pls. 14, 23, and 55 (scenes 10 and 40).

[18] For occurrences see Pantalacci and Traunecker 1990, pp. 10, 32 (Scene 7), 58 (Scene 45), 64 (Scene 51), 68 (Scene 66), and 85 (Scene 109) along with Pantalacci and Traunecker 1998, pp. 16 (Scene 125), 53 (Scene 162), 86 (Scene 203, in which the name of the deity is completely preserved), and 142 (Scene 280).

[19] See De Wit 1958, pp. 142–43, with reference to De Wit 1962, pl. 6.

[20] Not suggested by Hölscher (1954, p. 58). An unpublished hand copy of this fragment made during the period 1982–1985 bears a note in the handwriting of W. J. Murnane that the deities are so to be identified.

[21] On the late iconography of the Ogdoad see Klotz 2012, p. 175, n. 1138, with reference to Mendel 2010.

[22] I am indebted to Professor Ritner for this suggestion.

[23] See Klotz 2012, pp. 176ff.; Klotz 2006, pp. 68–71.

[24] On this concept compare Zivie-Coche 2009, pp. 199–200.

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sets of images relate to each other in this context. The answer may have lain in the now-missing center segment of the lintel. A deity in crocodile form featured prominently here; he may have been the recipient of offerings presented by the king,[25] though in the absence of a parallel for the whole composition, it is difficult to be certain. If so, the action performed by the king may have helped to clarify the concepts intended to be expressed on this portal. Even in the absence of additional fragments from this section, however, it must be admitted that the composition as a whole is iconographically unique. Both the content of these reliefs and the layout, with deities grouped on the cornice surrounding a central figure, differ significantly from traditional canons of monumental decoration.

This divergence from the usual layout of scenes on doorways and the singular combination of characters in the composition may in part be explained by the date of the monument. As Hölscher already observed,[26] the decoration is manifestly of the late Roman period. How late cannot be determined from any related material on site. Nor are the distinctive stylistic features — prominent angular foreheads, flat faces, squat limbs and bodies, and abrupt contours — combined with the high, flat surface of the raised relief, really a good match for the extant formal reliefs of any of the standing Roman-period temples in Upper Egypt. The absence of text is also significant; combined with the unusual style, it suggests seeking for parallels lower down on the register hierarchy as well as later in date. That is to say that the aberrant style and the lack of text together may suggest that this gate was inscribed at a time and in an environment when both written and iconographic literacy were in decline. In fact, the best available comparanda for the decoration of this monument come from contexts less formal and fall chronologically in the terminal stage of hieroglyphic literacy; the proportions of the figures are, for example, similar to an unfinished scene on the inside of the north jamb of the pylon gate at Kalabsha, showing the king with Ma'at and Isis, which is probably of the third century AD.[27] On the same monument is found a tableau showing Horus and Mandulis in a similar style to that of the Medinet Habu doorway,[28] which has been dated to the end of the fourth to early fifth century.[29] Yet another late antique graffito on the northern screen wall of the façade of the Kalabsha *pronaos*, also dated to the fourth or fifth century,[30] bears strong resemblance to the Medinet Habu fragments in terms of costumes and proportions of the figures. One more relevant comparison, geographically more proximate, may be made with the latest Bucheum stelae (nos. 18–19), dating to the reigns of Valerian and Diocletian, respectively.[31] These few comparanda permit a broad dating of our monument to sometime between the mid-third and early fifth century AD.

The decoration of this doorway thus probably occurred after monumental temple construction at Medinet Habu and elsewhere on the west of Thebes had ceased.[32] This fact raises the question of the sandstone gate's original location. Attempts have been made to match the width of the recessed portion of the cornice (177 cm) and the presumed original width of the portal (approx. 95 cm) with the foundations or footprints of various doorways preserved in and around the Small Temple of Amun, but without positive result. In fact, the roughened treatment of the sides of the cornice and lintel suggest that the door was probably a stone frame set in a mudbrick wall. If so, it is possible that the gate served as the entry to a sacred structure not within the enclosure of the Small Temple, but outside the Medinet Habu temenos to the east. Remains of an extensive town site ranging in date from early Roman to Coptic times were discovered by Hölscher outside the southeast quadrant of the enclosure,[33] and recent work outside the northeast corner of the complex has also revealed vestiges of an additional part of the Roman suburb, which would have lain adjacent to the quay for the temple of *Djeser-set*. The potential context for the emplacement of this doorway thus covers a considerable area.

[25] For the king offering to Khepri, Amun, Khonsu-Shu, and Sobek, all in crocodile form, see Pantalacci and Traunecker 1990, p. 60 (Scene 47).

[26] Hölscher 1954, p. 58, suggesting the third century AD.

[27] Shown at Gauthier 1911b, pl. CII, B.

[28] See Gauthier 1911a, p. 168; Gauthier 1911b, pl. XCIV.

[29] See the discussion in Hölbl 2004, pp. 110–11, fig. 150.

[30] As per Hölbl 2004, p. 112 (with reference to figs. 154–55).

[31] Shown at Mond and Myers 1934, pls. XLV–XLVI; for no. 20, commemorating the death of the last known Buchis bull on November 4, AD 340, see Grenier 1983.

[32] Klotz (2012, p. 372) ends his catalog of Roman monuments on the west bank of Thebes with the reign of Severus Alexander, in whose time an altar was dedicated at Deir el-Rumi near Medinet Habu.

[33] Described in Hölscher 1954, pp. 36–42.

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Regrettably, nothing is known of the findspots of any of these fragments. Both MH block 3119 and MH block 0628 are included in Hölscher's *Teilungsliste*,[34] but the cards give no indication of provenience for either. There is no known record of the smaller fragments (MH blocks 1306, 1505a, 1505b, and 1846) among the papers of the Architectural Survey. In effect, the fragments could have originated, if not from within the precinct of the Small Temple itself, from any or all of three other areas: the Roman suburb to the southeast of the main enclosure, the settled area of the same period to the northeast of the enclosure wall, or the Roman-period cemetery located to the north, atop the remains of the mortuary temple of Ay and Horemheb.[35] It is hoped that further investigation of these areas may, at some future date, allow the original position of this gate to be located, and it may be that additional fragments thereof also await discovery.

Even in ignorance of the doorway's original architectural context, it remains nevertheless a monument of some significance. It is stylistically unique, yet it must have formed part of a continuum of sacred building at Medinet Habu, even of minor scale, which the presence of other fragmentary remains of the late Egyptian/Greco-Roman hybrid style suggests. It contains a singular combination of iconographic elements that bespeaks an ongoing religious devotion, one that is in accord with important themes, both mythological and ideological, drawn from earlier Pharaonic tradition. If the broad range of dates suggested above is at all correct, it is probably the latest representation of the Hermopolitan/Theban Ogdoad ever to have been carved in Egypt, and it indicates the persistence of the worship of those deities, and the belief in their role vis-à-vis the solar cult of Amun, in the area of Djeme through the third century AD and beyond.

[34] Both are in Hölscher's *Gruppe* II. MH block 3119 is given on *Teilungsliste* card no. 636a, and MH block 0628 appears on no. 636b. Based on the photo numbers (MH 30.26 and 31.7 for MH block 3119, and MH 33.104 for MH block 0628), it would appear that the fragments were recorded in the 1930–1931 and 1933 seasons, respectively. During these periods the staff of the Architectural Survey were engaged in working in and around the Small Temple, in the area of the Roman settlement east of the main enclosure, and in the Roman cemetery built over the ruins of the mortuary temple of Ay and Horemheb (Hölscher 1932, pp. 1, 41–50; Nelson and Hölscher 1934, p. 91), but it is not possible to be more precise about the day-to-day course of the work at that time.

[35] See previous note.

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Abbreviation

LD	Lepsius, Karl Richard. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien nach den zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestaet dem koenige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV*. Volumes I–V. Berlin: Nicolai, 1849–56. Reprint. Geneva: Éditions de Belle-Lettres, 1972.

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11

"Nonsense Burners" and Nomads

Carol Meyer, University of Chicago

It is an honor and a privilege to make a contribution to the Festschrift of a distinguished professor. Many thanks are due to Janet Johnson and Donald Whitcomb for my introduction to the Eastern Desert of Egypt by way of the 1980 and 1982 excavations at Quseir al-Qadim. It is important to remember how little was known about the archaeology of the Eastern Desert before the Quseir al-Qadim excavations. It is only since then that scores of expeditions have explored the archaeology and history of the desert from Mons Porphyrites in the north to Berenice in the south. Jan always encouraged my work as a digger, a draftsman at Chicago House, and later as field director of the Bir Umm Fawakhir Project. In many ways I owe her many productive and deeply rewarding field seasons in Egypt.

A facet of the work at Bir Umm Fawakhir is the subject of this paper. The site lies in the central Eastern Desert of Egypt, almost exactly halfway between the Nile at Quft and the Red Sea at Quseir. Here the rugged Precambrian Mountains of the Eastern Desert rise, dissected in places by deep, narrow wadis. The most famous of these is the Wadi Hammamat, which is the shortest route between the Nile and the Red Sea. It has been traversed for millennia as attested by pre-pharaonic, pharaonic, and Roman-period rock inscriptions; by a series of Roman praesidia, shrines, and intervisible watch towers; and by the modern asphalt road. Where the road leaves the dense, dark Precambrian ultramafic rocks of the Hammamat series and passes through a natural gate into a more open sand and granite zone of the somewhat younger Precambrian Fawakhir granites, one finds the water wells, always a focus of life and activity in the desert (fig. 11.1). For Bir Umm Fawakhir has two very valuable resources, water and gold. The Precambrian Fawakhir granite stock is fissured, and the cracks are filled with quartz veins that are enriched with an array of minerals including gold, especially where they come into contact with the darker ultramafics. Geologically more recent fissures trap water from rare but heavy flash floods and carry it westward until it is stopped by the dense ultramafic rock.[1] Here the wells are sunk and probably always have been.

The site of Bir Umm Fawakhir itself is strung out for about 0.5 km in the bed of a deep wadi east of the wells, or rather several wadis; what we called the "main settlement" is the most densely built-up part, but parallel wadis northeast and southwest also sheltered many huts, and there are other outliers scattered farther afield. In the course of four seasons of surveying in 1992, 1993, 1996, and 1997, and one of excavations in 1999, we mapped some 237 buildings in the main settlement, documented in less detail fourteen of the outliers, and excavated two houses, two trash heaps, and one small outbuilding.[2] We dated the site to the fifth–sixth-century Coptic/Byzantine period, though there are traces of earlier occupation. The Ptolemy III Euergetes temple of Min survived until the early twentieth century.[3] We recovered some Roman amphora sherds and documented some first–third-century graffiti in a cave near the modern road,[4] and the scattered, small granite quarries, especially near Outlier 2, may be Roman in date. Ostraca from other sites on the Hammamat road attest to a Roman-period *praesidium* called "Persou," presumably near the wells,[5] but this area has been thoroughly clawed up by early twentieth-century mining activity. The main settlement, the outliers, and so far as can be determined the cemeteries are all fifth–sixth-century Coptic/Byzantine in date, however. All of the buildings in the main settlement and the outliers are dry stone masonry, ranging in size

[1] Omar 1995, pp. 45–47.

[2] Meyer 1995; Meyer et al. 2000; Meyer 2011; Meyer 2014.

[3] Weigall 1909, pp. 49–50.

[4] Wilfong 1995, pp. 47–49.

[5] Cuvigny 2003, pp. 98–99.

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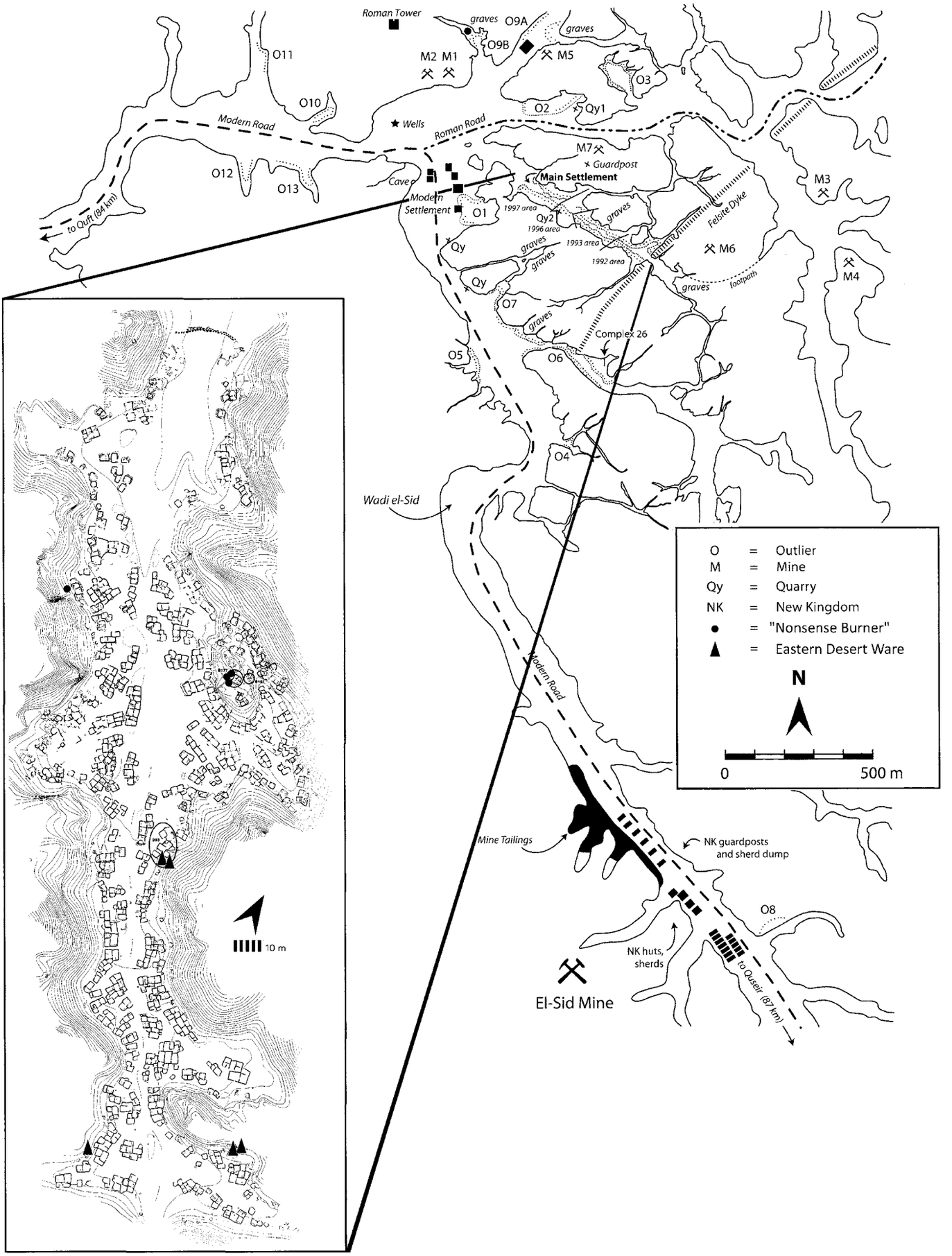


Figure 11.1. Bir Umm Fawakhir and surrounding area

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from tiny one-room outbuildings to rambling twenty-room structures composed of several discrete dwelling units sharing party walls. They are also remarkably well preserved. In places walls stand more than a meter high, and doors, benches, wall niches, and other features can be plotted without excavation. It is possible to walk for a half a kilometer or so down the main street, which is to say, the sandy wadi bottom. The current population estimate for the main settlement at the height of its occupation is about 1,000 souls, far larger than any modern settlement on the Hammamat road between Laqeita and Quseir.[6] On the other hand, we have no buildings that look like warehouses, administrative offices, churches, workshops, defenses, or other non-residential structures. They may have existed closer to the wells; if so, they were obliterated by modern mining activity and road construction. The hills around the site are riddled and trenched with ancient mine workings, and the site is littered with hundreds of discarded crushing and grinding stones, so we paid a considerable amount of attention to the ancient mining and ore reduction techniques. This is hard rock mining, not panning for alluvial gold. It entails hacking quartz veins out of granite, crushing the quartz to fine powder, and washing it to obtain a heavy, dark, lead-rich, sparkly residue. The residue may have been sent to the Nile Valley for smelting to obtain gold. This would have reduced the likelihood of theft en route to the valley. Fuel for cooking, much less smelting is very scarce in the desert. We found no evidence for smelting at Bir Umm Fawakhir even though we explicitly looked for it, and smelting such sulfide ores is a complicated, highly skilled, multi-step operation.[7] Like the great quarrying sites at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites, the Bir Umm Fawakhir mines seem to have been worked intermittently as resources and demand permitted, and not continuously for 100 to 150 years. The 1999 excavations, limited as they were, showed three levels of occupation separated by layers of debris and wind-blown fill.[8] The gaps need not have been long, however; sand storms and flash floods can deposit a lot of sand or debris very quickly.

Unfortunately, the people who worked at ancient Bir Umm Fawakhir remain nameless. We do not have a single ostracon, work list, or letter from the gold-mining town. The only written material is a series of cursive, cryptic dockets scrawled on wine amphoras. Judging from the archaeological evidence, however, we think that the workers were career miners rather than prisoners or forced labor. There are no defenses to keep people in or out, there is no sign of central planning in the rambling layout of the village or individual houses, the silos in Outlier 2 look more like private holdings than rations doled out to prisoners, and the excavations yielded an array of personal possessions such as half a copper-gold bracelet, raw emeralds, and small coins and items of jewelry.[9] Certainly wine was in good supply, and more surprisingly, meat, including cattle that cannot long survive in the desert.[10] Ostraca from the earlier second-century quarry at Mons Claudianus indicate that workers there were paid a relatively generous 47 drachmae per month, plus wine and grain rations.[11] An even more open question is what, if any, relations the ancient mining community had with the desert nomads of the age. That nomads roamed the desert is attested by ancient writers, scattered archaeological evidence from sites such as Berenice,[12] and ostraca from sites such as Krokodilô (Wadi Mweh),[13] but they are unlikely to have been numerous enough to supply much if any of the Bir Umm Fawakhir work force. As in the present day, the nomads were sheep and goat herders, and at least some nomads had camels.[14] The wells at Bir Umm Fawakhir would have been attractive and at times vital. What the nomads could have supplied is supplementary meat, milk or milk products, hides or leather, and perhaps coarse fabrics or cordage. That nomads were present at ancient Bir Umm Fawakhir at least occasionally in small numbers is attested by a scattering of Eastern Desert ware (fig. 11.1), a handmade pottery now attributed to Eastern Desert dwellers.

As so often happens in excavations, a number of unexplained artifacts were collected, the sort of find that gets labeled "ritual artifact" until a more prosaic usage is determined. At Bir Umm Fawakhir we recovered four small stone box-like items (fig. 11.2). All are rectangular with a shallow depression on top, all are carved from very soft stone, and all are more or less elaborately decorated. The fanciest has feet carved like little columns with capitals and arched niches on the sides. To this number we added a fifth, a piece of a mudbrick

[6] Meyer et al. 2000, pp. 15–17.

[7] Meyer et al. 2005.

[8] Meyer 1999; Meyer 2014, pp. 15–29, pls. 24, 27, 28, 30.

[9] Meyer 1999; Meyer 2014, pp. 81–84.

[10] Ikram 2001; Ikram 2014.

[11] Cuvigny 1996, pp. 139–40.

[12] Smith 2008, p. 358.

[13] Cuvigny 2003, pp. 351–52.

[14] Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008, p. 366.

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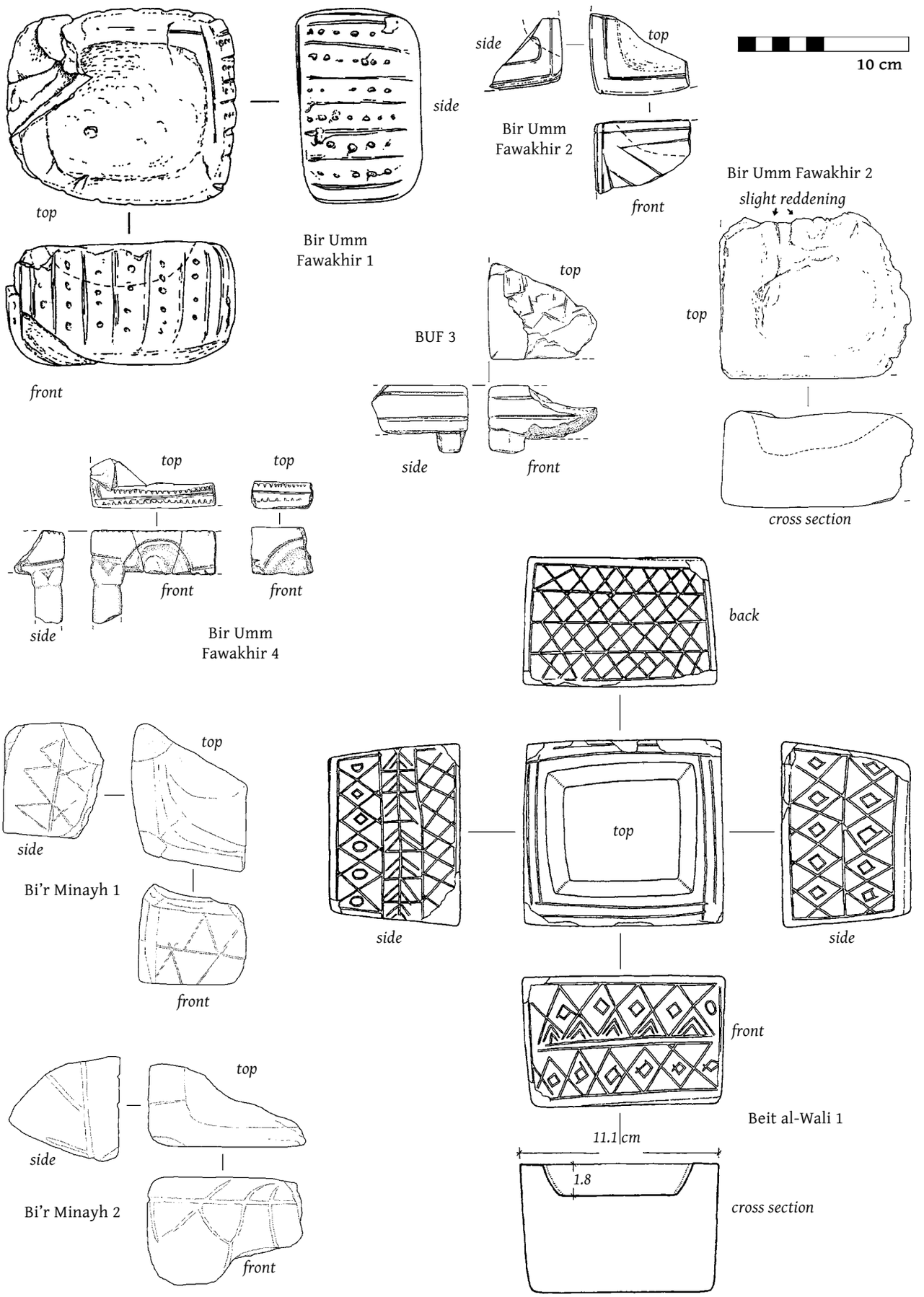


Figure 11.2. Small stone box-like items recovered from Bir Umm Fawakhir, Bi'r Minayh, and Beit al-Wali

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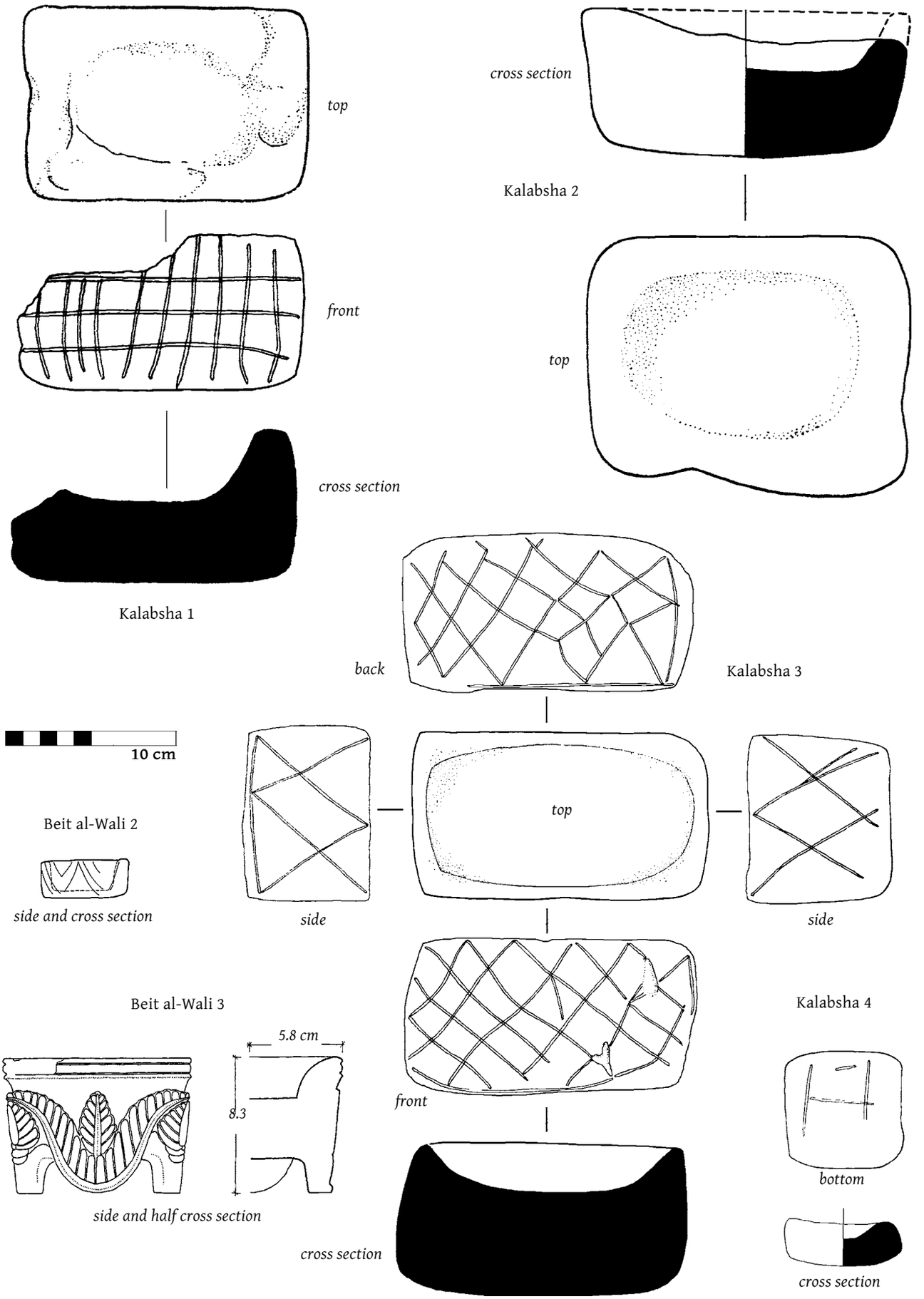


Figure 11.3. Small stone box-like items recovered from Beit al-Wali and Kalabsha

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with a similar depression on top. We originally called the mudbrick item a door socket, but it showed no signs of rotary grinding from a door pivot. Mudbrick is a miserable choice for a door socket, especially at a site with so many kinds of very hard rock at hand, and any bricks at all are so rare at Bir Umm Fawakhir that we marked them individually on the base map. All five of the items are about the right size for an incense burner, but none of them show any signs of burning.[15] We called them "nonsense burners" in the hopes that someone would stand up in exasperation and say, "No, no, no, they are really X." This has not happened.

We have however found parallels at several other sites, four from Beit al-Wali,[16] four from Kalabsha,[17] and two recently published examples from Bi'r Minayh.[18] All of the examples illustrated here have been reduced to about the same size, 1:3, in figures 11.2–3.[19] There is clearly a range in sizes and quality of carving, but even the largest could be held in two hands, and the smallest in one hand. All of the "nonsense burners" are rectangular with a shallow depression on the top, and so far as can be determined from the publications, all are made of soft stone. Note that at Bir Umm Fawakhir, all examples are made of sandstone, a sort of very soft chalky stone, or even mudbrick, but not talc/soapstone/steatite. Talc is locally available and very easy to carve, but it is a dark gray or greenish black rather than light colored, and it has a greasy or shiny, non-porous texture. All but three of the "nonsense burners" are decorated, mostly with scratched lines, though the most elaborate has four feet and an elegant leaf design on the sides. None of them has any sign of burning or of visible residues or staining from other materials such as wine or food.[20]

Another similarity between the "nonsense burners" is that most of them came from graves or cemetery areas: Bir Umm Fawakhir 1, both examples from Bi'r Minayh,[21] all four from Beit al-Wali,[22] all four from Kalabsha,[23] and perhaps Bir Umm Fawahir 2. The latter was found upslope from Building 197, which is to say, downslope from a large cemetery area atop the ridge between Building 197 in the main settlement and Outlier 7 (fig. 11.1). Bir Umm Fawakhir 3, 4, and 5 are the only ones from non-burial loci. All of them came from Room A in Building 177, a five-room dry stone masonry house that differs from the others in the main settlement only in respect of its location atop a granite knob. The mudbrick "nonsense burner" was retrieved from wall fall, so we can say little about its original setting, but the other two were excavated from locus 7, fill over a floor. Bedrock slopes up under the unexcavated half of Room A toward the excavated room D on the other side of the wall, so it is unlikely that we missed a burial.[24] What then are two "nonsense burners" doing in floor fill of a room? Were they prepared for a burial but never used? Both are fairly elaborate; were they picked up from an old graveside and carried to Building 177? Or do they in fact have some non-funerary function? Given the paucity of excavated, non-funerary remains from the fifth–sixth centuries in the Eastern Desert, it is hard to say.

What does seem clear is that the "nonsense burners" were never used to burn incense and apparently never held anything that could leave a stain, such as wine. Judging from the number of Late Roman A wine amphorae around the Bir Umm Fawakhir and Bi'r Minayh graves, some sort of funeral or memorial toast seems at least possible.[25] All but one of the "nonsense burners" are relatively simple items. The softness of the stone means that manufacturing one would have required little more than a harder stone to grind the vessel more or less to shape, something to rough out the central depression, and a knife to incise the design and to carve the legs, if any. If decorated, the carving is mostly scratched lines, more of a personal, household production than that of a trained craftsman. Only the fanciest, Beit al-Wali 3, required a more talented

[15] Real incense burners are well attested in the ancient Near East, in all sizes and shapes. The small cuboid incense burners studied by Shea (1983) range in date from Isin-Larsa to Islamic times, and from Mesopotamia to the Levant and Arabia. Their function is indicated by traces of burning and, sometimes, resinous residues.

[16] Habachi 1967, pp. 68–70.

[17] Strouhal 1984, pp. 201–03. Thanks are due to Lucie Jirásková of the Czech Institute of Egyptology of Charles University, Prague, for permission to reprint the Kalabsha pieces.

[18] Lassányi 2010c, p. 296.

[19] There are some small but incorrigible differences between the published measurements and the scales in the original publications. This is not surprising given the crudeness of some of the artifacts.

[20] None of the items has been tested for residues. The ones from Bir Umm Fawakhir and Bi'r Minayh are stored in Egypt. Beit al-Wali 3 is in the Oriental Institute in Chicago but is on display and has probably been very thoroughly cleaned and conserved.

[21] Lassányi 2010a, pp. 265–67.

[22] Ricke 1967, p. 42.

[23] Strouhal 1984, pp. 35, 203, 280.

[24] Meyer 2014, pp. 28–30, pl. 30.

[25] Meyer 2011, p. 110; Lassányi 2010b, pp. 284–85.

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than usual carver. Lassányi[26] suggested that the "nonsense burners" from Bi'r Minayh were miniature altars, and we would like to take that suggestion further by suggesting that they were used for water offerings. We suggest that the little "burners" were graveside gifts, and that they were intended for water. Since all of the "burners" are made of soft and very porous stone, rather than, say, talc, water would have soaked in even faster than it could evaporate in the desert air. In support of the idea that the "nonsense burners" are water offerings, we note the presence of many rectangular sacred-lake or temple-pool offering tables at Berenice,[27] Kalabsha, and many, many other sites down the Nile. We cannot push this comparison very far because at best the "nonsense burners" or "water offerings" are only reminiscent of the miniature stone temple pools, but perhaps the important idea was water, all-important in a hyper-arid desert.

Another feature of the "water offerings" is that they are found only at sites that have yielded the Eastern Desert ware so extensively studied by Hans Barnard.[28] Eastern Desert ware is very distinctive. It is handmade, sometimes red-slipped, usually burnished, and often decorated with incised lines, which are sometimes filled with white material. Most of the vessels are simple cups or bowls, plus a few closed forms,[29] and judging from analyses of residues, they were used for food including cereals, vegetables, oils, and meat, and not for water only.[30] They are dated mostly to the fourth through sixth centuries. The handmade, burnished Eastern Desert ware sherds are quite different from the wheel made Nile silt, marl, or Aswan pink wares that form the vast majority of the Bir Umm Fawakhir pottery corpus. The distribution of Eastern Desert ware is shown in figure 11.4;[31] it is now generally attributed to Eastern Desert nomads. Certainly no Eastern Desert ware has so far been reported from Nile Valley sites such as Akhmim, Medinet Habu, Tôd, or even Aswan.

The presence of both Eastern Desert ware and "water offerings" at Beit al-Wali and Kalabsha (fig. 11.4) brings us to the vexed problem of the Blemmyes, who are often said to have controlled the Eastern Desert in the centuries in question. A people called Blemmyes are attested in ancient writers as early as the third century BC as ranging over a vast swath of the Eastern Desert between the Nile and the Red Sea.[32] Note, however, that the second-century AD ostraca from Krokodilô (Wadi Mweh) on the Wadi Hammamat road between Bir Umm Fawakhir and Coptos refer only to unnamed "barbarians," though warnings come from as far away as Lower Nubia.[33] By the third century AD, the Blemmyes were a serious problem to the Roman defense of southern Egypt, and in 298 Diocletian abandoned the Dodecaschoinos south of Aswan to them.[34] In the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, the Blemmyes were in more or less constant conflict with the Nobadae, who were settled along the Nile, the X-Group or Balana culture.[35] Both Nobadae and Blemmyes continued to make trouble for the Byzantine emperors. When Justinian ordered the closing of all pagan temples in the empire, including the cherished shrine of Isis at Philae, the Blemmyes and Nobadae counter-attacked, raided, and threatened southern Egypt for years.[36] In the early 420s Olympiodorus of Thebes visited Blemmye territory including the towns of Primis (Qasr Ibrim) and Talmis and said that the Blemmyes controlled the emerald mines (Mons Smaragdus) and the area around Berenice.[37] A generation later, in 453, Marcian's general Maximianus concluded a short-lived hundred-year peace treaty with the Blemmyes,[38] and for the next half century or so, the Blemmyes ruled the Dodecaschoinos, until their final defeat in 540 by king Silko of the Nobades,[39] as recorded on the walls of the Mandulis temple at Kalabsha.[40] At some time in the fifth century, a king Phonen of the Blemmyes wrote in bad Greek to Abourni, king of the Nobadae, seeking to avoid war.[41] Thus the Blemmyes are attested as controlling the region of Beit al-Wali and Kalabsha in the centuries when Eastern Desert Ware and the "water offerings" were manufactured, but the sole reference to their presence in the central Egyptian

[26] Lassányi 2010c, p. 296.

[27] Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008, pp. 141–44.

[28] Barnard 2008a; 2008b.

[29] Barnard 2008b, p. 1.

[30] Ibid., p. 82.

[31] Thanks are due to Hans Barnard for permission to use figure 1:1 in Barnard (2008b) as a basis for our figure 11.4.

[32] Priese 1997, p. 214.

[33] Cuvigny 2003, pp. 351–52.

[34] Priese 1997, p. 216.

[35] Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008, p. 369.

[36] Bowman 1986, p. 51; Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008, p. 370.

[37] Bowman 1986, p. 51; Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2011, p. 287.

[38] Bowman 1986, p. 51.

[39] Sidebotham, Hense, and Nouwens 2008, p. 370.

[40] Vryzidis 2009.

[41] Skeat 1977; Sidebotham 2011, p. 267.

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Desert is Olympiodorus's. Given the scrappy and hard-to-interpret textual evidence and the even greater difficulty of attaching the name "Blemmye" to a type of pottery, we agree with Hans Barnard that we cannot, in our present state of information, ascribe the Eastern Desert ware to "Blemmyes" and that "Eastern Desert dwellers" is a vaguer but more honest label.

We do suggest, however, that artifacts other than Eastern Desert Ware, namely the "water offerings," might be associated with the desert nomads as well. Further, if the "water offerings" were in fact primarily graveside gifts, then the Eastern Desert dwellers were not only scattering their pots and potsherds around towns such as Kalabsha, ancient Bir Umm Fawakhir, and Berenice, but also burying some of their dead in the same cemetery areas. As usual in archaeological essays, this one ends with a conclusion of "more work needed." In this case, it is possible that full publication of the extensive fifth–sixth-century material from Berenice, its satellite settlements, and especially its cemeteries will include more of the "water offerings." Certainly, Berenice was the most important site on the Red Sea coast in the period: it has yielded Eastern Desert Ware, and its water sources and markets would at times have been most attractive to desert nomads. It would be an interesting test case.

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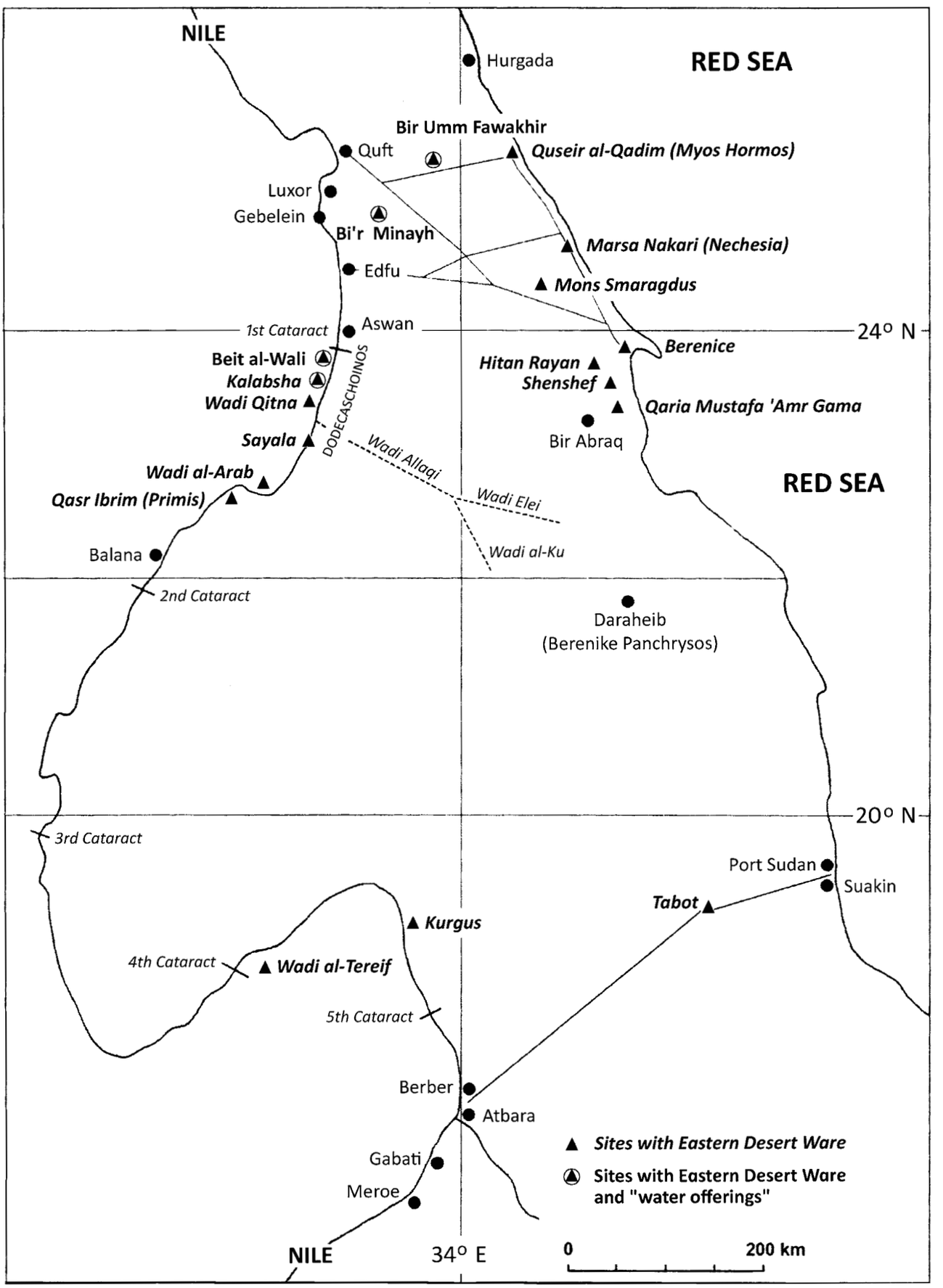


Figure 11.4. Distribution of Eastern Desert ware

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12

The Foundation and Purpose of the Settlement at Lahun during the Middle Kingdom: A New Evaluation

Nadine Moeller, University of Chicago

I am dedicating this article to Jan Johnson, my friend and mentor, and I would like to thank her for the continuous support and help over the past seven years.

One of the most frequently cited examples for ancient Egyptian urbanism, the town of Lahun[1] is located close to the southeast entrance of the Fayum lake depression. It has been the object of a long line of studies focusing primarily on the analysis of the architectural layout of the houses within this town. The strict grid pattern and the noticeable complexity of the internal organization of the larger houses have led to its being of significant interest for the understanding of the social organization and urban characteristics of its inhabitants. The primary function of this town has usually been linked to the funerary cult of Senwosret II — whose nearby pyramid complex has been understood as the main reason for its existence — housing administrators, as well as temple staff for the upkeep of his royal mortuary cult. More recently, the use of satellite images in conjunction with available archaeological and textual data has led to several new observations and results for this important Middle Kingdom settlement site, which not only question the function of this settlement but also provide a new perspective on its setting within the wider landscape of the Fayum region.

Brief Overview of Excavation History

The settlement site of Lahun was founded along the desert edge on a relatively flat but uneven and slightly sloping bedrock surface, which is marked by a small rock outcrop on the northern edge. This was interpreted by William Flinders Petrie, who first discovered this site, as the "acropolis," a temporary residence for the king during his travels.[2] Petrie conducted two major seasons, one in 1889 and another in 1890, and was able to reveal an almost complete plan of the settlement, except for the southeastern area of the site that was already destroyed by modern agriculture. In addition to the architecture, he unearthed a large number of finds including papyri and clay sealings.[3] Many of these objects include tools and other household items as well as ceramics that provide a good deal of insight into the daily activities of the inhabitants of this settlement. About ten years later, in 1899, Ludwig Borchardt also carried out some fieldwork at Lahun. His interest in the site had been triggered by several papyri that had appeared on the antiquities market containing many details about the temple administration.[4]

[1] I use the term Lahun to designate the ancient town site and Illahun for the pyramid complex of Senwosret II. While it has been established that Petrie probably misunderstood the name of the settlement as Kahun, the name Lahun has prevailed in many publications on this topic; see for example Quirke 2005, p. 1; Kemp 2006; see also Luft 1998, pp. 1–2.

[2] Petrie 1891, pp. 5–6. This term can still be found marked on Petrie's map, but of course this Greek term has nothing to do with the function of this building complex and should be best avoided; see also comments by Quirke 2005, p. 47.

[3] A significant proportion of these finds was given to the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology at University College, London.

[4] Borchardt 1899. These papyri are now held in the Museum of Berlin and are currently being published by Ulrich Luft, who has already extensively worked and published on this material. See for example Luft 1992b; Luft 1992a; Luft 2006.

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Borchardt's intervention at Lahun did not focus solely on the search for papyri; he also made many notes about architectural observations and recorded additional details through photographs.[5] The material that he documented is a very useful addition to Petrie's work a few years earlier. In 1920, Petrie returned to the site with the objective of investigating a few selected areas that had previously escaped his attention.[6]

After a long gap without any fieldwork at Lahun, Nicholas B. Millet from the Royal Ontario Museum and the University of Toronto was granted the concession of Lahun in 1989. He and his team (henceforth referred to as the Canadian mission) conducted several seasons at the site until 1997, when the untimely death of Millet put an end to this project.[7] Renewed interest in Lahun has been shown recently by a Hungarian team led by Zoltán Horváth from the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, who has been doing fieldwork at Lahun since 2008.[8] Their work has focused specifically on the valley temple area, and they were also able to produce a new topographic map of the Lahun region that covers about 800 ha.[9] In 2010, an Egyptian mission headed by Abdel Rahman el-Aydi discovered four cemeteries in this area, one of which dates to the Middle Kingdom and contained at least thirty-one tombs of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties.[10]

The Layout of Lahun

The purpose and function of the town of Lahun have been closely linked to the nearby mortuary complex of Senwosret II, who built his pyramid about 1.1 km to the west of the town site (fig. 12.1). Remains of the dismantled valley temple of Senwosret II's pyramid complex have been uncovered along the southwestern corner of the settlement (fig. 12.2). This temple complex had its own mudbrick enclosure wall, which had been lined with limestone slabs. The actual sanctuary was probably made of stone that had already been removed in antiquity, leading to the almost complete disappearance of any structural elements there.[11] The long causeway linking the temple to the eastern side of the pyramid complex is the longest example for a Middle Kingdom royal funeral complex. It seems to have never been fully constructed and might have only been partially completed, since there is no evidence for any pavement or roofing.[12] The town site of Lahun has been understood as a foundation by state officials during the reign of Senwosret II with the intention of housing the priests and administrators as well as related temple personnel who were involved in the upkeep of the royal mortuary cult of this ruler. In this respect, Lahun must have received a significant endowment of agricultural land providing the inhabitants with the necessary compensations and food supply.

The main plan of the ancient settlement, which was first published by Petrie, is still the main site plan used for any analysis concerning the layout and function of this town site. Borchardt's notes as well as additional observations made by the Canadian mission, however, have revealed several new elements, which contribute to a better understanding of this town. Furthermore, satellite imagery is another valuable source of information concerning the overall size and layout.[13]

On Petrie's plan it is possible to discern a town of almost square shape, which was enclosed by a thick mudbrick wall. The interior is filled with houses of different sizes and complexity, which are arranged along several streets following an orthogonal course. Along the main road on the northern part of the site, two rows of conspicuously large houses can be recognized, which have been termed "mansions" or "villas," each of which covers about 2,700 m^2, while farther to the south and west, the settlement is marked by much smaller houses (50–168 m^2) standing in obvious contrast to the mansions. This phenomenon has led scholars to believe that the founders of Lahun envisioned an extremely hierarchical society with wealthy elites on the top and

[5] Arnold 2005.

[6] Petrie et al. 1923, pp. 39–41.

[7] The results of this archaeological work were only published in form of a preliminary report by his staff members due to Millet's death in 2004. See Frey and Knudstad 2008.

[8] See Horváth 2009a. Most of the documentation from Lahun collected by the Canadian mission was given to the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, where it is now kept in the archives. I would like to thank Zoltán Horváth for having been so generous in providing access to the drawings and images of the Canadian mission.

[9] Horváth 2011–2012, p. 46, fig. 2.

[10] The discovery has been announced only in form of a press release so far.

[11] Petrie 1890, pp. 21–22; Petrie et al. 1923, pp. 39–40, pl. XXXIII.

[12] Stadelmann 1997, p. 237.

[13] I would like to thank Grégory Marouard, who first detected some new features on Google Earth, which have now changed the plan of Lahun considerably.

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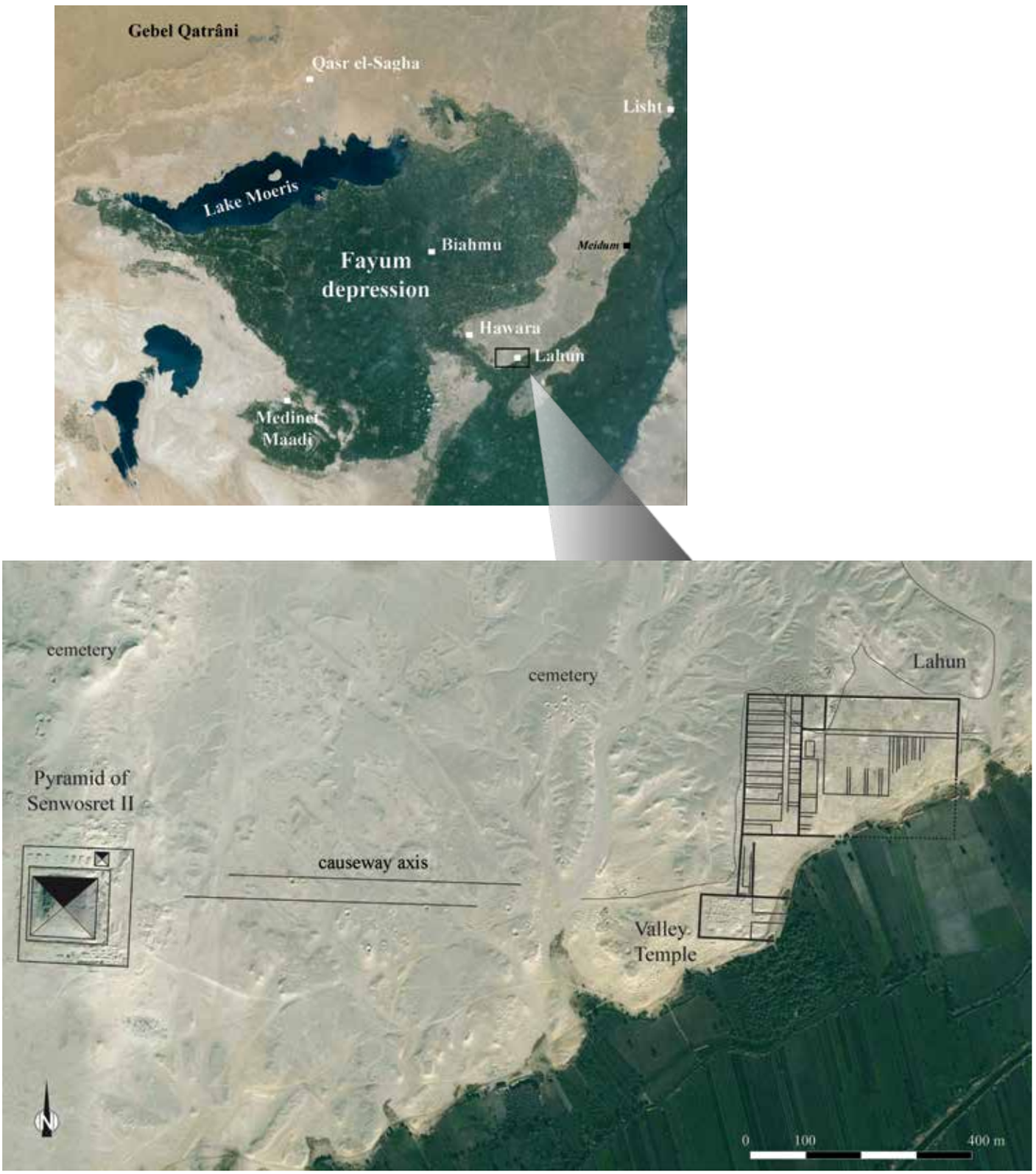


Figure 12.1. Satellite view and plan of Lahun and its relation to the Valley Temple of Senwosret II. By G. Marouard Google™ Earth, image ©2014 DigitalGlobe, and after B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, London/New York 1989, 150, fig. 53

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a majority of inhabitants who would belong to lower levels of society such as workers.[14] This interpretation was mainly based on the extreme difference in house sizes noticeable at the site. However, this social divide seems to be less noticeable when considering the elements of decoration within houses, many of which had traces of paintings on the walls and the amount of valuable objects such as imported pottery from Crete (Kamares ware) or papyrus documents.[15]

Two further general observations of the site are important to mention here. One concerns the thick dividing wall running north–south, which separates the town into two unequal portions: a larger one, which is almost square in shape, to the east and a smaller one to the west. The purpose of this dividing wall has also generated much debate among scholars and is discussed further below.

The other noticeable feature of Petrie's plan is the rather large space in the southeast corner of the site, where settlement remains have been lost due to erosion and modern agriculture (fig. 12.2). The preserved course of the mudbrick enclosure wall along the exterior of the whole town has been hypothetically projected into the areas that are now lost. This has generated a reconstruction of the total area covered by the town following a square layout and being oriented to the cardinal points. Based on this reconstruction, the settlement extends 360 m north–south and 390 m east–west, using the enclosure wall of the mortuary temple as a guideline for the southern limit.[16] A closer analysis of recent satellite images, however, indicates a different reconstruction for the layout of Lahun, which is a bit smaller. On recent satellite images using Google Earth, it is possible to recognize the traces of the original extent of the town to the south, even in those areas where the enclosure wall is missing.

These satellite views show a distinct line along the southern side of the last row of houses that were drawn by Petrie, which also align perfectly to the last row of houses in the western part of the settlement. This is further corroborated by the fact that there seems to be a large open space to the south void of any buildings except for a couple of houses next to the valley temple complex, which are laid out in a single row orientated north–south. The western enclosure wall that extends southward to the temple shows a slight change in its axis, which can be seen along the section between the corner of the town enclosure up to where it intersects with the enclosure of the temple (fig. 12.2). Petrie's plan shows a slight bend in the otherwise straight line of the enclosure wall connecting to the valley temple enclosure, which might provide some further indication about the chronological sequence of the construction phases of the various parts of the town (see discussion below).[17]

Furthermore, it can be seen that none of the east–west streets or rows of houses to the west of the central dividing wall align to those of the larger eastern part; however, the southernmost row in both areas stops exactly at the same level (fig. 12.2). This indicates that the actual extension of the settlement has to be expected precisely here; it did not extend farther to the south, as has been reconstructed previously.

Another argument in favor of this adapted layout of Lahun can be deduced from the proportions of the various housing blocks. On Petrie's plan the northernmost row of buildings, which is occupied by the large mansions, is separated by the main east–west street from the southern row of mansions situated across the street (fig. 12.2). The facades of the mansions are perfectly aligned toward this street. A large number of smaller houses abut the three southern mansions on their southern sides following the same orthogonal layout, which has occasionally been broken up by smaller alleys between the various housing rows.[18] It is possible to note that the last houses on the southern side also align along their facades, which is a clear sign for another larger street in this area that would have run parallel to the one farther north separating the mansions (fig. 12.2). On the satellite image, it is also possible to discern a clear line here suggesting a street.

[14] See the major study by Kemp 2006, pp. 211–21, who was able to considerably change our perception about the inhabitants. In the past, Lahun had often been equated with a "workers' town" housing the people who built Senwosret II's mortuary complex.

[15] Petrie did not record many of the findspots for the objects, but the notes in his archaeological report indicate that a certain number of prestigious objects were found in dwellings other than the large mansions; see Quirke 2005, Petrie 1891, pp. 7–10, and also further comments by Quirke 2005, pp. 74–88.

[16] Kemp 2006, p. 211. Most recently, see Snape 2014, pp. 64–65.

[17] This slight change in the alignment is marked quite well on Petrie's plan but also needs to be verified further on the ground.

[18] Some of the housing blocks along the southern half of the site seem have been left relatively untouched by Petrie's excavation, but this might be a misleading perception since he moved excavation spoils around the site during his fieldwork.

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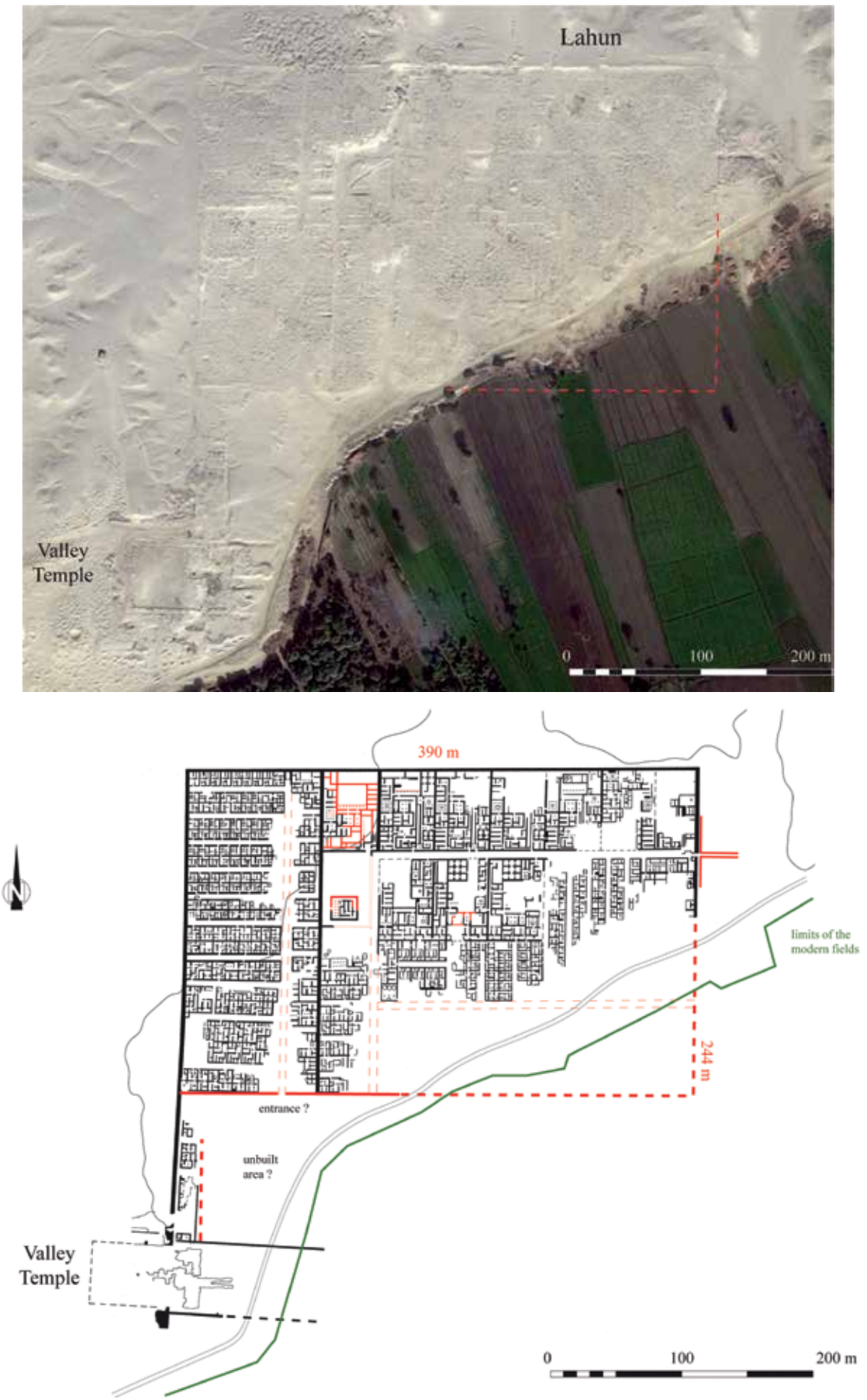


Figure 12.2. Satellite view and plan of Lahun and its relation to the Valley Temple of Senwosret II. By G. Marouard using Google Earth, image DigitalGlobe 2014; after Kemp 1989, p. 150, fig. 53

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In terms of the general layout, this reconstruction would then leave a space with almost the exact same proportions and dimensions as the northernmost row of mansions. Such a symmetric organization fits very well with the rigid orthogonally planned settlement layout of the whole site. Therefore, instead of reconstructing a square layout for this settlement, which also implies that about 45 percent of the site has been lost to erosion and agriculture, it is now possible to propose a new reconstruction of Lahun on a slightly smaller scale of about 9.5 hectares in total, stretching 390 m east–west and only 244 m north–south. The total loss of archaeological remains would then only be about 25 percent of the total surface (fig. 12.2).

The Function of the North–South Dividing Wall at Lahun

One of the characteristics of Lahun is that it was enclosed by a mudbrick wall with a thickness of 3.25 m that served for marking the limits of the town and controlling access to it. There is no indication that this wall had ever been fortified to withstand attacks from the exterior.[19] Furthermore, no traces of any settlement expansion, storage, or production areas have been detected along the exterior of the walled town, which might be an indication for the strict control of this settlement against any voluntary enlargements by the inhabitants.[20] This is mainly based on the more general observation that there is currently no known case in Egypt where a pre-planned settlement founded by the state became incorporated and was transformed over time into a larger, "organically" growing settlement as a consequence of private initiatives of the inhabitants.

As indicated above, Lahun is further characterized by a substantial north–south wall with a thickness of 3.18 m (6 cubits) that divides the settlement into two parts, a larger eastern one and a smaller, more narrow one to the west (fig. 12.2). This internal division has received much scholarly attention in relation to its function and the impression that it served as a dividing wall prohibiting direct access from and to these two parts of the town and therefore restricting interaction between the inhabitants of these two parts of the town. One of the first explanations for this separation into two discrete settlement quarters pertains to social differences among the inhabitants. According to this line of argument, the new settlement area would have served as a dwelling place for inhabitants from the lower levels of society or workmen responsible for the construction of the pyramid complex in order to keep them segregated from the administrative elite inhabiting the much larger mansions in the eastern part of the town.[21] This interpretation concerning the occupants of the western part of the town has been based principally on the presence of the seemingly dominant number of small houses arranged in double rows and built back-to-back. This part of the town consisted of about 150 housing units and seems to have been densely settled (fig. 12.2). Nevertheless, there is an equally large number of small houses showing a very similar layout occupying the southern area of the eastern part of settlement, and no distinctive efforts to segregate those houses from the large mansions can been discerned here, which makes the workers' housing interpretation questionable.

In order to gain a better understanding of the possible purpose of this central dividing wall, which can be considered the western part of the original enclosure wall, it is important to investigate how it relates structurally to the original sections of the town wall. This allows us to evaluate more precisely when the western extension was built and whether it was part of the original layout of the town, which could shed further light on its purpose. An important detail was already noted by Ludwig Borchardt, who recorded a single block of stone, used as a cornerstone, inserted into the mudbrick enclosure wall at the northwest angle where the dividing wall starts to run southward (fig. 12.3).[22] The function of the stone was to protect the angles along the base of the mudbrick wall and add more stability to these very exposed parts, which are easily effected by

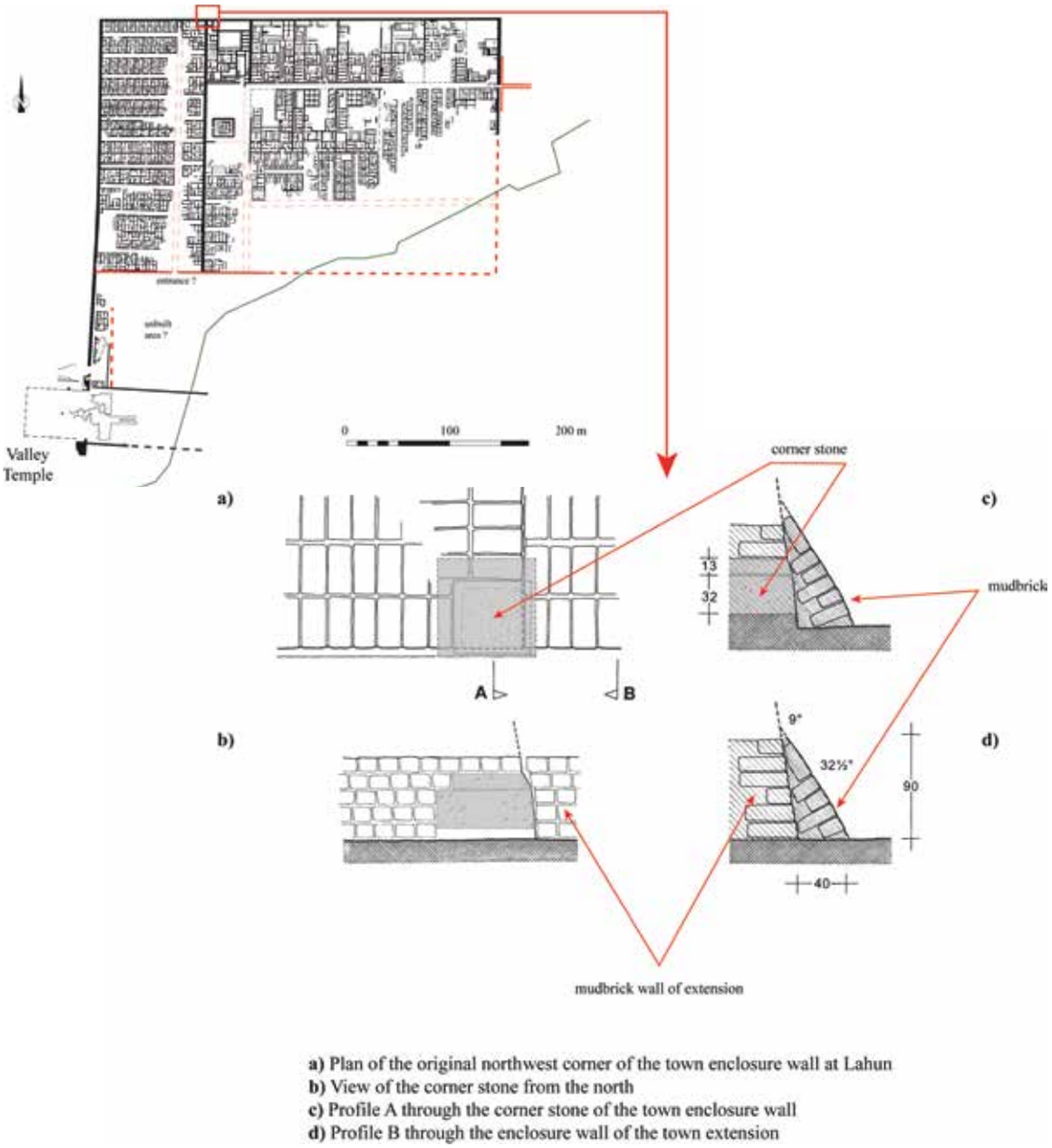
[19] There is no evidence for any features that would classify this town as fortified, such as watchtowers, buttresses, or stairs leading to its top. It is also much thinner than for example the fortified walls of the contemporary Nubian fortresses and clearly lacks any signs of military architecture.

[20] There were a few traces that might belong to some activities outside the town that were noted during the investigation of the street and its two staircases approaching the eastern gate; see Frey and Knudstad 2008, p. 69. It is possible that most excavators did not particularly search for such evidence, and erosion might have been a factor to take into account as well.

[21] See for example Petrie 1891, p. 5, who interpreted the western settlement area as the workmen's quarter with densely packed houses.

[22] Arnold 2005, p. 82, fig. 84a–b.

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a) Plan of the original northwest corner of the town enclosure wall at Lahun
b) View of the corner stone from the north
c) Profile A through the corner stone of the town enclosure wall
d) Profile B through the enclosure wall of the town extension

Figure 12.3. Details of the northwest corner of Lahun as recorded by Ludwig Borchardt. By G. Marouard, after Arnold 2005, p. 82, figs. 4a–d

wind erosion.[23] Its presence also implies that this corner once formed the exterior northwestern angle of the town wall for some time prior to the construction of the additional wall segment extending the town wall to the west.

This indicates that the settlement was constructed in at least two phases (which could have succeeded each other quite quickly): first, the larger eastern part, following an almost square layout; then the western area, a secondary addition also following a planned grid layout. However, this does not necessarily imply that this western part of the town is a much later addition to the original foundation to the east, and already Petrie has pointed out that the objects found in the western part of Lahun do not seem to indicate any major chronological difference compared to those from the remainder of the town.[24] This is also valid for the brick sizes used for both enclosures, which are of roughly the same size and material.[25] The exact purpose of this dividing wall for which no direct access has been found to the east is certainly striking and needs an explanation.

[23] The town of Lahun seems to have been exposed to strong winds, which led to the almost complete erosion of a significant portion of the mudbrick walls in the more open areas of the site.

[24] Petrie 1891, p. 5; Quirke 2005, pp. 43–44.

[25] See Arnold 2005, pp. 80–83, for further technical details on this N–S enclosure.

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The construction of the new enclosure led to an expansion of the settlement to the west and physically separated the new town quarter from the remaining settlement. So far, no gate has been found for this extension, and the only possible access would have been through the southern side, most likely in alignment with the main north–south street leading toward the temple (fig. 12.2).

Further observations on the ground indicate that this new western part of the town did not simply function as an extension to accommodate a growing population at Lahun, but physically linked the town and the temple. If the extension had been related to population growth, it would be hard to understand why the former western side of the enclosure wall had not been dismantled in favor of the extended enclosure wall to the west. At other settlement sites in Egypt, expansions can clearly be traced in the archaeological record because enclosure walls were frequently abandoned, dismantled, and rebuilt. These activities leave traces in the archaeological record and help to identify the long-term evolution of a town according to the dynamics leading to its growth and/or decline. For example, at the Old Kingdom town of Elephantine, several phases of settlement expansion in relation to the town walls are clearly traceable.[26] At Lahun, the addition of the western part to the site did not lead to the dismantling of this older section of the town wall, which seems to have become a kind of separating feature within the site instead. Quite the contrary, there is evidence for a second wall built against its outer face at a later time, which means it was deliberately kept in place, and possibly renovated.[27] This certainly indicates that this wall fulfilled an important function for the general organization of the town. On Petrie's plan it is possible to note that most of the houses of both parts of the settlement abut this enclosure wall, making use of it as their rear wall (fig. 12.4).[28] Using enclosure walls as a rear wall for buildings is a common phenomenon in ancient Egyptian towns and cities and presents an economic way of constructing new dwellings and storage facilities. If this had been the only reason for keeping this wall in place, then why is there no evidence for the inhabitants creating openings in areas where the streets lie in order to improve the circulation between the old and new part of the town?[29]

These considerations strongly suggest a deliberate choice of keeping the older wall as a dividing wall for the town. Some further indications as to a possible reason for this striking division within the town of Lahun can be found in the textual sources and offer a good example of how archaeological data can be supplemented by textual records.

The papyri and sealings mention two different toponyms in relation to Lahun: Hetep-Senwosret and Sekhem-Senwosret. Several studies have assigned these two toponyms to different parts of the town.[30] The most recent investigation by Horváth brought together sufficient evidence to convincingly demonstrate that Hetep-Senwosret was the name for the larger eastern sector of Lahun, under control of a mayor who exercised the highest authority in the town, while Sekhem-Senwosret refers to the western part of the town, which was closely linked to the cult of the deceased king at the nearby valley temple.[31] While the mayor of Hetep-Senwosret also had control over the temple administration and thus successfully combined secular and religious duties, which is typical for the mayoral position in any town administration during the Middle Kingdom, the western part of the settlement that was segregated from the main part by the above-mentioned mudbrick wall evidently functioned as an independent administrative unit at Lahun with a strong link to the valley temple, which is also witnessed by the thin "corridor" of mudbrick buildings linking the western extension and the temple. This is the only other structural connection visible on the plan apart from the enclosure walls (see fig. 12.2). This administrative distinction might have been the principal reason for keeping this town quarter separate from the rest of the settlement. Further information obtained from the documents

[26] Ziermann 2003.

[27] Frey and Knudstad 2008, pp. 33–35, fig. 8.

[28] There is no information on the stratigraphic relation of walls abutting the enclosure or what happened when the new wall segment was built against its outer face. Presumably there was a foundation trench that would have cut quite a few of these older house walls. No archaeological records for such an undertaking currently exist but would be worth an additional investigation at the site.

[29] It cannot be excluded of course that such openings did exist in the later phases of the settlement but were simply omitted on Petrie's plan.

[30] See Quirke 2005 and Horváth 2009b with further references. This has most recently been disputed by Luft 2011, who bases his interpretation almost exclusively on textual evidence without taking into account the archaeological data and stratigraphy relating to the town walls.

[31] Horváth 2009b.

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Figure 12.4. Plan of the western and the central parts of Lahun showing the temple and the administrative areas. By G. Marouard, after Gallorini, 1998, p. 49, fig. 3

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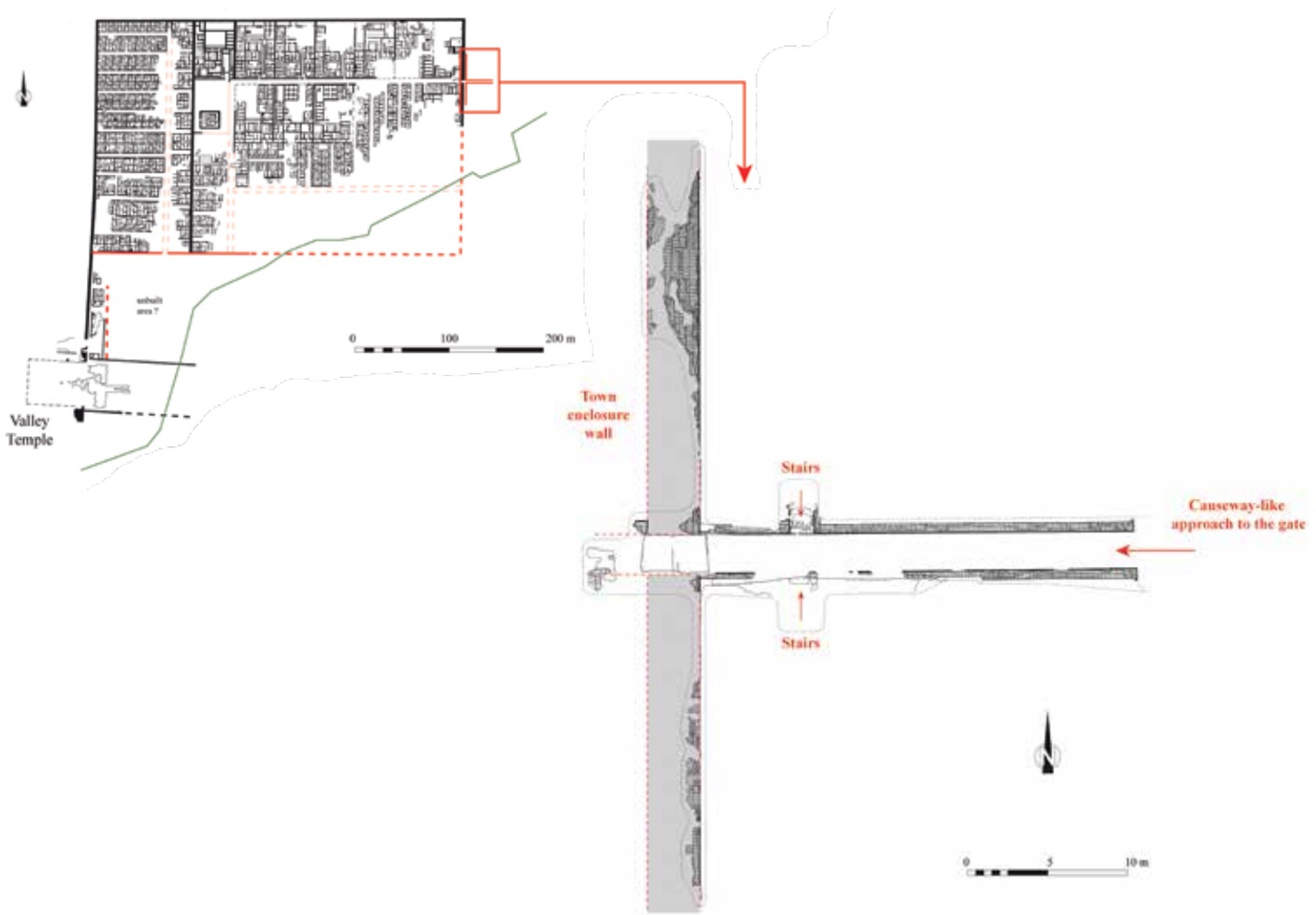


Figure 12.5. Detail of the main gate area at Lahun.
By G. Marouard, after Frey and Knudstad 2008, p. 66, fig. 45. Original plan courtesy of Z. Horváth

also shed light on the approximate time line of the foundation and development of Lahun in general, which spans most of the Twelfth into the Thirteenth Dynasty.[32]

East–West Street and East Gate

The principal entrance to Lahun leading directly to the main street was situated on the northeastern side of the town enclosure. The recent reinvestigation by the Canadian mission has shown that the road leading up to the entrance from the outside was visibly marked by a thin mudbrick wall on each side, which gave it a kind of causeway-like appearance (fig. 12.5).[33] At about 5 m from the entrance gate, gaps on both sides have been discovered, which cut through the walls flanking the street. Each gap was equipped with a small staircase leading to the north or south, respectively. The exact purpose is unclear, but these doorways seem to have given access to the exterior face of the town wall and could have been used by guards for inspections and/or for deliveries that were destined for the granaries of the northern row of mansions. The Canadian mission was able to detect several external stairs at the granary blocks of these mansions, which were evidently used to fill and empty

[32] The chronological frame of the building phases of Lahun has never been precisely established, and most of the information of its long-term evolution comes from the mention of royal names in the papyri found at the site. The period of its Middle Kingdom occupation seems to have lasted for most of the Twelfth and parts of the Thirteenth Dynasty, and its heyday has been estimated to have had a duration for about hundred years, from about 1850 to 1750 BCE; see Quirke 2005, p. 42. Earlier, Griffith commented extensively on the date of the Lahun papyri referring to kings mainly of the Twelfth Dynasty and some rulers of the early Thirteenth Dynasty; see Griffith 1898, appendix A, pp. 84–87.

[33] Frey and Knudstad 2008.

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Figure 12.6. Remains of external stairs on the northern side of the enclosure wall at Lahun. By G. Marouard, after Frey and Knudstad 2008, p. 44, fig. 23. Copy of original photo courtesy of Z. Horváth

them (fig. 12.6).[34] The southern row of mansions had their respective granaries built on the side of the main street from which convenient access was also possible (fig. 12.7). Thus, the causeway-like approach leading up to the east gate of the town provided direct access to the main east–west street of the settlement. This street separates the two rows containing the largest Lahun houses, also identified as "villas" or mansions, that occupy the northern and southern sides of the street, which ends in the west at the most prominent building of the settlement, the so-called acropolis (fig. 12.7).

The "Acropolis"

Petrie had originally identified the "acropolis" as a temporary royal residence, the place where the king would stay during his visits for inspecting the progress of the work at his mortuary complex.[35] This hypothesis was not confirmed by the archaeological evidence, but the elevated position of this building, situated on a natural limestone outcrop, clearly marks it as a structure of importance. The recent investigation by the Canadian mission focused parts of their fieldwork on the acropolis and was able to complete Petrie's plan by carefully cleaning the traces of mudbrick walls that were still visible.[36] Already during Petrie's time, this building had suffered from much wind erosion. The new results show that it has in fact a very similar layout in comparison to the other Lahun mansions (fig. 12.8).[37] The elevation of this mansion is due to the presence of a natural rock outcrop that had been cut into shape in order to produce a flat enough surface for the foundation layers of the mudbrick walls. The same construction method, on a much larger scale, has been employed at the pyramid of Senwosret II, which is also constructed on a natural rock formation that was cut in order to serve as the foundation of the pyramid. This construction technique is a deliberate and economic way to save building materials and can be traced back to royal building projects of the Fourth Dynasty.[38] It is very likely that the acropolis would have been used as the residence of the local mayor, even though this was not confirmed further by any significant objects recovered here.[39] Furthermore, the main east–west street ends directly in front of this elevated mansion and turns at a right angle to the south, which forms the second main axis within the settlement (fig. 12.7). It cannot be a coincidence that the most prominent building of the town is located exactly at this turning point of the main street. A similar setup can be found for the location of the governor's residence at Elephantine, which saw a long period of use from the end of the Old Kingdom until the Middle Kingdom.[40]

In this respect, it is possible to observe that the planning that went into the foundation of Lahun clearly followed a deliberate organization in which the main streets lead to the most important buildings in town, a phenomenon also noticeable in other towns situated in the Nile Valley that were not founded by the state, such as Elephantine.

[34] Frey and Knudstad 2008, pp. 42–48, figs. 22–24.

[35] Petrie 1891, p. 6.

[36] Frey and Knudstad 2008, pp. 48–58.

[37] Ibid., p. 53, fig. 34.

[38] One of the oldest examples for this construction technique has already been employed by the Fourth Dynasty king Radjedef who built his pyramid at the site of Abu Rawash, north of Giza. For his pyramid, the ancient builders cut the natural bedrock into a large square shape and were able to use the removed stone from the surface as well as the cutting of the burial chamber and shaft as building blocks for the pyramid super-structure. See Valloggia 2011.

[39] Frey and Knudstad 2008, pp. 48–49. The Canadian mission observed extensive quarrying and cutting of the limestone bedrock into a level surface; see also figs. 28–29.

[40] von Pilgrim 2010, p. 258, fig. 1.

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Figure 12.7. Plan of the center of the town of Lahun showing the temple, the "acropolis," and the elite residences. By G. Marouard, after Gallorini 1998, p. 47, fig. 2

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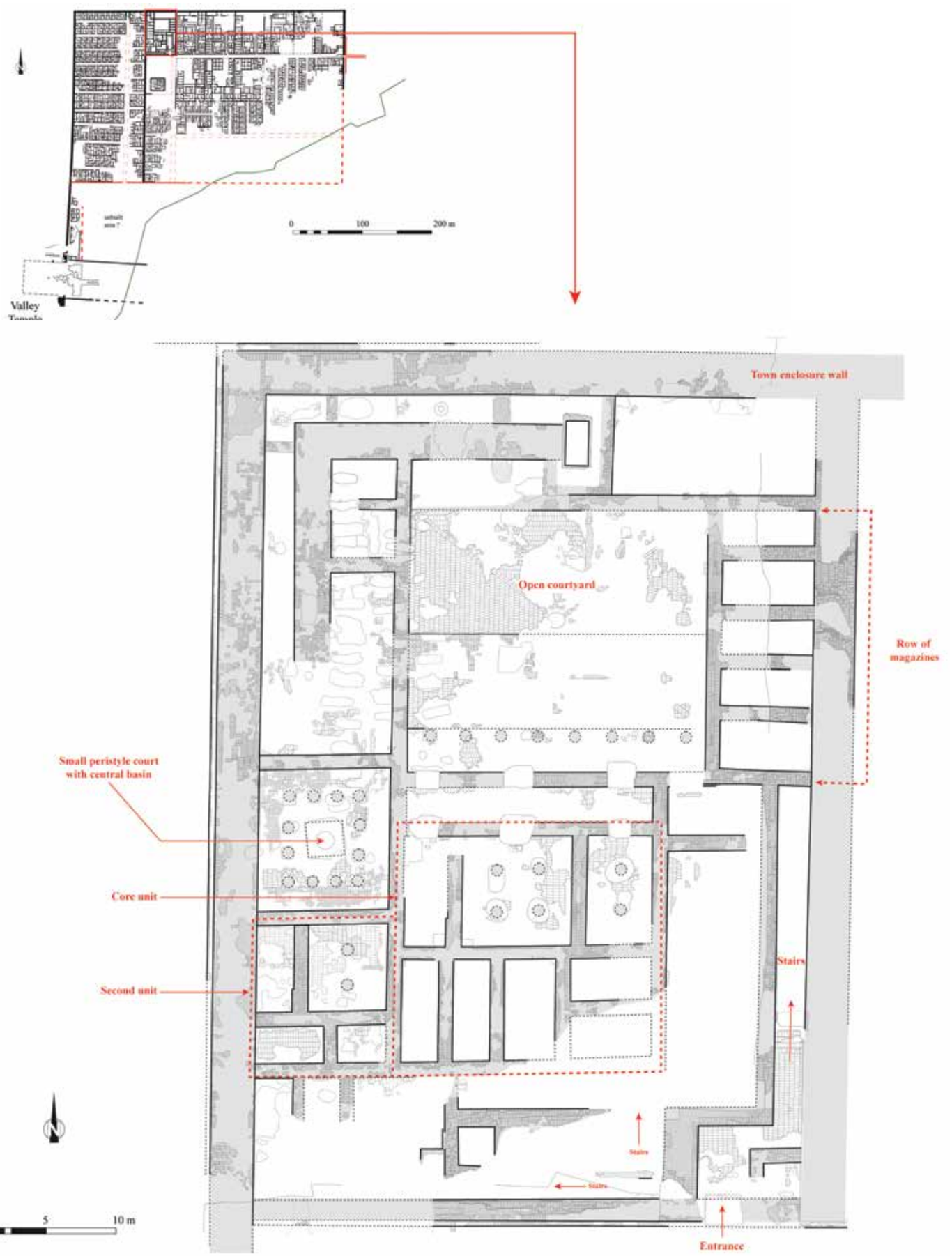


Figure 12.8. Wall remains of the "Acropolis" at Lahun.
By G. Marouard, after Frey and Knudstad 2008, p. 53, fig. 34. Copy of original plan courtesy of Z. Horváth

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Location of the Town's Temple and Administrative Quarters

The next building adjacent to the southern side of the acropolis has been problematic in its identification, which is partly due to its relatively bad state of preservation. Petrie found an open courtyard with traces of a mudbrick pavement and remains of a structure in the southern half of this open space, which was only partially preserved (fig. 12.7). He interpreted it as a guardhouse for the security guards of the king while he was staying in the acropolis building.[41] The reinvestigation by the Canadian mission revealed some additional archaeological information concerning this area. The open space to the south of the acropolis shows traces of a brick floor, and the archaeological recording of the walls in the southern half was further developed by Millet and his team, in addition to what is shown on Petrie's plan.[42] The reconstruction of the mudbrick building occupying the southern half of the courtyard area indicates an entrance on its western side through which a hypostyle hall with two rows of six columns each was entered (fig. 12.9). From there a set of rooms was accessible in the interior: two elongated rooms lying parallel to each other marking the center of this structure. The interpretations of the function of this building have ranged from a guardhouse, as suggested by Petrie, to an administrative building or temple.[43]

No finds were recovered that could shed more light on its use, and the architectural remains are also sketchy at best for any attempt at clarifying its function. Several points can be made that do not necessarily fully solve this problem but might help narrow down the possibilities.[44] The hypostyle hall at the entrance is conspicuous and clearly marks it as an official building (fig. 12.9). A hall with a double row of columns can be found in temple architecture, but also in administrative building complexes.[45] If the non-axial approach into the interior of the building, which is characterized by passing through some interconnecting rooms of elongated shape, is correct, then it will be difficult to identify it as a sanctuary because most temples of the Middle Kingdom have an axial layout.[46] Nevertheless, another clue that it may have been a sanctuary can be found in the fact that is the only building at Lahun, apart from the valley temple, whose walls are not directly shared with other mudbrick buildings.[47] All of the houses, including the mansions at Lahun share common walls. The structure south of the acropolis, however, stands clearly alone and looks rather isolated in comparison to the rest of the town (fig. 12.7).

Evidence for Temples at Lahun in the Textual Record

The papyri found at the site mention several additional sanctuaries to the valley temple. There seems to have been a cult dedicated to the gods Anubis and Sobek; both are mentioned in close connection with the cult for the deceased ruler Senwosret II in Sekhem-Senwosret.[48] It has been hypothesized that these two shrines were either part of the valley temple building or stood somewhere in its vicinity. As for a separate shrine or temple within the main part of the settlement, called Hetep-Senwosret, the evidence is less clear. While several papyri mention "Sopdu, Lord of the East" in the formulae at the beginning of the documents, no concrete reference to a temple of Sopdu can be found even though the frequency in which this god appears is noteworthy.[49] The only evidence

[41] See n. 2 herein.

[42] Frey and Knudstad 2008, pp. 58–63, figs. 38, 40. The authors suggest that the entrance to the acropolis might have been from this southern open courtyard. However, the whole area is so heavily denuded that it is impossible to reconstruct much of the mudbrick buildings inside it.

[43] Kemp 2006, p. 218; Kemp 1972, p. 662; Quirke 2005, p. 47; Frey and Knudstad 2008, p. 59.

[44] The reconstruction of the plan by Frey and Knudstad is based on very few mudbrick wall remains and must remain a tentative outline. This also includes the reconstructed entrances; see Frey and Knudstad 2008, compare figs. 38 and 40.

[45] This is for example the case at the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Wah-Sut; see Wegner 2007, and at the "command building" at Buhen, see Emery et al. 1979, pl. 3.

[46] For example the reconstructed temple of Menthuhotep II of the Eleventh Dynasty at Elephantine has a non-axial layout with a peristyle court and a small chapel to its side. Kaiser et al. 1988, pp. 152–57, Abb. 156 and 157. This temple might be the closest parallel to the remains at Lahun, but it has not yet been fully published.

[47] This is a typical feature for temples and chapels; see for example the chapel of Sobekemsaf at Elephantine, which lies in the heart of the Middle Kingdom town, just opposite of the sanctuary of Heqaib; see von Pilgrim 1996, pp. 149–58.

[48] See Quirke 1997, who discussed the temple of Anubis. Horváth 2009b provides additional suggestions in his analysis of temples at Lahun.

[49] See for example Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. 62–63, UCL 32126 and 32192–32193, UCL 32198. It has been suggested that Sopdu, Lord of the East, had a specifically close connection to Senwosret II, which is why he is being evoked in the papyri and not because he was considered the local town god; see Quirke 1997.

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Figure 12.9. Wall remains of the temple building at Lahun.
By G. Marouard, after Frey and Knudstad, 2008, p. 62, fig. 40. Copy of original plan courtesy of Z. Horváth

that refers to a temple located at Hetep-Senwosret comes from a clay sealing that mentions the "scribe of the temple of Hetep-Senwosret."[50] Therefore, the evidence for the presence of a temple of Sopdu is not quite as conclusive as one would like, which has led to two main opinions among scholars: those who believe that there was a separate temple dedicated to Sopdu in the main part of the town, south of the acropolis,[51] and others who have suggested that a sanctuary for Sopdu existed in the nearby (?) settlement called Gesiab from at least the reign of Senwosret I onward.[52] In both cases the current evidence is not entirely conclusive, but in addition to the archaeological data, a temple of Sopdu as part of the town of Hetep-Senwosret remains a very likely possibility.[53]

[50] Horváth 2009b, p. 191; Petrie 1891, pl. IX, no. 26.

[51] Kemp 1972, p. 662, see also Kemp 2006, p. 218.

[52] Quirke 1997, p. 26; Arnold 1990, p. 25.

[53] See also Horváth 2009b, p. 191, who came to the same conclusion.

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Administrative Quarter in the Center of the Town

Immediately to the south of the discussed building complex, a possible doorway through the mudbrick enclosure on the southern side led to further buildings, which do not seem to fit the typical layouts of private dwellings (fig. 12.7). From the doorway to the south, which forms a kind of bent-axis approach, another columned hall could be reached. This hall contained two rows of five columns each, similar to the hall of the possible temple complex to the north (see fig. 12.7). Through this columned hall, a series of rooms could be accessed that are reminiscent of magazine-like installations and quite different from the small and mid-sized private houses. On the opposite side of the main north–south street and south of westernmost mansion (fig. 12.7, no. 8) of the southern row, more rooms can be seen that resemble those across the street (fig. 12.7).

Although a complex administrative system has been revealed through the textual sources, it has been difficult to assign any of the buildings to the various offices mentioned in the papyri and sealings. Petrie has published a selection of these clay sealings but reported only vaguely about the findspots, which makes it difficult to associate any specific buildings with these objects. During the third season of fieldwork in 1920, Petrie worked to the south of this area excavating a courtyard of a house, which had been divided into two sections, one that contained several round grain silos, while the other seems to have had some sort of offering table fronted by three columns.[54] This courtyard, which also gave access to a cellar, was situated in the southern half of the site and east of the main north–south street. Petrie mentions in his report from 1920 that to the north of this building he found a large number of clay sealings.[55] The sealings contained numerous fragments, which had been impressed by official stamp seals, but there was also a large quantity of private name sealings and further examples showing decorative motifs, which are typical for the late Middle Kingdom.[56] It is therefore possible that those sealings came from the area discussed above, which would be further evidence for this part of the town having functioned as the administrative quarter. Petrie interpreted this context as possibly having served as "an office for the parcels and provisions sent for the governor of the town" and relates it to the officials who were in the service of the major of Lahun.[57]

This confirms that the architectural layout itself clearly provides little evidence for administrative activities, as in most cases houses of seemingly residential nature could have also been used for official and administrative tasks. In ancient Egypt, from pharaonic times up to the Roman period, there is no particular architectural form that is solely used for administrative purposes, with the exception of granaries and storage installations. Even though administrative institutions are clearly present in the textual records, they are impossible to identify from the archaeological and architectural evidence alone. This phenomenon has recently been addressed by Nicolas Picardo, who, based on the evidence from the larger houses at Wah-Sut, employs the term "hybrid households," which refers to the fact that residential buildings functioned for private and official activities.[58] The house of the mayor at Wah-Sut, which is the most prominent building at the site, was used for residential as well as administrative purposes and included at least one institution, which is recognized from the sigillographic evidence as "gatehouse."[59]

Kemp suggested that the mansions at Lahun had been occupied by the members of the elite including their large households, which probably belonged to the highest-ranking officials on-site.[60] The total capacity of these granaries taken together could have supported the entire population at Lahun on a redistributive system based on rations. Additional circular grain silos attached to the smaller houses only occur sporadically

[54] Petrie et al. 1923, pl. XXXVI A. "Lahun House" and pl. XLIV nos. 7–8. Petrie published only a small sketch of this building, and it does not appear on his general plan of Lahun. From the description he provides in the publication, it is likely that it was situated in the southern part of the site, east of the main N–S street: "The only matter of interest was a building on the eastern side of the street which runs south from the east of the acropolis." See also Gallorini 1998, pp. 52–53, fig. 54.

[55] Petrie et al. 1923, pp. 39, 41: "Up this street, and further towards the centre of the town, a large number of clay sealings were found. Drawings of all of these are given here on pls. LXIV, LXV, see sec. 101." Two pages further along in his report, he specifies the findspot of the sealings: "The sealings pls. lxiv and lxv were nearly all from a house east of the westernmost row in the south half of the great town, apart from the workmen's quarter on the west."

[56] Ben-Tor 2007.

[57] Petrie et al. 1923, p. 41.

[58] Picardo 2014.

[59] Wegner 2001; Wegner 2006.

[60] Kemp 2006, pp. 211–21. He estimated the total capacity of the granaries of five mansions at Lahun could have supported a population between 5,000 and 9,000 people.

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on Petrie's plan, and it is not clear how many of those were secondary additions. The relative lack of storage facilities in the smaller houses seems to confirm the economic role of the larger mansions in relation to the majority of inhabitants. However, it is also important to take into consideration that the people living at Lahun most likely had additional means of acquiring food, for example by keeping animals nearby and/or being involved in agricultural activities. No faunal analysis has been made, but Petrie had collected large amounts of plant remains from the site, which were analyzed by Percy E. Newberry.[61]

Evidence for agricultural activities at Lahun was found during Petrie's excavation in the form of a large number of tools, flint sickles, wooden hoes, and the like, used for harvesting and threshing.[62] Additional information about the inhabitants' engagement in agricultural activities can be found in the papyri, which contain information about fields being plowed that belong to the district of Hetep-Senwosret[63] and the presence of vegetable producers.[64] In one of the papyri, a supply of fish is mentioned that was another important addition to the people's diet.[65] Weaving was also part of the activities, and a papyrus mentions the growing of flax.[66] Furthermore, the economic basis of this town depended to some extent on endowments that had been made by the king in form of allocated land, which would yield the necessary cereals and produce for the upkeep of the mortuary cult and to support the people who lived in this settlement. The papyri also frequently mention the various labor obligations people had been assigned to, and it is likely that those people were also inhabitants of the town. It seems that during the Middle Kingdom the pyramid towns became very elaborate on an administrative level and saw an increase in size and complexity in comparison to the Old Kingdom. These state foundations seem to have been administered along the same lines as any other major town in the Nile Valley, based on the surviving textual records.

Reconsidering the Purpose and Function of Lahun

Along the lines of a more traditional interpretation, the initial foundation of the settlement could have coincided with the beginning of the construction work at the pyramid complex under Senwosret II. It would have housed the workers and staff administering this building project, and then seen the addition of a new portion to west, providing accommodation for the community of priests involved in the upkeep of the mortuary cult. The problem with such a reconstruction is that it fails to explain why an extension was built, instead of changing the inhabitants from construction workers and administrators to priests and administrators. As the eastern part of Lahun is laid out, it contains all the elements expected for a typical urban center during the Middle Kingdom.[67]

A more plausible solution can be offered as an alternative: Lahun's original foundation had nothing to do with its later function as a pyramid town but had been intended as a kind of royal estate for controlling and exploiting agricultural land in the region.[68] It kept this function but saw the addition of the western part when Senwosret's II pyramid and temple were built in this area, which had the advantage of using an already existing and well-established infrastructure. It could have then been transformed into a larger, more complex settlement supporting the upkeep of the royal mortuary complex in the vicinity when Senwosret II chose this area for his pyramid, while at the same time remaining an important administrative center for the Fayum region.[69] This possibility can be supported by some new evidence related to its setting within the

[61] Petrie 1890, pp. 49–50; see also Germer 1998. The analysis provided evidence for the presence of cereals and fruits from trees in addition to pulses, mainly deriving from cultivated plants and trees.

[62] See Petrie 1890, pp. 28–29, pl. IX; Petrie 1891, pp. 11–12, 54–55, pl. VII.

[63] Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. 110–11. "*Some land has been ploughed for the servant -there in the district of Hetep-Senwosret t-v . . . and ? the region: the district of Horus*" (UC 32202).

[64] Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. 10–11 "*This is a communication to the lord l.p.h. about allocating assignments to the vegetable-producers (irw-smyw) Sire, Iku, Ankhtifi*?" (UC 32098A).

[65] Ibid., pp. 120–21.

[66] Ibid., p. 149.

[67] Moeller 2016, pp. 20–22.

[68] The name Hetep-Senwosret is frequently written within the square enclosure of the *ḥwt*-sign on seals while the papyri usually shows the town (*nỉwt*) determinative sometimes following the *ḥwt*-sign; see Quirke 2005, pp. 44–45.

[69] This is of course impossible to prove because it would necessitate a thorough stratigraphic analysis of the whole site with precise records of the different occupational phases, which has never been done.

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local landscape, and the foundation of Lahun preceding the construction of the mortuary complex would then explain a couple of anomalies that are noticeable in relation to the architectural conception and location of Senwosret II's pyramid complex.

The pyramid complex of Senwosret II is situated at quite a considerable distance, measuring about 1.1 km between the valley temple and pyramid. There are few traces for a constructed causeway, although the valley temple is aligned to the pyramid.[70] None of the other royal mortuary complexes of the Twelfth Dynasty has such a long causeway separating the pyramid from its corresponding valley temple, and this distance is more likely linked to the geographical parameters that imposed certain choices to the builders. The site chosen for the pyramid was influenced by the presence of a natural rock formation that was cut into shape and used as the basis for the stone and mudbrick construction on top. No other suitable base closer to the town exists due to various wadi formations in this area.[71] However, if the construction of the mortuary complex and the town of Lahun were planned simultaneously, why did the builders not choose an area closer to the floodplain borders for the pyramid town in order to avoid this extra long causeway, such as can be seen in the region farther to the south of the pyramid? This area would have even had the advantage of being situated closer to the water channel feeding the Fayum. The distance between mortuary complex and pyramid town makes sense only if the town already existed before the pyramid was built, and the town of Lahun was simply transformed into a pyramid town by adding the western part as a separate administrative unit serving solely the upkeep of the mortuary cult. From the textual records we learn that this part of the town fell under the auspices of the mayor of Hetep-Senwosret. The slight bend in the alignment of the western section of the enclosure wall that belongs to the western extension of the town might be a further indication that there is a time lapse between the construction of the mortuary temple and the settlement expansion.[72]

The parameters of the local landscape open up further questions in relation to the foundation of Lahun: Why were the mortuary cult installations and the related town site not built in a more advantageous position that would have also provided a good access point to the Nile Valley as well as the Fayum? Why was the town of Lahun founded in its current location farther to the north of the Fayum entrance, which offered a limited choice for the foundation of the royal pyramid?

This leads to the important question of the source for the water supply for the town and any possible connection to the Nile River for Lahun. It has been quite challenging in light of the local landscape around Lahun, which today is marked by the desert edge and some modern fields cutting into the ancient remains along the southeastern side, to identify a possible channel that would have facilitated the link to the Nile River and would have provided the main water supply for the settlement. The presence of water tank installations within the mansions strongly indicates that water was available in proximity to the town. No evidence for any wells has been found, which for example are extremely frequent at the city of Amarna also founded on the desert edge. Therefore the presence of a canal seems the most plausible solution and would have presented further advantages to the inhabitants such as facilitating deliveries to the town and commercial activities.[73] A quay with an access to a river branch or canal would also have been an expected element for the valley temple. On the *carte topographique* of the French expedition to Egypt from 1818, G. Marouard has noted the presence of a water channel flowing very close to Lahun, which was marked on the map as a seasonal channel functioning especially during the inundation period, and most interestingly the water flowed from the north to the south, in the exact opposite direction of the Nile River.[74] It is therefore entirely possible that such a system already

[70] Quirke 2005, pp. 10–11. He points out that "there is no evidence for a 'causeway – the valley Temple' is in perfect alignment with the pyramid, but there is no clear means of walking from one to the other" (p. 11). Also important to note is that a close examination of the published plans in conjunction with the satellite images shows that this alignment is not very precise as the eastern chapel of the pyramid is situated about 10 m farther to the north in comparison with the axis of the valley temple.

[71] I would like to thank G. Marouard for pointing this out.

[72] These observations would suggest the following sequence for the construction: the main town site was built first, then the valley temple, and the last element was the western extension that necessitated some adjustment of the enclosure wall linking the two.

[73] Gardiner and Bell 1943, pp. 38–39. Gardiner discusses in much detail the term *ḥnt* as a term for "canal" in relation to the toponym of *R3-ḥnt* "mouth of the canal," which he interprets as the origin for the name el-Lahun. In view of the recent discussion concerning the landscape around the site, Gardiner's interpretation would fit very well.

[74] It is of course not possible at the moment to determine more precisely if this channel already existed in antiquity. This would be an important task to investigate further, for example, through the study of drill cores.

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existed in the pharaonic period and aided navigation southward to the Fayum entrance, which became one of the most important areas for further development during the Twelfth Dynasty.

In view of all this new evidence, even if many of these observations merit further investigations on the ground, the origins of Lahun need to be reconsidered. As outlined above, several distinctive elements are recognizable within its layout, which contains the typical elements also found in any larger town situated in the Nile Valley. The later western addition of Sekhem-Senwosret remains a separate town quarter probably due to administrative restrictions, and was closely linked to the royal mortuary cult. Also significant in this respect is the peculiar choice for the location of the pyramid complex of Senwosret II, which would make more sense if he chose the location of his mortuary complex according to an already existing infrastructure that was then adapted to accommodate the upkeep of his funerary cult.

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13

A Loan Contract in Chicago from the Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century BCE)

Brian P. Muhs, University of Chicago

It is a pleasure to dedicate this edition of a Demotic documentary papyrus in Chicago to Jan Johnson, in honor of her numerous contributions to Egyptology and Demotic studies, and in gratitude for her support and encouragement to me as a colleague and a friend.

This article reexamines Papyrus Field Museum of Natural History (P. FMNH) 31323 (figs. 13.1–3), which was first illustrated 120 years ago and first published 80 years ago. It presents a new edition of the papyrus, including several new readings.[1] Then it attempts to identify the archive from which the papyrus came, based on these new readings,[2] and on a recently rediscovered and closely related papyrus formerly in the collection of William Henry Fox Talbot. Finally, the Talbot papyrus is described in an *Appendix*.[3]

The London publisher and book dealer Bernard Quaritch (1819–1899) first illustrated P. FMNH 31323 in 1894, with a photograph in a volume of which 199 copies were privately printed and distributed to personal friends.[4] The photograph was made in 1893,[5] shortly before Quaritch sold the papyrus to Edward Everett Ayers in 1894 for the Field Museum. Nathanial Julius Reich (1876–1943)[6] first published the P. FMNH 31323 in 1936.[7] Reich's correspondence with the Field Museum indicates that he saw the papyrus on display during a visit to Chicago in 1933, and that he secured the publication rights at that time. In his publication, Reich identified it as a Demotic contract from Thebes dated to Year 9 of Cleopatra III, corresponding to 109/108 BCE, containing an acknowledgment of debt and a promissory note for 45 artabas of wheat. He read much of the papyrus correctly, even though he knew of only two parallels, one of them unpublished.[8] He did not, however, discuss whether P. FMNH 31323 was part of an archive, and if so which one. This article tries to repair that deficiency.

[1] The author wishes to thank James L. Phillips, curator, and John "Jamie" Kelly, collections manager at the Field Museum of Chicago, for granting access to the papyrus, which is not currently on display, on January 31, 2012, and for permission to publish.

[2] The author lectured on these papyri at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt held in Providence on April 28, 2012, and would like to thank the audience for their helpful comments.

[3] The author wishes to thank Tasha Vorderstrasse for finding the online publication of this papyrus and calling the author's attention to it.

[4] Quaritch 1894, p. 84 and pl. 2.

[5] "Griggs fecit 1893," Quaritch 1894, pl. 2.

[6] Bierbrier 2012, p. 458. A more extensive biography is available online at the catalog of the Nathaniel Julius Reich Collection (ARC MS20) at the Library of the Herbert D. Katz Center for Advanced Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania: http://www.library.upenn.edu/cajs/njrbio.html (accessed June 13, 2016).

[7] Reich 1936a (= FMP), pp. 36–51.

[8] Reich, FMP, p. 38, refers to P. Louvre 2436 b (P. Chrestomathie, pp. 110–22), dated to Year 15 of Cleopatra III, which is Year 12 of Ptolemy X Alexander I, corresponding to 103 BCE (not 106 BCE, contra Reich); and one unpublished papyrus, dated one year younger than P. FMNH 31323, corresponding to 108 BCE, later published by Reich (1936b, pp. 26–30), and now known as P. Tor. Botti 26.

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Description

P. FMNH 31323 is a Demotic contract written to document the terms of a grain loan secured by general liability of the borrower. General liability was the usual form of security for loans in the Saite and Persian Periods, but in the Ptolemaic period other forms that did not place a lien on the entire estate of the borrower became more common. Some loans were secured by conditional sales of real property, while other loans were secured by pledges of real or moveable properties. Lenders frequently received the contracts for the duration of their loans, as in P. FMNH 31323, but sometimes a third-party trustee (*ʿrbṯ*) received the contract and any pledges.[9] P. FMNH 31323 includes clauses regulating the quality, measurement, and transportation of the repayment, which are common in grain loans but absent in money loans.

Some Demotic loans were recorded as notarial contracts at the local notary, like P. FMNH 31323, while others were written as letter contracts by the borrower for the lender.[10] Notary contracts in turn could be narrow format (*type étroit*) like P. FMNH 31323, or wide format (*type large*).[11] Wide-format contracts were popular in the Persian and early Ptolemaic Periods, when the beneficiaries of contracts relied on their unique personal copies to protect their rights, and larger margins helped preserve those copies.[12] Witness-copy contracts served the same purpose and were popular in the same periods.[13] Narrow-format contracts became increasingly common after 145 BCE, however, when it became mandatory for registration offices to make abstracts of Demotic contracts.[14] The existence of copies of contracts at registration offices presumably reduced the incentive to add larger margins or multiple witness copies.

P. FMNH 31323 measures 30.6 cm tall, and 25.5 cm wide. It consists of two sheets or *selides* of papyrus. The right-hand sheet was attached on top of the left-hand sheet, so that an Egyptian scribe's brush would not catch on the join as it moved from right to left. The two sheets or *selides* comprising the papyrus are more clearly visible on the verso. The recto has twenty-four lines of Demotic text. The verso of the papyrus has sixteen lines of text, giving the names of sixteen witnesses. The papyrus is currently mounted between two sheets of glass, in the same oak frame in which it arrived in Chicago in 1894. Its provenance is discussed below.

Transliteration of P. FMNH 31323

Recto

1) *ḥsb.t 9.t ỉbt 3 ʒḫt sw 9 n tʒ pr-ʿʔ.t ʿ.w.s. Glwptrʒ ʿ.w.s. ỉrm pr-ʿʔ ʿ.w.s.*
2) *Ptlwmys ʿ.w.s. pʒ mr [mw.]ṯ=f pʒ swtr ʿ.w.s. ỉrm pʒ wʿb n ʒlgsntrws ʿ.w.s.*
3) *ỉrm nʒ nṯr.w (nt) nḥm, nʒ nṯr.w sn.w, [nʒ nṯr].w mnḫ.w, nʒ nṯr.w mr ỉṯ=w, nʒ nṯr.w nt*
4) *pry, pʒ nṯr r.tny ỉṯ=f, pʒ [nṯ]r mr mw.ṯ=f, pʒ nṯr mr ỉṯ=f, nʒ nṯr.w mnḫ.w,*
5) *pʒ mr mw.ṯ=f, pʒ swtr ʿ.w.s. ỉrm tʒ fy qny nʿš n Brnyk ʿ.w.s. tʒ mnḫ.t*
6) *ỉrm tʒ fy tn n nb m-bʒḥ ʒrsyn ʿ.w.s. tʒ mr sn ỉrm tʒ wʿb.t n ʒrsyn ʿ.w.s.*
7) *tʒ mr ỉṯ=s r-ḫ.t nʒ nt smn n Rʿ-qt Pʒ-s[y] n pʒ tš n Nỉw.t. Ḏ ʿʒm*
8) *bʒk n Ḏmʒ Ns-nʒy=w-ḫmn-ỉw sʒ ʾImn-[ḥt]p, mw.t=f Tʒ-šr.t-ḏḥwty n sḥm.t Nʒ-nḫṯ=w*
9) *ta Ḥr-sʒ, mw.t=s Ta-ywʒ: wn mtw=t rtb n sw 45 tʒy=w pš.t 22 ½ r rtb n sw 45*
10) *ʿn ỉw pʒy=w [ḥw] ḫn=w ỉ.[ỉr-n]=y n rn [n] pr.w r.tỉ=t n=y, mtw=y tỉ n=t pʒy=t rtb n sw 45*
11) *nt ḥry n [pr] ỉw=f wʿb ỉw[ṯ 2-nw] stḥ, ỉw=w ḫy.w, ỉw=w fy.w, ỉw=w swṯ(.w) n-ḏr.t pʒy=t rt*
12) *n pʒy=t ʿ.wy n Ḏmʒ ỉwṯ hy hm.t nt nb n pʒ tʒ r-hn r ḥsb.t 9.t tpy [šmw ʿrqy] n tʒy=t*

[9] Markiewicz 2005, pp. 141–67.
[10] Depauw 1997, pp. 123–25.
[11] Pestman 1994, vol. 1, pp. 26–32.
[12] Depauw 2002, pp. 85–100.
[13] Depauw 1999, pp. 67–105.
[14] Pestman 1985; Muhs 2009; Muhs 2010.

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13) *mḏ3.t r.ḥy=t n=y n-ỉm=s. p3 pr n-ỉm=w nt ỉw bn ỉw=y tỉ s n=t ḫn p3y=t rtb n sw 45*
14) *n[t ḥr]y [r-h]n ḥsb.t 9.t tpy [šmw ʿrqy] p3 sw hrw nt ḥry, mtw=y tỉ s n=t tn ḥḏ 60 r sttr 300 r*
15) *ḥḏ [60 ʿn n ḏbʿ].t 24 r qt 2 r p3 rtb n sw n ḥsb.t 9.t ỉbt 2 šmw p3 ỉbt nt m-s3 p3 ỉbt n rn=f n ḥtr*
16) *ỉwṯ [mn]. bn ỉw=y rḫ tỉ n=t ky sw hrw ỉr=w m-s3 p3 sw hrw nt ḥry. bn ỉw=y*
17) *rḫ ḏ tỉ=y n=t pr ḫl nt nb n p3 t3 n-ỉm=w ỉwṯ ỉw ỉw=f ʿḥʿ-rṯ ỉw p3 sḫ*
18) *nt [ḥry] n-ḏr.ṯ=t. ỉ.ỉr p3 hp n p3 sḫ nt ḥry ḫpr r ḏ3ḏ3=y ḥnʿ n3y=y ḫrṯ.w. nt nb*
19) *nkt nb [nt m]tw=y [ḥnʿ n3] nt ỉw=y r tỉ ḫpr.w n ỉwy.t n p3y=t rtb n sw 45 nt ḥry šʿ.tw=y*
20) *mḥ=t n-ỉm=w. ỉw=f r ḫpr ỉw smy=t r-ḥr=y ỉw bnpw=y ỉr n=t r-ḫ.t mt.t nb nt ḥry*
21) *p3 3sy nt ỉ.ỉr=t r ỉr=f n p3 ṯs, mtw=y tỉ s n=t p3 bl n mt.t nb nt ḥry. p3y[=t r]t*
22) *p3 nt nḥṯ r mt.t nb nt [ỉw]=f r ḏ.ṯ=w ỉrm=y n rn mt.t nb nt ḥry mtw[=y ỉr]=w*
23) *r ḫrw=f n sw nb n [ḥtr ỉwṯ] mn ỉwṯ [s]ḫ(y) nb. sḫ Ḫnsw-t3y=f-nḫt s3*
24) *Ḥr-s3-ỉs.t nt sḫ n rn Ns-p3-mty s3 Wsỉr-wr p3 ḥm-nṯr n Ḏm3*

Verso

1) *Pa-mnṯ s3 Ḥr-t3y=f-nḫt*
2) *Ḏ-ḥr s3 Pa-ḏm3*
3) *Ḥr-s3-ỉs.t s3 P3-[šr]-mn*
4) *P3-šr-[ỉmn-ỉp]y s3 [Ns]-mn*
5) *Pa-wn [s3] P3-tỉ-p3-šy*
6) *Pa-ḥy? s3 Pa-[...]*
7) *Ḥr-wḏ3 s3 ʾIr.t.w-r.r=w*
8) *Pa-mnṯ? s3 Ḫnsw-ḏḥwty*
9) *P3-šr-ʿ3-pḥṯ s3 P3-šr-ḫnsw*
10) *Ns-mn s3 Ns-n3y=w-ḫmn-ỉw*
11) *P3-[... s3] P3-šr-n3-nṯr.w*
12) *[...] s3 Twtw*
13) *[...]-mn s3 Ḏwf-ʿḥy*
14) *Pa-[...] s3 ʾImn-ḥtp*
15) *Ns-n3y=w-ḫmn-ỉw s3 Pa-ḏm3*
16) *Ns-n3y=w-ḫmn-ỉw s3 P3-šr-[...]*

Translation of P. FMNH 31323

Recto

1) Year 9, Hathyr, day 9 of the Pharaoh [l.p.h.] Cleopatra (III) [l.p.h.] with the Pharaoh [l.p.h.]
2) Ptolemy (IX) [l.p.h.] who loves his mother, the savior [l.p.h.], with the priest of Alexander [l.p.h.]
3) and the gods who save (PI, BI), the sibling gods (PII, AII), the beneficent [gods] (PIII, BII), the gods who love their father (PIV, AIII), the gods who

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4) appear (PV, CI), the god whose father is exalted (PEu), the god who loves his mother (PVI), the god who loves his father (PVII), the beneficent gods (PVIII, CII),

5) (the god) who loves his mother, the savor (PIX) l.p.h., and the bearer of the victory of Berenike (II) l.p.h. the beneficent,

6) and the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe (II) l.p.h. the brother-loving, and the priestess of Arsinoe (III) l.p.h.

7) who loves her father, according to that which is established in Alexandria, and Ptolemais in the Thebaid. Said the herdsman,

8) servant of Djeme, Snachomneus son of Amenothes, his mother is Senthotes, to the woman Nachoutes

9) daughter of Hasos, her mother is Taieous: There belongs to you 45 artabas of wheat, their half is 22 ½ makes 45 artabas of wheat

10) again, their profit (i.e., interest) being in them, against me in the name of the grain which you gave to me. And I shall give to you your 45 artabas of wheat

11) which are above as grain, it being pure without foreign particles (lit. seconds) (or) chaff, it being measured, it being carried, it being delivered to your agent

12) at your house in Djeme, without expense or transport (costs) of any kind on the earth, by Year 9, Pachons day 30, by your

13) *medjat*-measure with which you measured for me. The grain therein, which I shall not give it to you within your 45 artabas of wheat

14) which are above, by Year 9, Pachons day 30, the day which is above, I shall give it to you each 60 deben makes 300 staters makes

15) 60 deben [again, being 24 obols] per 2 (silver) kite, per the artaba of wheat on Year 9, Payni, the month which is after the named month, compulsorily

16) without remainder. I shall not be able to give to you another day after the day which is above. I shall not

17) be able to say that I have given to you any grain (or) penalty on the earth therein without a receipt, it being a proof, while the writing

18) which is above is in your hand. It is against me (lit. my head) and my children that the law of the document which is above has come into being. Everything

19) which belongs to me and that which I shall cause to come into being is security for your 45 artabas of wheat which are above, until I

20) satisfy you with them. If it occurs that you complain against me that I have not acted for you according to every word which is above,

21) the damage which you shall make it because of the raising (of the complaint), I shall give it to you outside of every word which is above. Your agent

22) is the one who shall be believed regarding every word which he shall speak with me in the name of every word which is above, and I shall do them

23) at his voice on any day, compulsorily, without remainder, without any hindrance. Has written Chonstephnachthis son of

24) Harsiesis, who writes in the name of Espemetis son of Osoroeris, the prophet of Djeme.

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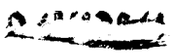
Verso

1) Pamonthes son of Hartephnachthis
2) Teos son of Pasemis
3) Harsiesis son of Psenminis
4) Psenamenophis son of Esminis
5) Pagonis son of Petepsais
6) Pais son of Pa-[...]
7) Haruotes son of Ithoros
8) Pamonthes son of Chonsthotes
9) Psenapathes son of Psenchonsis
10) Esminis son of Snachomneus
11) Pa-[... son of] Psenenteris
12) [...] son of Totoes
13) [...]-minis son of *Ḏwf-ʿḥy*
14) Pa-[...] son of Amenothes
15) Snachomneus son of Pasemis
16) Snachomneus son of Psen-[...]

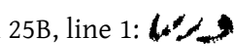
Commentary on Translation of P. FMNH 31323

Recto

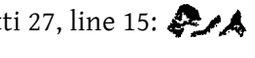
Line 1: "Year 9, 3rd month of Akhet (= Hathyr), day 9." Reich, FMP, identified Year 9 from the long vertical stroke projecting below the line, but he did not read the month, season, and day, because a horizontal strip of papyrus running through their middle is lost.

P. FMNH 31323, line 1: 

The tops of two upward strokes followed by a curved stroke derived from the *ibt* or month sign, however, guarantee the reading *ibt 3* or "3rd month." Furthermore, the tops of one curved stroke followed by three upward strokes require reading the season name *ꜣḫt*. The scribe of this papyrus, Chonstephnachthis III son of Harsiesis II, regularly writes *ꜣḫt* in this way; compare P. Tor. Botti 21, lines 1 and 18; P. Tor. Botti 25A, lines 1, 14 and 20; P. Tor. Botti 25B, lines 1, 15, and 21; P. Tor. Botti 25C, line 1; P. Tor. Botti 31A–B, line 1; and P. Tor. Botti 33A–B, line 1.

P. Tor. Botti 21, line 1: ; P. Tor. Botti 25B, line 1: 

In contrast, he writes *pr.t* with two upward strokes followed by one curved stroke, see P. Tor. Botti 26, line 1; P. Tor. Botti 27, line 15; P. Berl. Kauf. 3105, line 1; and P. Tor. Botti 32, line 1.

P. Tor. Botti 26, line 1: ; P. Tor. Botti 27, line 15: 

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Likewise, he writes *šmw* with three upward strokes, see line 15 in this papyrus; P. Tor. Botti 21, lines 18 and 22; P. Tor. Botti 25C, line 19 (read *pr.t* in the edition); and P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 14, 15, and 17.

P. Tor. Botti 21, line 18: ; P. Tor. Botti 26, line 14:

The reading of the month as *ỉbt 3* further excludes a reading *šmw*, because repayment is due in the same Year 9 on *tpy* [*šmw ʿrqy*] in lines 12 and 14, and the penalty is due the following month on *ỉbt 2 šmw* in line 15.

Finally, the short diagonal stroke projecting to the right, the following curved stroke, and the long horizontal stroke projecting right under the date must read *sw 9* or "day 9," because the diagonal stroke is too short to read *sw 19*, "day 19." The resulting date, Year 9, Hathyr, day 9, corresponds to 26 November 109 BCE.

Line 2: "the Pharaoh l.p.h. Cleopatra l.p.h. with the Pharaoh l.p.h. (2) Ptolemy l.p.h. who loves his mother, the savor l.p.h." Refers to Cleopatra III and her son Ptolemy IX Soter II, who reigned together from late 116 BCE, after the death of Cleopatra III's father, husband and coregent Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and the death of her mother and coregent Cleopatra II. They reigned together until late 107 or early 106 BCE, when Cleopatra III made her other son Ptolemy X Alexander coregent in place of Ptolemy IX. See Pestman 1967, pp. 64–69; Depauw 2008, pp. 124–33; Ritner 2011, pp. 97–114.

Lines 2–7: These lines should provide the names of the eponymous priests, but the scribe omitted them. Instead, he just listed the names of four priesthoods (Alexander and the deified Ptolemies, Berenike II, Arsinoe II, and Arsinoe III) and wrote that they were as they were decreed in Alexandria and Ptolemais. This became common practice in the Late Ptolemaic Period.

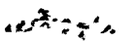
The scribe of this contract, Chonstephnachthis III, son of Harsiesis II of the Djeme notary, used the same list of eponymous priesthoods given here, with exactly the same line breaks, in narrow format contracts P. Tor. Botti 25A–B–C, dated to October 20, 108 BCE. He also used the same list, with nearly the same line breaks, in narrow format contracts P. Tor. Botti 21, dated to December 15, 111 BCE; P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), dated to November 21, 108 BCE; and P. Tor. Botti 26, dated to January 26, 107 BCE, the difference being that the relative converter *nt* appeared at the beginning of line 4 rather than the end of line 3.

The father of the scribe of this contract, Harsiesis II, son of Chonstephnachthis II of the Djeme notary, used the same list but with different line breaks in narrow format contracts P. Tor. Botti 16, dated to December 29, 114 BCE, and P. Tor. Botti 17, dated to January 21, 111 BCE.

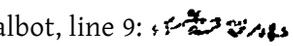
Lines 7–8: "The herdsman, (8) servant of Djeme, Snachomneus son of Amenothes, his mother is Senthotes." The individual is also first contractor in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), dated to November 21, 108 BCE. For the title "herdsman, servant of Djeme," see Manning 1995. For an alternative interpretation, see Muhs et al. 2002/2003, pp. 62–81, esp. 65–66.

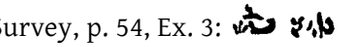
Lines 8–9: "The woman Nachoutes?, (9) daughter of Hasos, her mother is Taieous." The individual is also second contractor in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), dated to November 21, 108 BCE. Reich, FMP, p. 45, read the name and title of the second contractor, Nechouthis, but thought that "the names of her parents are so much destroyed that the little remainder allows almost any guess."

However, compare the traces of the patronym in line 9, with the writing in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), line 9, by the same scribe; and with the writing from Pestman 1993, p. 54, ex. 3. *Ḥr-sỉ*, by Horos son of Pabis of the Theban notary.

P. FMNH 31323, line 9: 

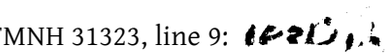
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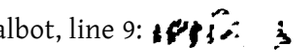
P. Talbot, line 9: 

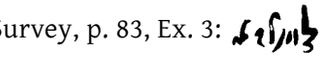
P. Survey, p. 54, Ex. 3: 

In P. FMNH 31323, there are traces of *ḥr* "face," written with the flesh determinative. This is followed by traces of *s*ꜣ written alphabetically. The *s* above the *aleph* is particularly clear. Pestman has shown that there were a wide variety of writings of this name in Thebes in the second century BCE, all referring to the same two individuals, father and son, suggesting that the etymology of the name had been forgotten.

Likewise, compare the traces of the matronym in line 9, with the writing in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), line 9, by the same scribe; and with the writing from Pestman 1993, p. 83, ex. 3. *Ta-yw*ꜣ, by an unnamed scribe.

P. FMNH 31323, line 9: 

P. Talbot, line 9: 

P. Survey, p. 83, Ex. 3: 

In P. FMNH 31323, there is some damage to the *Ta* and to the *y*, but the *w* and the *aleph* are clear, as is the determinative. It is a different one from Pestman's example 3, but similar to that in his other examples. Again, Pestman has shown that there were a wide variety of writings of this name in Thebes in the second century BCE, many of them referring to the same individual, suggesting that the etymology of this name had been forgotten as well.

Lines 9–10: "There belongs to you 45 artabas of wheat, their half is 22 ½ makes 45 artabas of wheat (10) again."

By way of comparison, among second-century BCE Theban Demotic letter contracts, P. Tor. Botti 13, dated to October 25, 114 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 7 artabas, which makes 10 ½ artabas, and P. Tor. Botti 14, dated October 25, 114 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 15 artabas.

Among second-century BCE Theban Demotic notarial contracts, P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), dated to September 2, 127 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 4 ½ artabas and 200 deben; P. Louvre 2420g (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 358–60; P. Survey 22), dated to December 23, 127 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 12 ⅓ artabas; P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), dated to October 20, 114 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 3 artabas; P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), dated to November 21, 108 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 300 deben and 46 artabas; P. Tor. Botti 26, dated to January 26, 107 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 6 ½ ¼ artabas; P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), dated to October 15, 103 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 9 artabas; and P. Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), dated to September 27, 102 BCE, acknowledges a debt of 40 artabas.

Line 10: "their profit (i.e., interest) being in them." This clause occurs in most of the second-century BCE Theban Demotic grain loan contracts cited above, letter or notary. Notary contract P. Louvre 2420g (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 358–60; P. Survey 22) omits it, but it is an advance money purchase of grain, so there is no interest. The clause is discussed in Pestman 1971, pp. 7–29, esp. 9 and 12. The debt indicated in line 9 thus includes both the amount loaned and the interest. The interest on grain loans was usually 50%, so the amount loaned was probably 30 artabas of wheat.

Line 10: "against me in the name of the grain which you gave to me." This clause occurs in most of the second-century BCE Theban Demotic notary grain loan contracts cited above, but it is absent from the letter contracts P. Tor. Botti 13 and 14. In P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), and P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), one finds the variant "against me in the name of the money and the grain which you gave to me," because they are mixed

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loans. In P. Louvre 2420g (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 358–60; P. Survey 22), one finds the variant "against me in the name of the money which you gave to me," suggesting that the ostensible lender has actually purchased the grain in advance of the harvest.

Lines 10–13: "And I shall give to you your 45 artabas of wheat (11) which are above as grain, it being pure without foreign particles (lit. seconds) (or) chaff, it being measured, it being carried, it being delivered to your agent (12) at your house in Djeme, without expense or transport (costs) of any kind on the earth, by Year 9, Pachons day 30, by your (13) *medjat*-measure with which you measured for me."

Year 9 Pachons 30 corresponds to June 15, 108 BCE, which was six months and twenty-one days after the contract was made, and at least one and perhaps two months after the grain harvest in Upper Egypt; see Schnebel 1925, pp. 163–67.

The same clauses in the same order occur in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), P. Tor. Botti 26, and P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), all written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary; and P. Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), written by Amenothes son of Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary.

P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), written by Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, and P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), written by Horos son of Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, present most of the same clauses in a different order, "they being pure, without seconds, without chaff (*iwṯ 2-nw iwṯ stḥ* versus *iwṯ 2-nw stḥ*), with the *medjat*-measure with which you measured the grain in it for me (P. Leiden 376 adds 'which are ... according to the *qws*-measure of 29'), it being measured, carried, delivered to the hand of your agent at your house in Thebes, without any expense (or) transport (costs) on the earth.' This variation is clearly the result of different scribal schools.

The letter contracts P. Tor. Botti 13 and 14 present an abbreviated selection of these clauses.

Lines 13–16: "The grain therein, which I shall not give it to you within your 45 artabas of wheat (14) which are above, by Year 9, Pachons day 30, the day which is above, I shall give it to you each 60 deben makes 300 staters makes (15) 60 deben [again, being 24 obols] per 2 (silver) kite, per the artaba of wheat on Year 9, Payni, the month which is after the named month, compulsorily (16) without remainder."

Reich, FMP, read [*ḥmt q*]*t* "bronze kite," instead of [*ḏb*ʿ].*t* "obol."

Year 9, Payni, corresponds to June 16–July 15, 108 BCE.

The same money penalty of 60 deben per artaba occurs in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), lines 16–18, dated to November 21, 108 BCE, and P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 16–17, dated to January 26, 107 BCE, both written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary. A larger money penalty of 100 deben per artaba occurs in P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), dated to October 15, 103 BCE, also written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary. A still larger money penalty of 300 deben per artaba occurs in P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), lines 19–22, dated to September 2, 127 BCE, written by Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary.

A grain penalty of 1 ½ for each 1 (artaba), that is, 150%, occurs in P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), lines 11–12, dated to October 20, 114 BCE, written by Horos son of Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary; and in P. Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), dated to September 27, 102 BCE, written by Amenothes son of Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary. The contractors clearly chose these variations, since they do not correlate to a particular notary office or scribe.

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The letter contracts P. Tor. Botti 13 and 14 omit the possibility of a late payment with a penalty, and instead refer to keeping specific securities in the event of non-payment.

Lines 16–18: "I shall not be able to give to you another day after the day which is above. I shall not (17) be able to say that I have given to you any grain (or) penalty on the earth therein without a receipt, it being a proof, while the writing (18) which is above is in your hand."

Reich, FMP, read *ḫl* as "new money," but Hughes and Nims 1940, p. 252 n. 14, reread it as "penalty"; cf. Den Brinker et al. 2005, p. 657.

The clause "while the writing which is above is in your hand" reveals that this contract was given to the lender, rather than to a third party trustee, as was sometimes the case; see Markiewicz 2005, pp. 141–67, esp. 164–65.

The same clauses occur in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), lines 18–20; P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 17–20; and P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), all written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary; and in P. Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), written by Amenothes son of Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary.

P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), lines 22–24, written by Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, and P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), lines 12–14, written by Horos son of Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, omit the phrase "while the writing which is above is in your hand."

Lines 18–20: "It is against me (lit. my head) and my children that the law of the document which is above has come into being. Everything (19) which belongs to me and that which I shall cause to come into being is security for your 45 artabas of wheat which are above, until I (20) satisfy you with them."

The same clause also appears in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), lines 20–22; P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 20–22; and P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary; and in Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), written by Amenothes son of Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary.

P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), lines 28–29, written by Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, includes the first part of the clause, "It is against me (lit. my head) and my children that the law of the document which is above has come into being," but omits the rest. P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), lines 14–16, written by Horos son of Esminis son of Pabis of the Theban notary, includes the clause but substitutes "security for every word which is above' for 'security for your 45 artabas of wheat which are above."

Lines 20–21: "If it occurs that you complain against me that I have not acted for you according to every word which is above, (21) the damage which you shall make it because of the raising (of the complaint), I shall give it to you outside of every word which is above."

Reich, FMP, read *n p ṯs*, "before the commander," but Pestman 1993, p. 210 n. e, reread it as "because of the raising (of the complaint)"; cf. Den Brinker et al. 2005, p. 657. Pestman further observed that this clause only occurs in loan contracts written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary: this contract; P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), lines 22–24; P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 17–20; and P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65). His son Amenothes of the Djeme notary omits this clause in the otherwise very similar contract P. Louvre 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67).

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Lines 21–23: "Your agent [22] is the one who shall be believed regarding every word which he shall speak with me in the name of every word which is above, and I shall do them [23] at his voice on any day, compulsorily, without remainder, without any hindrance."

The same clause also appears in P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), lines 24–26, and P. Tor. Botti 26, lines 24–26, both written by Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary.

The clause is, however, omitted in P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65) and 2436a (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 67), written by Chonstephnachthis III and his son Amenothes, respectively, of the Djeme notary.

A similar clause also appears in P. Leiden 376 (P. Bürgschaftsrecht 10; *Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 177–78; P. Survey 20), lines 30–32, and P. Berlin 3103 (*Dem. Lesestücke* II, pp. 170–74; P. Survey 51), lines 16–17, but omits the phrase *n ḥtr ỉwṯ mn*, "compulsorily, without remainder." These were written by Esminis son of Pabis, and his son Horos, respectively, of the Theban notary.

Lines 23–24: The contract concludes with the name of the temple notary scribe. There were three temple notarial offices in the greater Theban area: Thebes proper on the east bank, Djeme on the west bank, and Hermonthis on the west bank to the south. One scribal family or several in succession held each of these offices; see Pestman 1977, vol. I, pp. 139–40; and Pestman 1993, pp. 309–19. A scribe of the Djeme notary office wrote this papyrus, indicated by his epithet *nt sḫ n rn Ns-pȝ-mty sȝ Wsỉr-wr pȝ ḥm-nṯr n Ḏmȝ*, "who writes in the name of Espemetis son of Osoroeris, the prophet of Djeme"; see Pestman 1977, vol. I, pp. 141–44. This scribe's family held the Djeme notary office from 162/161 BCE to 101/100 BCE; see Pestman 1977, vol. I, pp. 148–53.

The scribe, Chonstephnachthis III son of Harsiesis II, signed several other papyri including: P. Tor. Botti 21, dated to 15 December 111 BCE; P. Tor. Botti 25 A-B-C, dated to October 20, 108 BCE; P. Talbot (see *Appendix*), dated to November 21, 108 BCE; P. Tor. Botti 26, dated to January 26, 107 BCE; P. Tor. Botti 27, dated to February 27, 107 BCE; P. Tor. Botti 31 A–B, dated to October 7, 104 BCE; P. Berlin Kauf. 3105, dated to April 1, 103 BCE; P. Tor. Botti 32, dated to May 15, 103 BCE; P. Louvre 2436b (*Chrestomathie*, pp. 110–22; P. Survey 65), dated to October 15, 103 BCE; and P. Tor. Botti 33 A–B, dated to January 14, 102 BCE. Pestman claims that he also wrote but did not sign P. Tor. Botti 4, an undated copy of an original dated to August 13, 159 BCE, see Pestman 1977, vol. I, pp. 150–52.

Verso

The witnesses to notarial contracts usually came from a local pool of literate individuals. Some of these individuals witnessed multiple contracts at the local temple notary office, though occasionally witnesses from other notary offices may also participate.

Line 1: Reich, FMP, read *Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s sȝ ʿnḫ-pȝ-ḫrṯ*. The elements that Reich read as *Mw.t* are the possessive prefix *Pa-* plus the element *mn* in *Mnṯ*. The elements that he read as *ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s* are the elements *ṯ* and the divine determinative in *Mnṯ*, plus *sȝ Ḥr-*, and the elements that he read as *sȝ ʿnḫ-pȝ-ḫrṯ* are *tȝy=f-nḫṯ*.

Line 2: Reich, FMP, read *Ḏ-ḥr sȝ Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s*. The elements that Reich read as *Mw.t* are the possessive prefix *Pa-* plus the initial *ḏ* of *ḏmȝ*. The elements that he read as *ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s* are the *mȝ* of *ḏmȝ* plus the divine determinative.

Line 3: = Witness 12, P. Tor. Botti 17, dated to January 21, 111 BCE, from the Djeme notary.

Line 4: Reich, FMP, read *Pȝ-šr-*[*... sȝ Pa*]*-ḫrṯ*. There seem to be traces of *ỉmn* after *Pȝ-šr*, however, and the house determinative of *ỉpy* is clear. Furthermore, the element that Reich read as *ḫrṯ* is more likely *mn*.

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Line 5: Reich, FMP, read *Pa-*[*wn sȝ*] *Ḥr-sȝ-ỉs.t* (? or *Pȝ-nḫt-ỉs.t*?). The element that he read as *ỉs.t* is clearly preceded by traces of *š* and *y*, however, and is followed by the divine determinative, requiring a reading *šy*. This appears to be preceded by *Pȝ-tỉ-pȝ-*.

Line 6: Reich, FMP, read *Pa-ḥy sȝ Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s*, but *Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s* is unlikely, and even *Pa-ḥy* is uncertain.

Line 7: Reich, FMP, read *Ḥr-ḫb sȝ ʾIr.t.w-r.r=w*, but *Ḥr-wḏȝ* fits the traces better than *Ḥr-ḫb*.

Line 8: Perhaps = Witness 3, P. Tor. Botti 22, dated to May 21, 108 BCE, from the Hermonthis notary; and Witness 9, P. Tor. Botti 24, dated to October 7, 108 BCE, from the Hermonthis notary, though the Hermonthite origin could argue against the identification. Reich, FMP, read *Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s sȝ Ḫnsw-ḏḥwty*. The elements that Reich read as *Mw.t* are the possessive prefix *Pa-* plus the element *mn* in *Mnṯ*. The elements that he read as *ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s* are the element *ṯ* and the divine determinative in *Mnṯ*.

Line 9: Reich, FMP, read *Pȝ-šr-*[...] *sȝ Pȝ-šr-ỉnt* (?), but traces following *Pȝ-šr* suggest *ʿȝ-pḥṯ*, and the patronym more closely resembles *Pȝ-šr-ḫnsw* than *Pȝ-šr-ỉnt* (?).

Line 10: = Witness 3, P. Warsaw dem. 148.288 (P. Recueil 10), dated to March 2, 119 BCE, from the Djeme notary; Witness 16, P. Tor. Botti 21, dated to December 15, 111 BCE, from the Djeme notary; and Witness 6, P. Tor. Botti 30, dated to October 1, 104 BCE, from the Djeme notary. Reich, FMP, read [*... sȝ*] *Ns-nȝy=w-ḫmn-ỉw*.

Line 14: Reich, FMP, read *Pa-*[...] *sȝ Pȝ-šr-ỉmy*, but the patronym is clearly *ʾImn-ḥtp*.

Line 15: Reich, FMP, read *Ns-nȝy=w-ḫmn-ỉw sȝ Mw.t-ỉ.ỉr-tỉ-s*, but the patronym is *Pa-ḏmȝ*, as in line 2.

Provenance of P. FMNH 31323

It is known when and where P. FMNH 31323 was written, and when and where the Field Museum acquired it. Line 1 indicates that it was written on November 26, 109 BCE, and lines 23–24 indicate that it was written in Djeme, modern Medinet Habu on the west bank at Thebes. Field Museum records indicate that the museum acquired it on May 24, 1894, from Chicago businessman and president of the Field Museum, Edward Everett Ayer (1841–1927),[15] as Acquisition 126, along with hieratic papyrus P. FMNH 31324,[16] and hieroglyphic papyrus P. FMNH 31325.[17] Ayer had acquired these three papyri not long before from London publisher and book dealer Bernard Quaritch. The Field Museum possesses an invoice from Bernard Quaritch dated May 1, 1894, a receipt from the shipper Geo. W. Wheatley and Co. dated April 30, and a Port of Chicago customs form dated May 14 stating that they had arrived from Liverpool on May 9, 1894. Ayer thus acquired P. FMNH 31323 before the Field Museum formally opened on June 2, 1894, and before he himself traveled to Egypt to purchase antiquities for the museum later that year.[18]

It is not known what happened to P. FMNH 31323 during the intervening twenty-one centuries, but there are some clues. P. FMNH 31323 is an extremely well-preserved contract, suggesting that it survived as part of an ancient archive. There are only four archives of Demotic papyri known from Thebes that date around 109 BCE. These are the archive of Osoroeris son of Horos, dating between 182 and 98 BCE, which numerous collectors acquired in Egypt in the years immediately after 1819;[19] the archive of Amenothes son of Horos, dating

[15] Bierbrier 2012, p. 29. For a more extensive biography, see Lockwood 1929.

[16] A First Book of Breathing, to be published by Foy Scalf, *The First Book of Breathing: A New Assessment Based on an Edition of Papyrus FMNH 31323*. For a brief description, see Lucarelli 2017, pp. 302–05.

[17] A Book of the Dead, illustrated in Quaritch 1894, p. 83-84 and pl. 1.

[18] Lockwood 1929, pp. 191–95; Teeter 2010, pp. 303–14, p. 305.

[19] Pestman 1993, pp. 10–12.

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between 171 and 116 BCE, which Drovetti acquired in Egypt by 1823;[20] the archive of Panas son of Pechutes, dating between 150 and 112 BCE, which various collectors acquired in Egypt between the 1860s and 1899;[21] and the archive of Totoes son of Smanres, dating between 194 and 100 BCE, which Schiaparelli discovered during excavations in 1905.[22] The last cannot have been the source of P. Chicago FMNH 31323, however, because the latter was acquired already in 1894.

The internal evidence of P. FMNH 31323 does not allow it to be securely assigned to any of these archives. If the borrower Snachomneus son of Amenothes had repaid the loan, he should have received the papyrus back and placed it in his own archive or that of a relative or a friend, but the borrower is unattested outside of this papyrus and P. Talbot, discussed below. Furthermore, the loan contract has not been crossed out to cancel it, as is often the case when loan contracts are returned to the borrower.

On the other hand, if the borrower did not repay the loan, then the lender Nechouthis daughter of Hasos would have kept the papyrus in her archive or that of a relative or friend, as title to any securities that she seized. Nechouthis is in fact known from four other papyri from Thebes. One is P. Talbot, discussed below. In Demotic P. Amherst 62e (P. Survey 32), dated to 124 BCE, Nechouthis, her brothers and her cousins acknowledged receipt of their inheritance to their uncle Pechutes, and thus the papyrus ended up in the archive of his son Panas son of Pechutes. Pechutes was thus a relative of Nechouthis, but he presumably requested the receipt to protect himself from potential claims by Nechouthis and her brothers and cousins, which suggests that Nechouthis might not have trusted him with her loan contract. In Greek P. Louvre 2338 (P. Survey 44), dated to 119 BCE, and P. Turin 2141 (P. Survey 48), dated to 117 BCE, the epistates Ptolemaios wrote two legal decisions for the whole community of choachytes or mortuary priests in Thebes as the result of a collective lawsuit. Nechouthis was named in both papyri because she was part of this community, but these papyri probably went into the archive of Osoroeris son of Horos, which served as a communal archive for the community of choachytes. This suggests the possibility that Nechouthis also deposited her loan contract in this archive.

The external evidence of P. FMNH 31323 also does not allow it to be decisively assigned to any of these archives. Its acquisition in 1894 could suggest that it belongs with the archive of Panas son of Pechutes, which was acquired between the 1860s and the 1890s. Bernard Quaritch primarily dealt in old British and European libraries, however, and thus the papyrus could easily have spent some time in a private collection before Edward Ayers acquired it. A brief survey of the archives of Bernard Quaritch Ltd revealed no mention of the papyrus.[23] The photograph made in 1893 and reproduced in Bernard Quaritch's *Palaeography. Notes upon the History of Writing and the Medieval Art of Illumination*, published in 1894, does not suggest that the papyrus was in his possession long before he sold it to Edward Ayers. There is, however, new evidence that suggests that P. FMNH 31323 may have come out of Egypt earlier rather than later.

This new evidence consists of P. Talbot, a Demotic contract written by the scribe Chonstephnachthis III of the Djeme notary on behalf of Snachomneus son of Amenothes for Nechouthis daughter of Hasos. It is dated to Year 10 of Cleopatra III = 108 BCE, and it concerns a loan of 300 deben and 46 artabas of wheat. The contractors and the scribe in P. Talbot are thus the same as those in P. FMNH 31323, and the loan in P. Talbot was made one year after that in P. FMNH 31323 was made, and six months after it came due, suggesting that the loan in P. Talbot was in effect an extension of that in P. FMNH 31323.

P. Talbot is therefore likely to have been deposited in the same archive as P. FMNH 31323 and consequently to have been found at the same time. Significantly, P. Talbot appears to have been acquired already by 1827. This suggests that P. FMNH 31323 spent considerable time in a British or European collection, before Ayers purchased it from Quaritch in 1894. It also argues that neither P. Talbot nor P. FMNH 31323 is likely to have been part of the archive of Panas son of Pechutes and that they are more likely to have been kept in the communal archive of Osoroeris son of Horos.

[20] Pestman 1981, p. v.

[21] Pestman 1993, pp. 12–13.

[22] Botti 1967, Testo, p. 1.

[23] The author would like to thank Katherine Spears, Archivist at Bernard Quaritch Ltd, for her kind responses to his inquiries, and for her assistance during his visit on June 25, 2010.

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Appendix

P. Talbot

P. Talbot is not part of the scholarly literature on Demotic contracts, because it was effectively hidden in a private collection until 2009, when a brief description and an image of the recto were published in an online auction catalog.[24] A fuller account of the papyrus, including a transliteration and translation, is appended here to bring it into the scholarly literature, until the papyrus becomes available for a complete edition.

P. Talbot was sold at Christie's, London, South Kensington, on April 28, 2009, Sale 5951, Lot 148. The location of the papyrus subsequent to its sale is unknown.[25] The online description of the papyrus states that it consists of six fragments, measuring 8 inches or 20.3 cm wide overall and 6.5 inches or 16.5 cm high maximum. The image of the papyrus, however, shows seven fragments that together are taller than they are wide, constituting a typical narrow format (*type étroit*) notarial contract.

The online description of Sale 5951, Lot 144, indicates that Lots 144 through 149 in the sale were once part of the collection of William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), and had passed to a female descendant who offered them for auction. Lots 144 through 147 contained numerous papyrus fragments of four New Kingdom Books of the Dead, one of which, Lot 144, was later acquired and published by the British Museum.[26] Lot 148 consisted of six fragments of the aforementioned Demotic papyrus and twelve other Demotic fragments, not depicted. Lot 149 has disappeared from the online catalog, but a single Egyptian lot with the same provenance appeared in the following Sale 5952, held on October 27, 2009. Lot 134 consisted of faience scarabs and beads and a pottery funerary cone.

William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877) was heir to Lacock Abbey, near Chippenham, Wiltshire, and a collector of Egyptian antiquities.[27] He is best known as the inventor of the calotype or talbotype process, a precursor to photography.[28] He used his process to publish Egyptian texts[29] and taught it to Richard Lepsius,[30] who may have given him some objects,[31] but certainly not his entire collection.[32] In addition to the pieces sold at the auctions described above, Talbot's collection contained at least a dozen Egyptian artifacts, including seven stelae, two of which have been published.[33]

William Henry Fox Talbot was a prodigious correspondent as well as a collector, and much of his incoming correspondence is preserved at Lacock Abbey and has been transcribed and made available online. One of these letters may contain a reference to the Demotic papyrus sold at Christie's. In a letter dated July 26, 1827, Jules de St Quintin (the conservator of the Turin Museum), wrote to William Henry Fox Talbot, "Je vous engageais hier à dérouler votre précieux papirus démotique sur le Silver paper; je crains maintenant de vous avoir mal conseillé."[34] Because only one complete Demotic papyrus is known from Talbot's collection, this letter may well refer to it and may show that Talbot had acquired it by 1827.

Transliteration of P. Talbot

1) *ḥsb.t 10.t ỉbt 3 ȝḫt sw 4? n tȝ pr-ꜥȝ.t ꜥ.w.s. Glwptrȝ ꜥ.w.s. ỉrm pr-ꜥȝ ꜥ.w.s.*

2) *Ptlwmys ꜥ.w.s. pȝ nṯr mr mw.ṯ=f pȝ swtr ꜥ.w.s. ỉrm pȝ wꜥb n ȝrgsntrws ꜥ.w.s.*

[24] http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/ancient-art-antiquities/an-egyptian-legal-document-in-demotic-ptolemaic-5193036-details.aspx?intobjectid=5193036 (accessed June 13, 2016).

[25] The author is grateful to Georgina Aitken of Christie's for forwarding his inquiries to the purchaser on March 31, 2010, from whom he has received no response.

[26] BM EA 79431; see Taylor 2010, pp. 298–99 (catalog no. 155); and Taylor, Leach, and Sharp 2011, pp. 95–104.

[27] Bierbrier 2012, p. 533. For a more extensive biography, see Arnold 1977.

[28] Schaaf 2000; Roberts and Grayl 2000; Schaaf 1995; Schaaf 1992; and Buckland 1980.

[29] Caminos 1966, pp. 65–70.

[30] Hafemann 2009, pp. 119–27.

[31] Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters 1994, pp. 166–68.

[32] Taylor et al. 2011, pp. 95–104, esp. pp. 96–97.

[33] Quaegebeur and Rammant-Peeters 1995, pp. 71–90; Satzinger and Stefanović 2011.

[34] Document number 5334: http://foxtalbot.dmu.ac.uk/letters/transcriptDocnum.php?docnum=5334 (accessed June 13, 2016).

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3) *ỉrm* [*nꜣ nṯr.w*] *nt nḥm, nꜣ nṯr.w sn.w, nꜣ nṯr.w mnḫ.w, nꜣ nṯr.w mr ỉṯ=w, nꜣ nṯr.w*

4) *nt pry, pꜣ nṯr r.tny ỉṯ=f, pꜣ nṯr mr mw.ṯ=f, pꜣ nṯr mr ỉṯ=f, nꜣ nṯr.w mnḫ.w,*

5) *pꜣ mr mw.ṯ=f, pꜣ swtr ꜥ.w.s. ỉrm tꜣ fy qny nꜥš n Brnyk ꜥ.w.s. tꜣ mnḫ.t*

6) *ỉrm tꜣ fy tn n nb* [*m-bꜣḥ*] *ꜣrsyn ꜥ.w.s. tꜣ mr sn ỉrm tꜣ wꜥb.t n ꜣrsyn ꜥ.w.s.*

7) *tꜣ mr ỉṯ=s r-ḫ.t nꜣ nt smn n Rꜥ-qt Pꜣ-sy n pꜣ tš n Nỉw.t. Ḏ ꜥꜣm*

8) *bꜣk n Ḏmꜣ Ns-nꜣy=w-ḫmn-ỉw sꜣ ʾImn-ḥtp, mw.t=f Tꜣ-šr.t-ḏḥwty n sḥm.t Nꜣ-nḫṯ=w*

9) *ta Ḥr-sꜣ, mw.t=s Ta-ywꜣ: wn mtw=t ḥḏ 300 r sttr 1800 r ḥḏ 300 ꜥn n*

10) *ḏbꜥ.t 24 r qt 2 ỉrm rtb n sw 46 tꜣy=w pš.t 23 r rtb n sw 46 ꜥn ỉw pꜣy=w ḥw*

11) *ḫn=w ỉ.ỉr-n=y n rn* [*n nꜣ ḥḏ*].*w ỉrm nꜣ pr.w r.tỉ=t n=y, mtw=y tỉ n=t pꜣy=t ḥḏ 300 ỉrm*

12) *pꜣy=t rtb n sw 46 nt ḥry* [*n p*]*r ỉw=f wꜥb, ỉwṯ 2-nw stḥ, ỉw=w ḫy.w, ỉw=w fy.w,*

13) *ỉw=w swṯ n-ḏr.t pꜣy=t rt n pꜣy=t ꜥ.wy n Ḏmꜣ ỉwṯ hy hm.t nt nb*

14) *n pꜣ tꜣ r-hn r ḥsb.t 10.t* [*tpy šmw ꜥrqy*] *n pꜣy=t mḏꜣ.t r.ḫy=t n=y n-ỉm=s. pꜣ ḥḏ pr n-ỉm=w*

15) *nt ỉw bn ỉw=y tỉ s n=t* [*ḫn*] *pꜣy=t ḥḏ 300 ỉrm pꜣy=t rtb n sw 46 nt ḥry r-hn r ḥsb.t 10.t*

16) *tpy šmw ꜥrqy pꜣ sw hrw* [*nt ḥry*], *mtw=y tỉ s n=t nꜣ ḥḏ.w tn ḥḏ 1 qt 5 r ḥḏ 1, mtw=y tỉ n=t nꜣ pr.w*

17) *tn ḥḏ 60 r sttr* [*300 r ḥḏ*] *60 ꜥn n ḏbꜥ.t 24 r qt 2 n pꜣ rtb n sw n ḥsb.t 10.t ỉbt 2 šmw pꜣ ỉbt nt m-sꜣ*

18) *pꜣ ỉbt n rn=f* [*n ḥtr*] *ỉwṯ mn. bn ỉw=y rḫ tỉ n=t ky sw hrw m-sꜣ*

19) *pꜣ sw hrw* [*nt ḥry*]. *bn ỉw=y rḫ ḏ tỉ=y n=t* [*ḥḏ*?] *pr ḫl nt nb n pꜣ tꜣ n-ỉm=w ỉwṯ ỉw*

20) *ỉw=f ꜥḥꜥ-rṯ ỉw pꜣ sḫ nt ḥry n-ḏr.ṯ=t. ỉ.ỉr pꜣ hp n pꜣ sḫ nt ḥry*

21) *ḫpr r ḏꜣḏꜣ*[*=y ḥnꜥ nꜣy*]*=y ḫrṯ.w. nt nb nkt nb nt mtw=y ḥnꜥ nꜣ nt ỉw=y r tỉ ḫpr.w n ỉwy.t*

22) *n* [*pꜣy=t ḥḏ 300 ỉrm pꜣy=t rtb n*] *sw 46 nt ḥry šꜥ.tw=y mḥ=t n-ỉm=w. ỉw=f r ḫpr ỉw*

23) *sm*[*y=t r-ḥr=y ỉw bnpw=y ỉr n=t r-ḫ.t mt.t nb nt*] *ḥry, pꜣ ꜣsy nt ỉ.ỉr=t r*

24) *ỉr=f* [*n pꜣ ṯs, mtw=y tỉ s*] *n=t pꜣ bl n mt.t nb nt ḥry. pꜣy=t rt*

25) *pꜣ nt nḥṯ* [*r mt.t*] *nb ỉw=f r* [*ḏ.ṯ=w ỉrm=y*] *n rn mt.t nb nt hry, mtw=y ỉr=w r ḫrw=f*

26) *---- sw nb n* [*ḥtr ỉwṯ mn ỉwṯ sḫ*(*y*)] *nb. sḫ Ḫnsw-tꜣy=f-nḫt sꜣ Ḥr-sꜣ-*

27) *-ỉst? nt sḫ n rn* [*Ns*]*-pꜣ-mty* [*sꜣ Wsỉr*]*-wr pꜣ ḥm-nṯr n Ḏmꜣ.*

Translation of P. Talbot

1) Year 10, Hathyr, day 4? of the Pharaoh l.p.h. Cleopatra (III) l.p.h. with the Pharaoh l.p.h.

2) Ptolemy (IX) l.p.h. who loves his mother, the savior l.p.h., with the priest of Alexander l.p.h.

3) and the gods who save (PI, BI), the sibling gods (PII, AII), the beneficent [gods] (PIII, BII), the gods who love their father (PIV, AIII), the gods who

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4) appear (PV, CI), the god whose father is exalted (PEu), the god who loves his mother (PVI), the god who loves his father (PVII), the beneficent gods (PVIII, CII),

5) (the god) who loves his mother, the savor (PIX) l.p.h., and the bearer of the victory of Berenike (II) l.p.h. the beneficent,

6) and the bearer of the golden basket before Arsinoe (II) l.p.h. the brother-loving, and the priestess of Arsinoe (III) l.p.h.

7) who loves her father, according to that which is established in Alexandria, and Ptolemais in the Thebaid. Said the herdsman,

8) servant of Djeme, Snachomneus son of Amenothes, his mother is Senthotes, to the woman Nachoutes?

9) daughter of Hasos, her mother is Taieous: There belongs to you 300 deben makes 1800 staters makes 300 deben again being

10) 24 obols per 2 (silver) kite, and 46 artabas of wheat, their half is 23 makes 46 artabas of wheat again, their profit (i.e., interest) being

11) in them, against me in the name of [the money]s and the grain which you gave to me. And I shall give to you your 300 deben and

12) your 46 artabas of wheat which are above [as] grain, it being pure without foreign particles (lit. seconds) or chaff, they being measured, they being carried,

13) they being delivered to your agent at your house in Djeme, without expense or transport (costs) of any kind

14) on the earth, by Year 10 [Pachons day 30] by your *medjat*-measure with which you measured for me. The money (and) grain therein,

15) which I shall not give it to you [within] your 300 deben and your 46 artabas of wheat which are above, by Year 10

16) Pachons day 30, the day [which is above], I shall give to you the moneys each 1 deben 5 kite per 1 deben, and I shall give to you the grain

17) each 60 deben makes 300 staters makes 60 deben again, being 24 obols per 2 (silver) kite, per the artaba of wheat on Year 10 Payni, the month which is after

18) the named month, [compulsorily] without remainder. I shall not be able to give to you another day after

19) the day which is above. I shall not be able to say that I have given to you any [money? (or)] grain (or) penalty on the earth therein without a receipt,

20) it being a proof, while the writing which is above is in your hand. It is against me (lit. my [head]) [and my] children that the law of the document which is above

21) has come into being. Everything which belongs to me and that which I shall cause to come into being is security

22) for [your 300 deben and] your 46 artabas of wheat which are above, until I satisfy you with them. If it occurs that

23) you [complain against me that I have not acted for you according to every word which] is above, the damage which you shall

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24) make it because of [the raising (of the complaint), I shall give it] to you outside of every word which is above. Your agent

25) is the one who shall be believed regarding every word which he shall speak with me in the name of every word which is above, and I shall do them at his voice

26) ----- on any day, compulsorily, without remainder, without any hindrance. Has written Chonstephnachthis son of Harsi-

27) -esis, who writes in the name of Espemetis son of Osoroeris, the prophet of Djeme.

Commentary on Translation of P. Talbot

Many of the comments to P. FMNH 31323 also apply to P. Talbot, and these will not be repeated here. The following are comments specific to P. Talbot.

Line 1: "Year 10, 3rd month of Akhet (= Hathyr), day 4?.' The season name *ꜣḫt* is damaged, but the initial curved stroke excludes reading any other season name. The reading *sw 4*?, "day 4?," seems more likely than *sw 2*?, "day 2?"; compare the writings of *sw 2* by the same scribe in P. Tor. 25A–B–C, line 1. The editor Botti read *sw 5*, "day 5" in the edition, but see Den Brinker et al. 2005, p. 391.

Year 10, Hathyr, day 4? corresponds to November 21, 108 BCE. Thus the same contractors and scribe wrote this loan contract less than a year after they wrote loan contract P. FMNH 31323 on November 26, 109 BCE, and just over five months after the latter loan was due on June 15, 108 BCE.

Lines 9–11: "There belongs to you 300 deben makes 1800 staters makes 300 deben again being 24 obols per 2 (silver) kite, and 46 artabas of wheat, their half is 23 makes 46 artabas of wheat again, their profit (i.e., interest) being in them."

The profit clause indicates that the debt in lines 9–10 includes both the amount loaned and the interest. The usual interest rate on Ptolemaic money loans was 2% per month, making 14% after seven months, which could suggest that the money loan was for approximately 263 deben. The usual interest on Ptolemaic grain loans was a flat 50%, which could suggest that the grain loan was for 30 ⅔ artabas. For an alternative interpretation, however, see the comments to line 11 below. For interest rates, see Pestman 1971, pp. 7–29, esp. 7–9.

Line 11: "against me in the name of the moneys and the grain which you gave to me." If the grain loan described in P. FMNH 31323 had been fully repaid by the time P. Talbot was written, then "the moneys and the grain which you gave to me" could represent a new loan of money and grain.

Alternatively, if the grain loan described in P. FMNH 31323 was never or only partially repaid, the borrower would have incurred a money penalty, and "the moneys and the grain which you gave to me" could represent a combination of unpaid grain and money penalty, or a new grain loan combined with a money penalty from the previous loan.

In the latter scenario, the interest on the money loan may have been calculated from when P. FMNH 31323 came due, rather than from when P. Talbot was written, giving 24 ⅓% interest after 12 ⅙ months. This could suggest a money penalty of approximately 240 deben, representing a failure to repay 4 artabas of wheat.

Line 14: "by Year 10 [Pachons day 30]." Year 10, Pachons, day 30 corresponds to June 15, 107 BCE, which was almost seven months after this loan contract was written on 21 November 108 BCE, and exactly one year after the loan contract P. FMNH 31323 came due.

Line 17: "on Year 10 Payni." Year 10, Payni, corresponds to June 16–July 15, 107 BCE.

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Figure 13.1. Recto. Papyrus Field Museum of Natural History (P. FMNH) 31323

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Figure 13.2. Verso. Papyrus Field Museum of Natural History (P. FMNH) 31323

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Figure 13.3. Detail of Verso. Papyrus Field Museum of Natural History (P. FMNH) 31323

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Papyrus Edition Abbreviations

Chrestomathie	Révillout, Eugène. *Chrestomathie démotique*. Études égyptologiques 3–6. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1880.
Dem. Lesestücke II	Erichsen, Wolja. *Demotische Lesestücke*, II: *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag, 1939.
P. Berl. Kauf.	Grunert, Stefan. *Thebanisch Kaufverträge des 3. und 2. Jahrhunderts v.u.Z.* Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin 2. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981.
P. Bürgschaftsrecht	Sethe, Kurt, and Josef Partsch. *Demotische Urkunden zum Ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-historischen Klasse 22. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1920.
P. Recueil	Pestman, Pieter Willem. *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1977.
P. Survey	Pestman, Pieter Willem. *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.). A Survey of the Demotic and Greek Papyri Contained in the Archive*. Studia Demotica 2: Leuven: Peeters, 1993.
P. Tor. Botti	Botti, Giuseppe. *L'archivio demotico da Deir el-Medina*. Catalogo del museo egizio di Torino, Serie prima — monumenti e testi, volume 1. Firenze: Felice Le Monnier, 1967.
Reich, FMP	Reich, Nathaniel Julius. "The Field Museum Papyrus (A Promissory Note of the Year 109/8 B.C.)." *Mizraim* 2 (1936): 36–51.

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14

"Greeks" in a Demotic List O. Lips. ÄMUL dem. inv. 1422

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Like many other students, my first contact with Demotic studies was through Janet Johnson's introduction to *Thus Wrote ʿOnchsheshonqy,* her *Demotic Verbal System,* and the first letter files of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary. To my mind, these publications remain the best course materials for beginners studying ancient Egyptian languages — and this is why the students in my master class are treated to the whole package from Chicago as well. I feel honored to contribute to a festschrift in her honor.

The ostracon presented here is part of the collection of the Egyptian Museum — Georg Steindorff — of Leipzig University ("ÄMUL"). It is mentioned briefly by Ursula Kaplony-Heckel.[1] Therefore, it already bears an identification number in the "Trismegistos" database (TM number 92688). Unfortunately, it must remain unknown how the ostracon came into the collection. Neither the museum's documentation nor Steindorff's excavation diaries contain any mention of it. Other Demotic ostraca of the collection derive from excavations or acquisitions from the antiquities market or were gifts, notably by scholars. None of these options could be ruled out for our piece. Its acquisition probably happened no later than the 1920s, and could have taken place during Steindorff's time as chair of Egyptology and museum curator (1893–1934), or earlier, for example under his predecessor, Georg Ebers (1875–1889).[2]

O. Lips. ÄMUL dem. inv. 1422 is a potsherd of light brown clay.[3] On its convex side ("recto"), it bears eight lines of different length of Demotic text written in a single hand with a rough brush. The concave back ("verso") has been painted black. This black coat is pitch, which was used to seal the porous (and often unglazed) surface of jars that should contain liquids, notably wine.[4] No traces of script are visible, which is why the sealing of course must have occurred when the vessel was still intact and not after it was broken and reused. Our ostracon derived most likely from a wine vessel.

There are no traces of other writing or of a palimpsest. The beginnings of lines 5–8 on the right side have been broken off. The ends of lines 4, 5, 7, and 8 are faded due to abrasions that make reading difficult. The ostracon measures 10.9 cm in length, 16.4 cm in width, and 0.5–0.9 cm in thickness. A reconstructed diameter of the former vessel must have been 14–19 cm. The potsherd weighs 239.7 g.

The content of the text could be termed "list of men." One or two names are mentioned in a line. Apparently, they are not filiations. The names must refer to single individuals. The actual purpose of the list remains obscure as well. The scribe who drew it up must have known perfectly well in which context it belonged. To be sure, it was a simple memorandum of some kind.

* I wish to thank Friedhelm Hoffmann, Ursula Kaplony-Heckel, Jan Moje, Robert Ritner, and Alexander Schütze for their help. The photograph has been kindly provided by Marion Wenzel. Abbreviations of papyrological works are cited after the "Checklist of Editions," edited by John F. Oates et al. "Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets," http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html. Some texts have been accessed via the "Thesaurus Lingua Aegyptia," http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/; the "Papyrological Navigator," http://papyri.info/; and the "Trismegistos" (TM) database, http://www.trismegistos.org (all accessed on March 26, 2013).

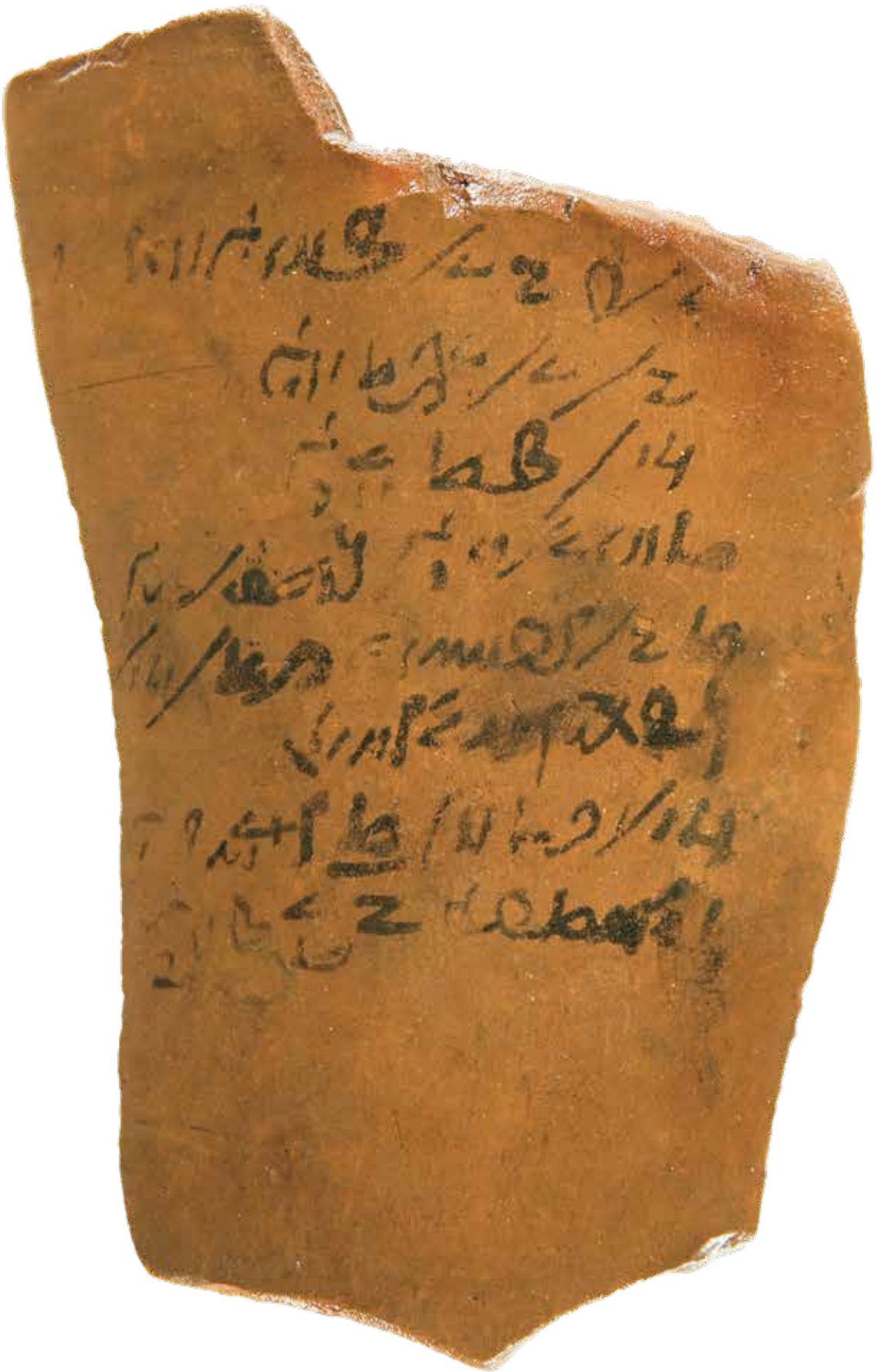
[1] Kaplony-Heckel 1991, p. 137.

[2] Cf. Naether 2016.

[3] No. 7.5YR 6/3 after Munsell Color 2000.

[4] See Stacey et al. 2010, with a material analysis of pottery from Naukratis; for papyrological evidence see Mayerson 2004.

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O. Lips. ÄMUL dem. inv. 1422 (list of men).
Photo by Marion Wenzel, Ägyptisches Museum –Georg Steindorff– der Universität Leipzig

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Its provenance in Egypt is unknown; Kaplony-Heckel[5] suggests a Theban origin. The personal name Pamonthes in line 6 (if the reading is correct), a typical local name, might indicate this. The amount of Greek personal names are remarkable. On paleographical grounds, the text can be dated to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period. The text is currently on display in the museum in a room devoted to Egyptian language and scripts.

The text appears to be complete.

Transliteration and Translation[6]

1.	*Qlʒ(?), Ptrmys …*	Kle(i)o(?), Ptolemaios …
2.	*Prtrghs*	Protarchos
3.	*K(ʒ)rnḏ*	Kolanthas
4.	*ʒsqrʿ, Swṯr*(?)	Asklas, Soter(?)
5.	*ʒprwnys, Hgr*	Apollonios, Akar/Akori(o)s "the hagrite"
6.	*Pa-in-ḥrt, Pa-tw*e	Pa-in-heret, Pates
7.	*K(ʒ)lnḏ, ʒnwbys*	Kolanthas, Anoubis
8.	*K(ʒ)lʒntʿ*(?), *P*(*r*)*thn*(*y*)*s*(?)	Kolanthas(?), Parthenios(?)

Commentary

Line 1: *Qlʒ*/Κλέ(ι)ω (*NB dem*. 987 s.v. *Ql* and *Qlʒ*/Κλεώ), if correct, usually ends with the foreign land determinative, which would be missing here. This name, also attested in a female version, is rare in Egypt. Similar writings can be found in O. Louvre dem. 573, line 2 and in P. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale P. dem. 165, line 3.[7]

Ptlmys/Πτολεμαῖος (*NB dem*. 486–87). Note that the foreign land determinative went between the *y* and the *s*. The name is concluded by the man determinative. From a statistical point of view, this is one of the best-attested Graeco-Roman male (and royal) names. Nine Demotic examples match this spelling.

The small stroke at the end of the potsherd might be ½, but since no other quantities appear in the text, it is more likely an unintentional slip with the brush.

Line 2: Probably a variant of *Prtrqws*/Πρώταρχος (*NB dem*. 471.3). The writing is clear in the beginning apart from of the final letters. The name ends with the foreign determinative. Note *gh* = χ. Friedhelm Hoffmann pointed out there might have been a correction of the *s* at the end.

Line 3: *Krnḏ*/Κολανθᾶς (*NB dem*. 994, s.v. *qlnḏʒ*, with foreign determinative). The name Kolanthas is of mixed nature: it is a Greek derivation of an Egyptian god's name. Our spelling written with *kʒ*-arms at the beginning is a scribal variation; comparable are nos. 14, 15, and 17 in *NB dem*. Or do we have to read *Qrmʒtʿ*?

[5] Kaplony-Heckel 1991, p. 137.

[6] Attestations and variations of names have been checked with the "Trismegistos People" database.

[7] Pestman 1969.

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Line 4: *ʾsqlʾ*/Ἀσκλᾶς (*NB dem.* 41, s.v. *ʾsklʾ* with foreign determinative). As in the name in the preceding line, the scribe used *q* instead of the more common variant with *k* in the name Asklas. The writing could be compared to O. Louvre dem. 648, line 1 and O. Leid. dem. 237, column 1, line 5. The final aleph in our example has been written rather small. Friedhelm Hoffmann does not want to rule out the reading *ʾstrʿ*.

Swtr/Σωτήρ (*NB dem.* 913 Soter)[8] has been written with *ṯ* instead of *t* and ends with the foreign determinative. This reading is speculative — on the one hand not matching attested writings and on the other hand being an epithet of King Ptolemy I, which seems unusual within the names of this list.

Line 5: *ʾplwnys*/Ἀπολλώνιος (*NB dem.* 12–14, 51, 54). The writing of Apollonios is regular. The name is quite common with 6,326 attestations in Graeco-Roman Egypt — the majority of course being in Greek papyrological texts — and in a plethora of scribal variations. However, only eight texts share the transliteration of our example here.

Hgr/Ἀκαρ or Ἀκωρι(ο)ς (*NB dem.* 766). The usual way to render "the hagrite" is *hkr* (thirteen attestations versus four writings of *hgr* in Demotic texts).[9] Yet again, both names are written with foreign determinatives. If *g* is correct, it is written differently, as in line 2.

Line 6: *Pa-in-ḥrt* ("the one of Onuris"; not in *NB dem.*, compare the entry for *Pʾ-di-in-ḥr.t* on p. 286). The names *Pa-mnḫ* and *Pa-tw* are the only Egyptian names in the list.

Pa-tw/Πατης (*NB dem.* 429). Pates can be written in several variations; our presumed version here is comparable to O. Leiden dem. 120, column 1, line 10.

Line 7: *K*(*ʾ*)*lnḏ*/Κολανθᾶς (*NB dem.* 994.9 with foreign determinative). Again, the name Kolanthas is mentioned as in line 3, though in a different spelling.

ʾnwbys/Ανούβιος.[10] Note that the name is given in its Greek transliteration, not using an Egyptian version with *ʾInpw*. However, in Coptic *Anoup* is a very common writing.

Line 8: The reading of this line proved the most difficult; here I offer some speculations only. Compared with lines 3 and 7, the name Kolanthas might have been written again in another variant. However, *Qlyʾs*/Καλλίας (*NB dem.* 988) might not be ruled out.

The faint traces and the dense writing at the end of the line could speak for *Ptlmys*/Πτολεμαῖος, *Ptmn*/Ποτάμων (*NB dem.*, Fragliches 573), or *Ptʾm*(*n*)*s* "Potamos" or "Potamonis"(?) with foreign land determinative, or *Pnmns*/Πενεμένης (*NB dem.* 464). A reading that fits the traces as well is *P*(*r*)*thn*(*y*)*s*/Παρθένιος (*NB dem.* 472.3 looks similar).

Handwriting and Date

Generally, the scribe made no distinction between *r* and *l* in writing. The strokes have been written as a straight, diagonal line. The form of the initial *aleph* is quite characteristic (lines 4 and 5), as is the *h* with elaborate ending (line 5). Due to the alphabetical writings, letters have been separated quite neatly. The overall impression is that the trained hand tends to angular forms (as opposed to rounder shapes), as observed with other texts from the late Ptolemaic period from ca. 100 BCE onward, including the reign of Augustus and also perhaps Tiberius in Egypt. Because of the alphabetic script and the scarce evidence for Demotic documents

[8] Erichsen 1954, p. 419; *CDD*/S 1, p. 74.

[9] See Ryholt 2012, pp. 54–56, for a summary of the studies concerning this name. Besides personal name and *ethnikon*, it served as job description ("courier"). For a case study, see Clarysse 1991.

[10] Preisigke 1992, p. 34.

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with more than four Greek names, the ostracon is quite difficult to compare to others in paleography. Demotic ostraca with a similar hand include O. Muzawwaqa 10 ("Ptolemaic"), O. Mattha 114 (101–100 BCE), O. Wångstedt 193 (22 CE), O. Zürich 15 (96/95 BCE), and especially O. Jena Zucker inv. 48 (3/4[11] CE).

Every time the scribe started with a new name, he dipped afresh into the ink. This also happens within one line. One could speculate that he listed these men one after another after he calculated or checked something. This might have been payment or debts.

A Collection of Greek Names

The Greek names in our list are more or less well attested in Graeco-Roman Egypt as checked in the "Trismegistos People" database, which so far lists nearly half a million attestations. Since these all occur without filiations, a list with all documents mentioning every single individual would not be useful. No documents have come to my attention that mention a similar combination of names.

Demotic Ostracon O. Vleem. 1 (= Ostraca Varia) has four Greek names, and its editor notes it is remarkable to have such evidence at all. Another text mentioning three Greek names among Egyptians is O. Leiden dem. 368. The Dossier of Herakleides (receipts of dues and taxes edited in O. Louvre dem.) mentions some people with Greek names. Noteworthy is the writing of "Anubis" in a linguistically Greek fashion To conclude, the majority of the attestations of Greek names in Egypt are provided through the Greek papyri.

Aim of the List

Christian Askeland and I have elaborated elsewhere on lists with names deprived of any other information.[12] Their purpose can be manifold: lists of people who should get payments in money (e.g., wages) or in kind, people who have debts, witnesses, people who should be invited for an event, and so on. Usually, such lists bear names with filiation of the father's and sometimes even of the grandfather's name including numbers (i.e., O. Zürich 30–02). O. Zürich 47–52, which have been labeled by Wångstedt as "Aufzeichnung von Personennamen," and O. Dime 43 bear names similar to our list, without patronymics, and are by text type the closest comparison I could come up with.

In regard to ethnicity, no evidence in the names helps to determine whether these men might be offsprings of Greek families, mixed marriages, or Egyptian families with Greek names during the time the text was written.[13] The purpose of this ostracon was only known to the person(s) directly involved.

[11] An inedited tax receipt which has been checked for the collection's database by Karl-Theodor Zauzich, http://papyri-leipzig.dl.uni-leipzig.de/receive/IAwJPapyri_schrift_00009730 (accessed October 19, 2017).

[12] See Askeland and Naether 2011; a new publication are the lists of (mostly single) names in O. Dime 36–173 (forty-three without patronymics) or in P. Qasr Ibrim 13–16, 18–27, 29–39; comparable by structure are lists in Aramaic from Egypt (cf. the examples in Lozachmeur 2006). Also comparable is O. Zürich 33, 34, 76–79 (but with father's, and sometimes even grandfather's, name).

[13] See the case studies of Clarysse 1992, and for double names Quaegebeur 1992.

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Abbreviations

CDD	Johnson, Janet H., editor. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001–. https://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago.
NB dem.	Lüddeckens, Erich, et al. *Demotisches Namenbuch*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 1980–2000.

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15

Converters in Old Egyptian

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Particles are commonly acknowledged to have received little attention as an independent grammatical category worthy of closer inquiry,[1] a deficiency that has been rectified by Oréal's recent comprehensive study.[2] In general, most particles are either ignored in translations, or assigned a range of conjunctive characteristics, dictated principally by the requirements of achieving a workable translation. The interpretation of the function of certain particles may perhaps be enhanced if they were analyzed as converters, akin to some of the ones prevalent in later stages of the language, particularly within the Late Egyptian-to-Coptic horizon. Although conversion as a grammatical phenomenon is by no means absent from the earlier phases of Egyptian — only from its conventional grammatical terminology — it is generally more ubiquitous in subsequent phases of Egyptian.[3] The categorization of some particles as converters may not only be more apt, but may also inject some clarity into, and reveal additional features about, the narrative sequence of the passages within which they occur. Thus, the present article hopes to contribute some thoughts to elements of Old Egyptian syntax by assessing the well-attested  *sk* and its variant and phonetic equivalent  *sṯ* (Edel 1955/1964, §111) from that particular perspective, and to offer (I hope) improved translations of some of the passages in which they occur. Although and are by far the more prominent ones,[4] others, such as  *wn* will also be considered, along with examples from Middle Egyptian, whenever appropriate.

The Case for as a Converter

The morpheme *sk* is found in compositions of different genres, ranging from passages in the Pyramid Texts (PT) to biographical and formulaic inscriptions of varying length and narrative quality, letters, and royal decrees. It is mentioned frequently within the commentary of text editions, where observations regarding its uses often appear to be quite generic and confined to its character as a particle, given that the emphasis of such publications seldom rests on grammatical elements. However, the analysis of the function of  receives greater scrutiny and depth in studies that maintain a well-defined grammatical focus.[5]

Although the earlier phases of Egyptian (Old and Middle) are characterized by embedding, whereby subordination or "syntactic dependency"[6] is for the most part unmarked, later phases of the language create that "syntactic dependency" by way of converters.[7] As stated above, however, conversion is not absent from the grammatical setting of early Egyptian, and the fairly prevalent nature of particles such as  appears to point to some degree of clausal subordination achieved by way of converters. The latter generally serve two principal functions, namely the syntactic and/or semantic transformation of a clause, though it is the semantic aspects that become highlighted to a greater degree. A converter transforms a main clause into either a

[1] Depuydt 2008, pp. 91–92.

[2] Oréal 2011.

[3] Loprieno 1995, pp. 231–32.

[4] The particle commonly occurs as in Middle Egyptian. Both of these, which are proclitic, need be distinguished from the enclitic form of , which is attested in restricted contexts in Old Egyptian (Allen 2013, p. 187).

[5] In addition to Oréal's work cited above, others worth referring to include Depuydt 2008; Loprieno 2006, pp. 429–41; Satzinger 1967, pp. 102–03; and Vernus 1987, pp. 104–05.

[6] Loprieno 1995, p. 231.

[7] Černý and Groll 1993, pp. 167–68.

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relative clause, or one that conveys an additional temporal event of anterior or concomitant action. Thus, in Late Egyptian, for instance, these features are conveyed by way of the relative *nty*, as well as converters of the circumstantial *iw*[8] and preterite or imperfect *wn* kind.[9] The character of *wn* remains more fluid,[10] as it may also occur as a conjugated form.[11]

The arguments in favor of assigning a function of a converter to  rest on several features of this invariable morpheme that influence the semantic aspects of the sentence with which it is connected. is principally followed by adverbial phrases, but verbal ones (with *sḏm.n=f* and *sḏmw=f*) are also fronted by it. Although for reasons of consistency some consider the -sentence[12] to be connected with what precedes it,[13] the rigidity of such a proposal may be challenged in quite a few instances, on both subjective grounds of semantic cohesion and more concrete arguments based on the physical layout of the original compositions. Despite the just-mentioned assertion that occurs more frequently in a non-initial position,[14] there are a number of instances in which the -clause precedes the main one, and such cases are rather informative of the function of the form.[15] The context of some of these clearly requires the sentence fronted by to be linked to the preceding main clause, whereas in other instances, an equally valid interpretation of the original intent of the Egyptian composition may be achieved regardless of its position relative to the main clause. Clearly, would appear to be more mobile in its placement, and it is that particular quality of the morpheme that would make its character more akin to a converter, more specifically the Coptic circumstantial one. Needless to stress, the current study does not propose to understand as the morphological antecedent of the Coptic circumstantial converter ϵ-/ϵρϵ-/ϵ= in *any* fashion, which, of course, it is not. It must be emphasized that the analogy here between and ϵ-/ϵρϵ-/ϵ= is limited primarily to their respective ability to be movable, in that their subordination to the main clause is not constrained by syntax. In contrast, for example, a sentence converted by the Late Egyptian relative converter *nty* (as well as the earlier adjective *nty/nt.t*) necessarily requires an antecedent and cannot, as such, precede the main clause.

In Coptic, the circumstantial conversions carry a range of functions,[16] such as adverbial and attributive, among others,[17] and may convey anteriority only under certain conditions. As an illustration of anteriority conveyed by the circumstantial conversion in Coptic, in the hypothetical sentence *ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ ϵⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ "he departed, (he) having heard," the action of the circumstantially converted first perfect ϵⲁϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ is anterior to the unconverted first perfect ⲁϥⲃⲱⲕ. Likewise, in the following Pyramid Texts Utterance, the sentence converted by denotes a situation that is clearly anterior to the main predication:

Example 1 — From the Pyramid of Unas, Fifth Dynasty

Wnis ḏs=f ʾIwnwy msy m ʾIwnw
sk *Rʿ ḥry-tp psḏ.ty ḥry-tp rḫy.t Nfr-tm* (PT 307, §483a–b)

Unas himself is a Heliopolitan, born in Heliopolis,
when Ra was at the head of the twin Enneads, and at the head of the *rḫy.t* was Nefertum

In this example, the sentence converted by establishes that Ra and Nefertum were already at the head of the twin Enneads and the *rḫy.t*, respectively, even before the birth of Unas.

Furthermore, the Coptic circumstantial converter may occur before or after the sentence it modifies.[18] This ability of the Coptic circumstantial clause to precede the main clause, defined as "premodifier circumstantial,"[19] remains an important function of that form, a feature that appears to be present earlier in the

[8] Frandsen 1974, pp. 194ff.

[9] Winand 1992, pp. 409–10, 494–95.

[10] Junge 2005, pp. 159–60.

[11] Frandsen 1974, pp. 174–84.

[12] For the sake of clarity, the present study refers to all clauses fronted by and simply as "-sentences" or "-clauses."

[13] Doret 1986, p. 25 n. 105. In this regard, Doret remains in disagreement with the interpretation favored by others, such as Sethe, Satzinger, and Osing (references listed within Doret's n. 105) with respect to Old Egyptian narrative texts.

[14] Depuydt 2008, p. 100, n. 28.

[15] Loprieno 2006, p. 436.

[16] Shisha-Halevy 1988, pp. 113–19, 194; Layton 2011, pp. 335–47.

[17] Layton 2011, p. 336 §415.

[18] Layton 2011, pp. 338–41.

[19] Shisha-Halevy 1988, p. 117.

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grammatical behavior of . Thus, the theoretical example *ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ (“he departed, having heard”) used above is semantically identical to *ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ (“having heard, he departed”), with the converted first perfect ⲉⲁⲩⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ shifting to a premodifier position, while maintaining its character as an action anterior to ⲁⲩⲃⲱⲕ.

Therefore, as a part of speech, the morpheme is classified as a particle, but it appears to function as a circumstantial converter conveying both concomitant action and anteriority, especially, but not exclusively, when fronting a *sḏm.n=f* or *sḏmw=f* form; it remains, needless to say, subordinated to the main predication. Aspects of the anteriority attribute are described by Depuydt as “sentence anaphora.”[20] Furthermore, the -sentence expresses circumstantiality at different levels (e.g., at the “paragraph” level), and at times the translation might require its subordination to be expressed by a main clause, provided that, as Vernus has already suggested, its subordination to the main predication be specified in some manner.[21]

Occurrences of in Old Egyptian

Clauses converted by may be grouped within three major categories, denoting

1. an action concomitant to the main clause;
2. an action that provides background information and is anterior to the main predication;
3. or an alternation between concomitant and anterior action in successive -sentences within the same episode.

It is worth noting that in a great number of the instances considered here, the clause converted by highlights a change in subject between the main clause and the subordinate one. Despite the usual caveat that would apply to such a statement of semi-empirical nature, namely that not every occurrence of is included here, that fact might also help highlight a feature of -sentences, namely, introducing background or contextual information[22] that is associated with, but not performed by, the actor of the main clause.

Concomitant Action

Example 2 — Stela of Tjesi, Fifth or Sixth Dynasty

> *rḫ ny-sw.t ỉmy-rꜣ ḥm.wty.w Ṯsỉ ḏd=f*
> *ỉr.n(=ỉ) ḥn pw*
> ***sk*** *wỉ ỉmn ḫ.t ḫr ḏbꜥ.w wꜥb*
> *n mrw.t qrs(=ỉ) m nw* (*Urk.* I, 152:15–17)
>
> The royal acquaintance and overseer of craftsmen *Ṯsỉ* says:
> “I have made this ‘container’[23]
> ***specifically when*** I was ailing and was under the care of priests,
> in order that I be buried in it.”

No change of subject is to be noted here, and the process of building his “container” takes place in parallel to his ailment and treatment.

[20] Depuydt 2008, pp. 96–97.

[21] Vernus 1987, p. 106.

[22] Ritter 1992, pp. 136–37.

[23] This is the literal meaning of the word *ḥn*, perhaps referring to the tomb, though Strudwick (2005, p. 249) suggests “tower,” which might denote the slightly odd shape of the stela.

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Example 3 — Inscription at the First Cataract from Year of Occasion 5 of Merenre, Sixth Dynasty

> *ỉw.t šm.t*[24] *ny-sw.t ḏs=f*
> *ʿḥʿ ḥr sꜣ ḫꜣs.t*
> ***st*** *ḥqꜣ.w n.w Mḏꜣw ʾIrṯ.t Wꜣwꜣ.t*
> *ḥr sn tꜣ dỉ.t ỉꜣ ʿꜣ wr.t* (*Urk.* I, 110:10–16)
>
> The coming and going of the king himself
> and standing on the top of the desert,
> **while** the rulers of Medja, Irtjet and Wawat
> were kissing the ground and giving praise very greatly.

The simultaneous action of the main and converted clauses is more clearly highlighted here. Thus, in addition to a shift in the grammatical subject between the two clauses, the sentence converted by  cannot possibly be understood as anterior and providing background information, as that would signify that the rulers *had already* kissed the ground earlier than the king's arrival, which would be difficult to justify. The obeisance expressed by the action of the various Nubian chiefs is dependent on and simultaneous to the presence of the king himself.

Example 4 — From the Biography of Pepyankhherib, Sixth Dynasty

> *ỉr.n(=ỉ) ʿḥʿw nb ỉr.n(=ỉ) m wnw.t sr*
> ***sk*** *wỉ ḥr ỉrt bw nfr ḥr ḏd mrr.t*
> *n mrw.t sb.t qd(=ỉ) ḫr nṯr* (*Urk.* I, 222:8–10)
>
> I have lived my entire life acting in the service of officialdom,
> **while** I did good and said what was favored,
> in order to make my character reach the god.

Example 5 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> *hꜣb w(ỉ) ḥm=f ḫr ḥꜣ.t mšʿ pn*
> ***st*** *ḥꜣtyw-ʿ* ***st*** *ḫtmtyw-bỉty. . .* (*Urk.* I, 102:2–3)
>
> His Majesty sent me at the head of this army,
> ***despite the fact*** that there were counts, royal seal bearers, . . .

In example 4 the converted sentence conveys concomitant action that spans the entire career of the official, while in example 5 the simultaneous circumstance is augmented by an additional nuance that creates a contrast between the information contained within the main clause (the king's choice of Weni to head the army) and the converted clause (despite the fact that there were higher-ranking officials present), while, once more, marking a shift in the grammatical subjects between the clauses.

To cite a Middle Egyptian example that bolsters some of the arguments presented thus far, the particle ,[25] though limited in its attestations, appears to mirror the uses of  with respect to its mobility and its ability to convey concomitant action.

Example 6 — From the Biography of Amenemhab, Eighteenth Dynasty

> *ỉw=ỉ m ỉrỉ rd.wy=f(y)* ***tỉ*** *sw ḥr prỉ* (*Urk.* IV, 890:11–12)
>
> "I was his attendant while he was on the battlefield."[26]

[24] See Fischer (1977, pp. 115–16) for a discussion of the expression *ỉw.t šm.t* (at times *šm.t ỉw.t*).

[25] There appear to be a couple of instances of in the Pyramid Texts (Edel 1955/1964, §858e), contra Allen's claim that is restricted to Middle Egyptian (2013, p. 188).

[26] Allen 2010, p. 145.

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In addition to the fact that the -clause conveys concomitant action, this bipartite, non-verbal sentence exhibits a shift in subject between the main and subordinate clauses, a feature that is fairly prevalent in Old Kingdom examples of clauses converted by .

Although concomitant action would tend to correspond predominantly to what we would describe as action concurrent to the present, it should be noted that in the case of conversions, grammatical concomitance could take place within any time reference, even in a prospective capacity. In his letter to Harkhuf, Pepy II inquires about a dwarf being brought back to Egypt by the official.

Example 7 — From the Biography of Harkhuf, Sixth Dynasty

> *ỉr spr=k r ḫnw*
> ***sk*** *dng pw m-ˁ=k ˁnḫ wḏꜣ snb*
> *ỉw ḥm(=ỉ) r ỉr.t n=k ˁꜣ.t*
> *r ỉry.t n ḫtmw-nṯr Wr-ḏdd-bꜣ m rk ʾIssỉ*
> *ḫft s.t-ỉb n.t ḥm(=ỉ) mꜣꜣ dng pw* (*Urk.* I, 130:16–131:3)
>
> If you arrive at the Residence,
> — ***and provided that*** this dwarf is with you, (he being) living, prosperous and healthy —
> my Majesty will do great things for you,
> more than was done for the seal-bearer of the god Werdjededba in the time of Isesi,
> in accordance with the wish of my Majesty to see this dwarf.

The sentence converted with *sk*, with a change of subject effected, serves as a prerequisite for the following main clause and the promise of largesse on behalf of the king. The importance that the king assigns to the dwarf, and thus his well-being, is reiterated in the final line of the above excerpt. Allen understands this passage slightly differently, with the concern of the king focused not merely on the arrival of Harkhuf, but his arrival *with* the dwarf.[27] However, the *sk*-clause represents an interjection (as conveyed by my translation above) that is only partially linked with the initial conditional clause. The mere fact of reaching the residence would not make Harkhuf eligible to the king's generosity; the state of the dwarf, and not merely his presence, becomes the *sine qua non* of the premise. From the perspective of the letter writer, none of the actions described has yet taken place, and the -conversion is itself clearly prospective in tone and dependent on the fulfillment of the initial conditional, but first and foremost on its own inherent requirement.

Anterior Action, Providing Background Information

Example 8 — From the False Door of an Unnamed Person, Fourth Dynasty(?)

> *ỉr.n(=ỉ) nw n ỉt(=ỉ)*
> ***sk*** *sw ḫp r ỉmn.t ḥr wꜣ.wt nfr.t*
> *ḫpp.t ỉmꜣḫw.w ḥr=sn* (*Urk.* I, 9:14–16)
>
> "I have made this (tomb) for my father,
> ***once*** he had journeyed to the west on the blessed ways
> upon which the venerated ones (normally) journey."[28]

In Example 8, the conversion by of the adverbial clause would place the action prior to that of the main clause, given that the stative *ḫp* already denotes the result and state achieved by the action of journeying. As discussed in the section on verbal conversions below, among others, the –sentence in this circumstance is actually serving as a comment to *ỉr.n(=ỉ)*, the nominal *sḏm.n=f* of the main clause, with a change in subject also occurring.

[27] Allen 1986, p. 24.

[28] This type of composition is fairly formulaic, with several other instances that are almost identical, or similar, to this one, or employ metaphorical expressions for death and burial (e.g., *Urk.* I, 40:17–41:1).

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Concomitance and Anteriority within the Same Context

Example 9 — From the Tomb of Tjenti, Fifth Dynasty or Later

ỉn sꜣ=f smsw ỉmy-rꜣ ḥm-kꜣ sš ʾIw.t-n-Ptḥ ỉr n=f nw
sk *sw qrs m ỉmn.t nfr.t*
ḫft ḏd.t.n=f ỉm
sk *sw ʿnḫ ḥr rd.wy=f* (*Urk.* I, 8:14–17 [analogous to *Urk.* I, 9:4–6])

It was his eldest son, the overseer of *ka*-attendants Iwtenptah who made this for him
when he (the father) was (*already*) buried in the beautiful west,
in accordance with what he had said (i.e., wished) therefor
while he was alive.

These lines provide an interesting contrast of two types of temporal events put forth by the converted sentence, with the first 𓇋𓏏-clause denoting anteriority, while the second highlights a concomitant occurrence modifying the adverbial clause *ḫft ḏd.t.n=f ỉm*.

The Converter 𓇋𓏏 in Premodifier Mode

There are several unequivocal examples of premodifier 𓇋𓏏 circumstantial clauses. At times, the context would clearly dictate that choice, while at others the physical layout of the Egyptian text leaves little room for alternate interpretations. Nevertheless, in some instances, more than one analysis becomes possible (see below example 15).

Example 10 — Letter to the Dead, P. Naga ed-Deir N 3737, late Old Kingdom-Early First Intermediate Period[29]

sk *ỉn ỉs qd=f dr sw ḏs=f*
sk *n ḫpr.n ỉs* [*nn*][30] *ḫpr r=f n ʿ n bꜣk ỉm*(*=ỉ*) *n ḏr ỉs pw n ḫpr.t nb*(*.t*)
sk *n ỉnk pꜣ wd.t sṯ*[*ꜣw r=f*]
ỉw ỉr.n ky.w ḫr-ḥꜥ.t bꜣk ỉm(*=ỉ*) (Simpson 1966, pl. IXA, cols. 3–5)

That it has been his character which has daunted him,
and ***further***, these which have befallen him have not occurred through the agency of yours truly, nor is it the end of everything which might (still) happen,
nor (***furthermore***) have I caused injury to him.
Others have done (it) before[31] your humble servant.

The main predication is *ỉw ỉr.n ky.w ḫr-ḥꜥ.t bꜣk ỉm*(*=ỉ*), with three premodifier sentences converted with 𓇋𓏏 preceding it and providing background information to absolve the letter writer Heni from any liability in the misfortunes that had befallen the individual Seni, about whom Heni complains to his deceased father Meru.

In Coptos Decree C,[32] the 𓇋𓏏-clause discussed just below appears at the head of an entirely new division of the decree, namely the final nine columns at the bottom left of the stela (see fig. 15.1). The physical layout of the document removes all doubt regarding the position of the converter 𓇋𓏏, and whether it may stand as the initial element of a compound sentence construction (see the enlarged detail in fig. 15.1). Thus, the 𓇋𓏏-clause not only fronts a new paragraph, it also introduces a new article or subsection of the legal composition. Therefore, it cannot be semantically linked with clauses that precede it.

[29] See also Gilula's comments (1969, pp. 216–17) and Fecht's republication of the same letter, with additional, more extensive commentary (1969, pp. 105–28).

[30] The reading of *nn* is supplied by Gilula (1969, p. 217 and n. 1).

[31] The compound preposition *ḫr-ḥꜥ.t* may be understood temporally as "prior to." Simpson (1970, p. 62) includes an addendum to his initial publication of this letter (1966), which appears to privilege this interpretation, as does Fecht (1969, pp. 108 and 112). Alternatively, a meaning of "in the presence of" has been preferred by both Gilula (1969, p. 217) and Wente (1990, p. 213). Even though a spatial connotation might be more suited to the constituents of the preposition *ḫr-ḥꜥ.t*, should this interpretation be retained, it would seem detrimental to the case of the writer of Papyrus N 3737 if he were even to acknowledge having been a witness to the wrongs done to Seni. Rather, it would be preferable if the acts of injury had taken place temporally before Heni had gained any knowledge of them.

[32] Goedicke 1967, fig. 9.

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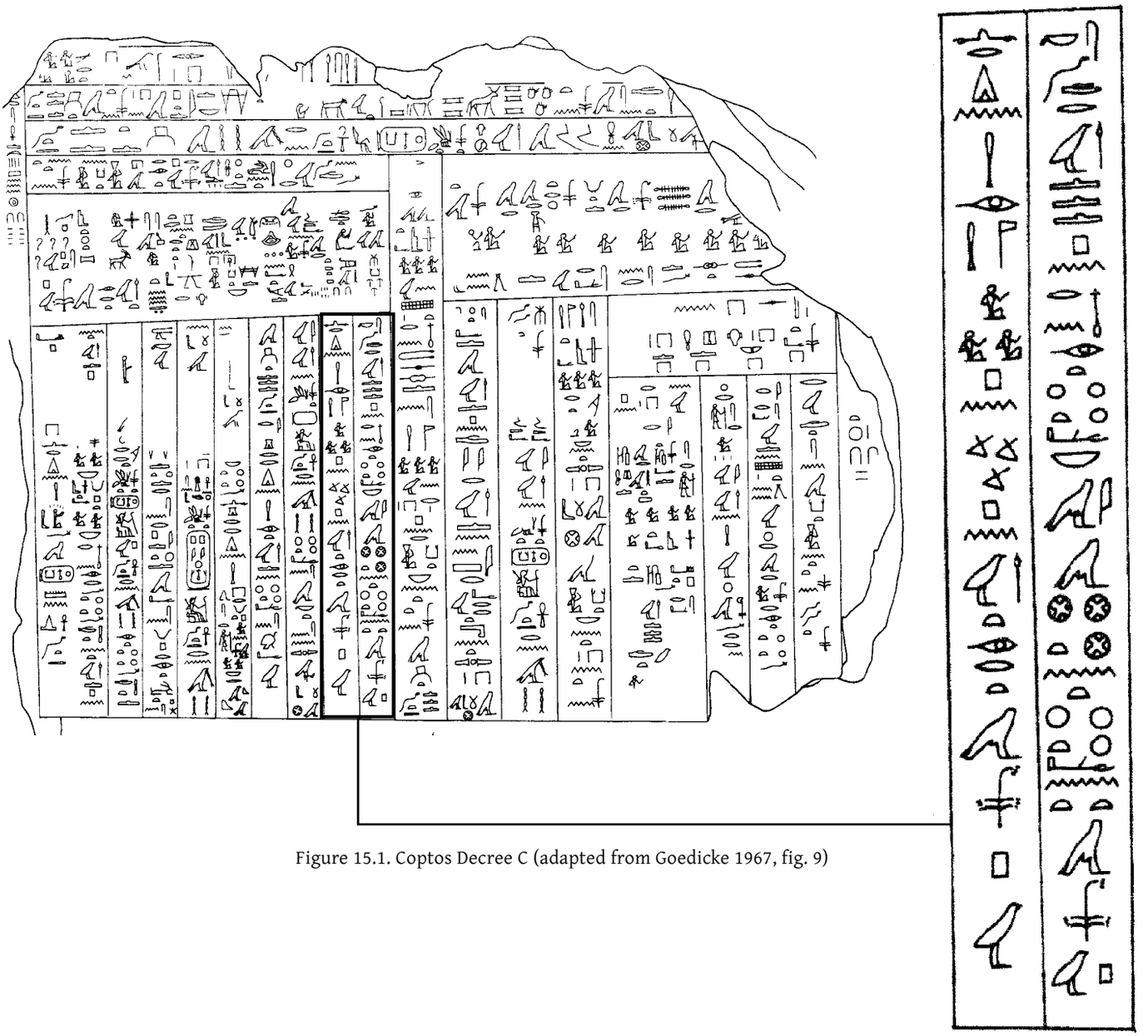


Figure 15.1. Coptos Decree C (adapted from Goedicke 1967, fig. 9)

Example 11 — From Coptos Decree C, Sixth Dynasty

> ***sk*** *ḏd r wḏ pf nfr.n ir.t(i) ḫw.t nb m niw.wt n.t ḫw.t nt.t m Šmʿw pw*
> *n rdi.n ḥm(=i) iri irr.t m Šmʿw pw* (Coptos C = *Urk.* I, 282:18–283:3)
>
> ***Despite the fact that*** it had been mentioned in (lit. "regarding") that (previous) decree that no exemption should be made in the protected towns which are in this Upper Egypt,
> my Majesty does not allow done in this Upper Egypt.

There is no uncertainty whatsoever in this selection regarding the role of the premodifier -clause. Both the physical layout and the semantic aspects highlight the fact that converts a circumstantial clause, which appears to provide antithetical background comment to the royal command expressed through the main clause governed by the negative *n rdi.n ḥm(=i)*.

Likewise, some Middle Egyptian uses of  reveal this aspect of "premodifying" the main clause via a converted one, often with the aim of emphasizing a shift in subject.

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Example 12 — From the Tale of Sinuhe

> ***ỉsṯ*** *hꜣb.w*
> *r ms.w ny-sw.t wn.w m ḫ.t=f m mšʿ pn*
> *niṯs.n.tw*
> *wʿ ỉm*[33]
>
> ***Now***, when the royal children accompanying him on this expedition were sent to, one of them was summoned (translation by Parkinson[34]; emphasis in bold my own).

Unlike other translations of this same passage,[35] Parkinson's rendering understands the *ỉsṯ*-clause in premodifier position with respect to the main clause, which appears to be the more valid interpretation. Temporally, the converted sentence has a pluperfect quality, as the action is anterior to the event of the main clause.

Premodifier circumstantials conveying concomitance are sometimes used to highlight the state in which the subject was at the time of the occurrence of the action of the main clause. Thus, this is a device commonly used to denote the various stages of one's career, where the premodified conversion adds emphasis and anticipation to the action of the main clause.

Example 13 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> *sṯ ỉꜣ.t m* [\\\\\\\\\\\\\\]
> [*rdỉ wỉ ḥm*]*=f m sꜣb ỉry-Nḫn* (*Urk.* I, 99:1–2)
>
> (When my) rank was [\\\\\\\\\\\\\\]
> His Majesty appointed me Senior Warden of Hierakonpolis.

And further:

Example 14 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> *sṯ wỉ m sꜣb ỉry-Nḫn*
> *rdỉ wỉ ḥm=f m smr wʿty pr-ꜥꜣ ỉmy-rꜣ ḫnty-š* (*Urk.* I, 100:6–7)
>
> When I was Senior Warden of Hierakonpolis,
> His Majesty appointed me as Sole Companion of the Palace and overseer of the *ḫnty-š*.

However, in some instances, the ambiguity of the narrative sequence makes the choice of the subordination of a -clause set between two main clauses more difficult, as subordinating the converted sentence to either of the main predications results in a satisfactory interpretation.

Example 15 — From the Tomb of Pepynakht-Heqaib, Sixth Dynasty

> *ỉw ỉn.n(=ỉ) ṯnw ꜥꜣ ỉm r ḫnw*
> *m sqr(.w) ʿnḫ*
> ***sk*** *wỉ ḫr ḥꜣ.t mšʿ.w ʿšꜣ.w wsr.w*
> *m nḫtw ỉb*
> *mḥ nb=ỉ ỉb=f ỉm=ỉ*
> *m wp.t nb(.t) hꜣbt.n=f wỉ ỉm=s* (*Urk.* I, 133:14–134:2)
>
> I brought a great number among them to the Residence
> as living captives.
> ***When*** I was in command of numerous and strong contingents,
> as one strong of heart,

[33] Berlin 10499, lines 22–23, and Berlin 3022, line 1. Möller 1909, pp. 6–7.
[34] Parkinson 1997, p. 28.
[35] Simpson 2003, p. 56; Allen 2010, p. 394.

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my lord was content with me
with every mission upon which he had sent me.

In the above, the -clause may be understood as supplying information that is concomitant with the preceding main clause, namely that Pepynakht brought back captives while he was in command of a large force. However, the same converted clause may be understood to be in premodifier position and supplying explanatory background information as to why his majesty was content with him, namely that during Pepynakht's tenure as a commander, he never failed in any mission on which the king dispatched him.

The same type of ambiguity regarding the role of the converted sentence, though perhaps to a lesser degree, may be noted in a passage from Weni's biography.

Example 16 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

šʿ.k(wi) n=f wsḫ.t m šnḏ
n.t mḥ 60 m ꜣw=s mḥ 30 m wsḫ=s
sp.t(i) n hrw 17
m ꜣbd 3 šmw
st *n(n) wn*[36] *mw ḥr ṯs.wt*
mni r Ḫʿ-nfr-Mr-n-Rʿ m ḥtp (*Urk.* I, 108:8–10)

I cut/hewed out for it (i.e., the altar) a boat in acacia wood
of 60 cubits long and 30 cubits wide,
assembled in 17 days
in the third month of the summer.
And when there was no water on the sandbanks,
it docked safely at the pyramid Merenre-Who-Appears-in-Glory.

In this example, the -clause highlights Weni's accomplishment of successfully navigating a freighter to the pyramid of the king in low Nile conditions; cutting timber for the boat hardly justifies the comment that *st* provides with respect to the lack of water on the sandbanks. Therefore, the clause converted by *st* stands in premodifier mode, followed by the main clause stating the ultimate act of mooring the transport barge. Alternatively, the *st*-clause may be allowed to continue the main clause introduced by *šʿ.k(wi)*, but solely in a conjunctive capacity and not as semantically subordinated to it. The dependency must, in this case, remain with the clause following the converted one.

Conversion of Adverbial Forms

Conversion of a clause with an adverbial predicate remains very common among conversions with , and a few such cases have already been discussed above (see, among others, examples 14 and 15). In case of a pronominal subject, the dependent form is used and commonly serves as the antecedent to the stative, which is statistically the more prevalent form that occurs in converted adverbial sentences.

Example 17 — From the Pyramid of Unas

ḏd mdw m ḫm Wnis nṯr ***st tw*** *rḫ.t(i) sw* ***st sw*** *rḫ ṯw* (PT 262, §327a[37])

Recitation: "do not neglect Unas, o god; you know him, as he knows you."

Note that a change of grammatical subject is, once more, notable between the main and subordinate clauses, and even among the two converted clauses. Of further interest is the balanced aspect of the successive

[36] Edel's suggestion (1955/1964, §1030aa) is preferred here over Sethe's restored reading of *wn(t)* in *Urk.* I, 108:8. For comments on aspects of the existential negative, see also Gilula 1970, p. 211.

[37] Also see Oréal 2011, p. 178, for a discussion of PT 262.

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-clauses,[38] akin to a Wechselsatz, which in effect transforms each clause into a comment of the other. This particular attribute of converted sentences serving as the comment of nominal forms is discussed further elsewhere in the present study.

Conversion of Verbal Forms

A variant construction, in which + subject + *sḏm=f* (and *sḏm.n=f*)is attested, is also fairly common. This form would appear to be closely related, or even equivalent to the *i̯w=f sḏm=f* construction in most respects, with a few examples presented here:

Example 18 — From the Pyramid of Queen Neith, End of the Sixth Dynasty

> *di̯=k ʿ i̯r Nt* ***sk*** *s.t i̯w=s*[39]
>
> Give a hand to (queen) Neith when she comes.

The converted clause in this example serves as the predicate to the direct object (queen Neith) of the main clause, with a change of subject that is also in effect. The *sḏm=f* form *i̯w=s* is a circumstantial one, and the action of the initial subjunctive *di̯=k* is contingent upon the fulfillment of the action of the converted clause.

Example 19 — From the Tomb of Senedjemib, Fifth Dynasty

> ***sk*** *ḥm=f ḥs=f wi̯ ḥr kꜣ.t nb.t wḏ.t.n ḥm=f i̯r.t*
> *wn i̯r(=i̯) mi̯ s.t-i̯b n.t ḥm=f r=s* (*Urk.* I, 59:15–16)
>
> His Majesty would praise me on account of every work project which his Majesty commanded to be done, because I would (usually) act according to the satisfaction of his Majesty concerning it.

This might represent an instance in which the converted clause is rendered in the translation as a main clause, a likelihood already alluded to above.[40] The *sḏm=f* form *ḥs=f* is, once more, a circumstantial used with a habitual connotation. Furthermore, it would appear that the -clause is positioned as a premodifier to another converted clause, namely *wn i̯r(=i̯)*, which itself appears to denote a habitual action, with an imperfect or preterite degree (for remarks on preterite conversions with  see under the section "Some Notes on " below).

To introduce another Middle Egyptian example, the following sentence converted by , drawn from the Tale of Sinuhe, follows the same pattern as example 19 above in being expressed as a main clause.

Example 20 — From the Tale of Sinuhe, Twelfth Dynasty

> ***ti̯*** *sw ḥm i̯i̯=f i̯n.n=f sqr-ʿnḫ n Ṯḥn.w*[41]
>
> "Now, in fact, he [Senwosret I] was returning, having brought away living captives of the *ṯḥnw*-people."[42]

The converted sentence is usually functioning as a main clause, with *i̯i̯=f* as a circumstantial *sḏm=f* form, with its own subordinate sentence introduced by *i̯n.n=f*. Additionally, and perhaps more significantly, it is providing background information to the clause following this unit ("Now he was returning . . . when the courtiers sent word"[43]), without being grammatically dependent upon it.

[38] The composition of the same spell from the pyramid of Teti (PT 262, §327a) follows a different pattern and discards the balanced relationship between the converted clauses found in Unas' version of the spell (*ḏd mdw m ḥm Tti̯ nṯr* ***sk sw*** *i̯rḫ ṯw* "Recitation: 'do not neglect Teti, o god, because he knows you'").

[39] Jéquier 1933, pl. 8, col. 16.

[40] Vernus 1987, p. 106.

[41] Möller 1909, p. 6.

[42] Collier 1990, p. 81, no. 27.

[43] Berlin 10499, lines 15–16; Berlin 10499, line 17; Möller 1909, p. 6.

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The same pattern, though with a *sḏm.n=f*, also occurs, as in the following excerpt from the biography of Pepyankhherib, which is also analyzed below in connection with another feature of the converter:

Example 21 — From the Biography of Pepyankhherib, Sixth Dynasty

i(*i*).*n*(*=i*) *r=s*
sk wi *iȝ.kwi* {*iȝ.kwi*}[44] *nfr wr.t*
sk wi ir.n(*=i*) *ʿḥʿw mm ʿnḫ.w m šwi imȝḫw ḫr ny-sw.t* (*Urk.* I, 223:4–6)

I journeyed toward it (the tomb),
having attained old age very graciously,
and after I had spent a lifetime among the living on account of being venerated before the king.

In this instance the action of *ir.n*(*=i*) in the converted 𓇋𓂻-clause is temporally circumstantial to the main clause, that is to say it precedes it. However, as elaborated below, the entire conversion serves as a comment to *i*(*i*).*n*(*=i*), the second tense *sḏm.n=f* of the main clause.

𓇋𓂻 + *sḏm.n=f*

Example 22 — From the Tomb of Nyankhsekhmet, Fifth Dynasty

ḏd=in ḥm=f n wr swnw Ny-ʿnḫ-Sḫm.t
snb fnḏ(*=i*) *pn mrrw nṯr.w*
ḫpw=k r ḫr.t-nṯr
iȝw.ti wr.t
m imȝḫw
*rdi iȝw n ny-sw.t ʿ*ȝ
dwȝ nṯr nb n Sȝḥw-Rʿ
sk *sw rḫ ḥnʿ šms.w r ḏr=f*
ir is pry ḫ.t nb(*.t*) *m rȝ n ḥm=f*
ḫpr[45] *ḥr-ʿwy*
sk rdi.n *n=f nṯr siȝ ḫṯ m ḫṯ*
n ʿȝ.t špss=f r nṯr nb (*Urk.* I, 39:5–16)

Then his Majesty said to the chief-physician Nyankhsekhmet:
"As (truly) as this nose of mine, beloved of the gods, is healthy
so may you travel to the necropolis,
having attained great old age
as a venerated one."
Adoration was given to the king greatly,
and every god was praised for Sahure,
because he (Nyankhsekhmet), along with all of his entourage, already knew
that if anything should be uttered by ("issue from the mouth of") his Majesty,
it would happen immediately,
since the god had (already) placed knowledge of things for him (Sahure) while still in the womb,
because the greatness of his august status surpasses that of any god's.

In the above passage Nyankhsekhmet is said to reciprocate the king's blessing by honoring pharaoh and several gods, as an explicit acknowledgment of the preordained nature of the king's benediction. This certainty is conveyed via two successive 𓇋𓂻-sentences (emphasized in bold above). In the first instance, the 𓇋𓂻 converts an adverbial clause that is subordinate to the twin main clauses of (1) giving adoration to the king and (2) praising every god, and expounds the actions described in them by providing explanatory background information that confirms the actions of the main clauses, namely that Nyankhsekhmet carried out the acts of giving praise without hesitation, as Sahure's blessing was already as good as a fait accompli. In the succeeding

[44] Dittography.
[45] Ellipsis of the suffix pronoun (Edel 1955/1964, §994).

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situation,  converts a verbal sentence, which is in fact anterior to the first -sentence and provides additional explanatory information regarding the inherent efficacy of the king's pronouncements. Therefore, the use of the converter in such instances, instead of an unmarked subordinate verbal or non-verbal circumstantial clause, appears to be necessitated by the explanatory function of the converted sentence, rather than the simple expression of anteriority (or concomitance, if required by the context) of the action. Furthermore, it is also worth noting that in each of the four sentences above (the two main clauses and the ones converted with , there is a change of grammatical subject, a recurring attribute of -conversions.

Other instances of the *sḏm.n=f* converted by appear to adhere to a similar pattern of serving as the comment of a nominal form.

Example 23 — Qaw Bowl, Letter to the Dead from the Late Old Kingdom

> *qrs.n(=i) sw ỉn.n(=i) sw m ỉ-* \\\\\\\\\\\\
> *rdỉ.n(=i) sw m smỉ.ty.w=f* ***sk*** *ỉt-Šmʿ (ḫ3r) 3 r=f m ṯ3b.t dỉw mnw(y) 1 ỉt-Šmʿ (ḥq3.t) 6*
> *mḥʿw šn(?) 1 mḥ.t* ***sk*** *ỉr.n=f tm.t ỉry ỉr.n=f nn r(=i) nfy sp sn*
> ***sk*** *ḏd.n=k n s3=k ỉm(=i) mn iš.t(=i) nb(.t) m s3=i Špsỉ* (Sethe and Gardiner 1928, pl. II, 4–7 [inside])
>
> I buried him after I brought him back from *ỉ-* \\\\\\\\\\\,
> and placed him among his fellow necropolis occupants, even though three *khar*-measures of Upper Egyptian barley were against him as a loan (from me, being the equivalent to): one *mnw*(*y*)-measure[46] of cloth, six *heqat*-measures of Upper Egyptian Barley,
> one *šn*(?)-measure of flax, and one *mḥ.t*-cup; and ***even though*** he had done that which should not have been done.[47] These he did against me, very unfairly,
> ***despite the fact that*** you had already said to yours truly:[48] "all my property shall remain with my son Shepsi."

The division of clauses of the above excerpt allows for the successive nominal *sḏm.n=f* forms to subordinate two -sentences, one of which, in turn, converts a verbal clause introduced by another *sḏm.n=f*. In addition to providing explanatory background information meant to contrast the devotion and reverence of Shepsi toward his deceased brother, even during his lifetime, with the unspecified egregious behavior of the latter toward Shepsi, each of the two converted -sentences acts as the comment for the nominal *sḏm.n=f* forms. In the first instance, the clause introduced by *sk ỉt-Šmʿ* should be understood not as providing background information, but rather as a concomitant action describing the state in which Shepsi's brother was at the time of his death, namely that of indebtedness, which, of course, remained unsettled due to his death; thus, the entire circumstance is one of incompleteness or imperfection. But the *sk sḏm.n=f* sentences, by virtue of the presence of the *sḏm.n=f* forms, necessarily provide anteriority in relation to the main clause. In these specific cases, it is not merely the presence of , which appears to dictate the anteriority proviso (Depuydt's "sentence anaphora"), but rather the combination of the converter and the conjugated form, which is introducing a grammatical perfection/completion that may otherwise not be achieved if an unconverted *sḏm.n=f* were used in a subordinate setting; in such an instance, the *sḏm.n=f* would simply represent a temporal event that is relative to the action of the main clause, in other words, converting the *sḏm.n=f* clause intensifies the degree to which the action is completed.

There then follows another main clause introduced by a nominal form (*ỉr.n=f nn r*[*=i*]) and yet another *sḏm.n=f* verbal phrase converted by serving as the comment, but supplying a statement meant to contrast with the main predication. In each of these transitions, the change in subject between the main clause and the subordinate -clause(s) is noteworthy, once more.

This function of -conversions providing a comment to nominal forms is relatively prevalent, with two separate excerpts from the biography of Pepyankhherib from the Sixth Dynasty analyzed presently.

[46] The word *mnw*(*y*) appears to designate a measure of linen (Hannig 2003, p. 528), and probably not a jug (Strudwick 2005, p. 183) or a mace, as tentatively suggested by Wente (1990, p. 212) and Sethe and Gardiner (1928, p. 18).

[47] Wente 1990, p. 212, and so Edel 1955/1964, §1125. Also see the postscript to the philological notes in Sethe and Gardiner (1928, p. 25), where an emended translation of "although he did what ought not be done" is offered on the basis of the morphology of the negative verb *tm.t*. However, others prefer to maintain "I did for him that which had never been done (before)" (Strudwick 2005, p. 183).

[48] Literally, "your son within (me)," a variant of the common *b3k ỉm*(*=i*) used in Old Kingdom letters addressed to a superior (see Eichler 1991, p. 26).

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Example 24 — From the Biography of Pepyankhherib, Sixth Dynasty

> *i*(*i*).*n*(=*i*) *r*=*s*
> ***sk wi*** *iꜣ.kwi* {*iꜣ.kwi*} *nfr wr.t*
> ***sk wi*** *ir.n*(=*i*) *ḥ*ʿ*w mm* ʿ*nḫ.w m šwi imꜣḫw ḫr ny-sw.t* (*Urk.* I, 223:4–6)
>
> I journeyed toward it (the tomb),
> ***having attained*** old age very graciously,
> ***and after I had spent*** a lifetime among the living on account of being venerated before the king.

The initial nominal form of the *sḏm.n*=*f* of the verb of motion *iri* is followed by two separate clauses converted with . Both of those, of course, represent anterior actions to Pepyankhherib's passing and supply the requisite comment to the nominal form of the main clause. Furthermore, the two -clauses are also temporally distinct from each other, with the second (*sk wi ir.n*[=*i*] *ḥ*ʿ*w*) being pluperfect.

Example 25 — From the Biography of Pepyankhherib, Sixth Dynasty

> *iw ir.n*(=*i*) *ḥ*ʿ*w r rnp.t 100 mm imꜣḫw.w* ʿ*nḫ.w ḫr kꜣ*(=*i*)
> *ir.n*(=*i*) *bw* ʿꜣ *n ḥ*ʿ*w pn m imy-rꜣ ḥm-nṯr n Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t Qis*
> ***sk wi*** ʿ*q ḥr Ḥw.t-Ḥr nb.t Qis ḥr mꜣꜣ=s ḥr irt n=s ḫt m* ʿ*.wy*(=*i*) (*Urk.* I, 221:18–222:2)
>
> I spent a lifetime of 100 years among living venerated ones in (full) possession of my *ka*.
> I spent a great part of that lifetime as overseer of priests of Hathor, Mistress of Qus,
> ***as*** I attended to Hathor, Mistress of Qus, seeing her and conducting rituals for her with (my) own two hands.

The action of the sentence converted by  (Pepyankhherib's functions as a ritualist) is necessarily concomitant, not anterior, to his years of service to Hathor. The emphasis of Pepyankhherib's statement rests on the fact that he spent a significant portion of his life and career as the one who conducted rituals for Hathor in his capacity of overseer of priests of that goddess. As such, the converted clause is supplying the comment to the second tense *ir.n*(=*i*) *bw* ʿꜣ and is not merely a circumstantial subordinate clause describing a simultaneous action.

Likewise, the use of  to convert a *sḏm.n*=*f* is attested in Middle Egyptian, as for instance, in a restoration inscription of Thutmose III from Nubia:

Example 26 — Dedicatory Inscription of Thutmose III from Semna, Eighteenth Dynasty

> *nṯr nfr Mn-ḫpr-R*ʿ
> *ir.n*=*f m mnw*=*f n it*=*f Ddwn ḫnty Tꜣ-sty*
> *n ny-sw.t-bity Ḫ*ʿ*-kꜣ.w-R*ʿ
> *ir.t n*=*sn ḥw.t-nṯr m inr ḥḏ nfr n Tꜣ-sty*
> ***sṯ*** *gm.n ḥm*(=*i*) *m ḏb.t*
> *wꜣsy wr.t* (*Urk.* IV, 197:13–198:1)
>
> The good god Menkheperre;
> As a monument to his father Dedwen, Foremost of Nubia,
> and to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Khakawre (Senwosret III),
> he (Thutmose III) initiated the construction for them of a temple in fine white stone of Nubia,
> ***after my*** **[*sic*]** ***Majesty had found (it)*** in bricks,
> extremely ruined.

The main clause is governed by a nominal *sḏm.n*=*f*, with *sṯ gm.n* providing background information on the state in which the brick structure had been. Furthermore, it could also be understood to be marking that entire clause as the adverbial comment of the initial unmarked *sḏm.n*=*f*. An unconverted subordinate clause would simply have been construed as providing only temporal anteriority in a relative sense vis-à-vis the initial form, without the added function of serving as the comment. Anteriority of the pluperfect kind may have been conveyed simply by the sequential *sḏm.n*=*f* forms.

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 + *sḏmw=f*

As already discussed above in example 11 (see transliteration and translation there),  converts the initial verbal clause of a subsection of Coptos decree C. The verb in the converted clause is a passive *sḏmw=f* with unexpressed subject, which remains the only Old Egyptian example known to me of converting a *sḏmw=f*, although example 11 above includes its Middle Egyptian variant of *ỉst* + *sḏmw=f*.

 + *sḏm=f*

Example 27 — Inscription of Sabu Tjeti, Sixth Dynasty

> . . .
> *ỉr.tỉ m tȝ r-ḏr=f*
> ***sk*** *nḫt ỉb n ḥm=f r ḫ.t nb.t ỉr.t*(*=ỉ*) (*ỉm*) (*Urk.* I, 85:13–14)
>
> . . .
> as it was done in the entire land,
> and the heart of his Majesty strengthened regarding everything which I accomplished.[49]

This attestation of a *sḏm=f* (the verb *nḫt*) also remains unique in the record and, just as in the case of the *sḏmw=f* above in decree C from Coptos, is included mainly for the sake of illustration of the variety of verbal forms which may be converted by . The text of Sabu Tjeti in fact includes several -sentences (*Urk.* I, 84:17; 85:5; and 85:11), but its poor state of preservation prohibits any wide ranging conclusion to be drawn from them, as the preserved passages are very fragmentary.

Two Case Studies: The Inscription of Rawer and a Letter Sent from Tura

Several Old Kingdom texts may contain more than a few sentences converted with , but only a handful include several in close succession, and within a very short span. Among those are the inscription of the priest Rawer and a letter of complaint sent to Saqqara, both of which are more closely examined here.

Example 28 — Inscription of Rawer[50]

Only the horizontal line and the first seven columns are considered here.

> ←
> *ny-sw.t-bỉty Nfr-ỉr-kȝ-Rʿ ḫʿ m bỉty ḥrw n šspt ḥȝt*(*t*) *dp.t-nṯr*
> ↓
> ***sk*** *s*(*t*)*m Rʿ-wr tp-rd.wy ḥm=f m sʿḥ=f*
> *n s*(*t*)*m ỉry ḥry-ʿ ḫsf ȝms*
> *wn m-ʿ ḥm=f r rd n s*(*t*)*m Rʿ-wr ḏd ḥm=f r=f*[51]
> *wȝḏ.tỉ ḫrw ḥm=f* ***sk*** *ḏd.n ḥm=f mry n ḥm*(*=ỉ*)
> *wȝḏ=f wr.t ny*[52] *sqr n=f* ***sk*** *sw špss*
> *ḫr ḥm=f r s nb wḏ ḥm=f wd.ṯ m sš*
> *ḥr ỉs=f nt*(*y*) *m ḫr.t-nṯr*

[49] See Allen's comments on this passage (1986, p. 23, ex. 41).

[50] See also Allen 1992, pp. 14–20.

[51] This is used instead of *n=f*.

[52] This negative word is a variant of and is not in any way equivalent to *ỉwty*. Rather, it is used to negate the circumstantial *sḏm=f* and the circumstantial *sḏm.n=f*; see Gunn 1948, pp. 27–30, and Gilula 1970, p. 210, but also Edel 1955/1964, §1074 and §§1092–1099.

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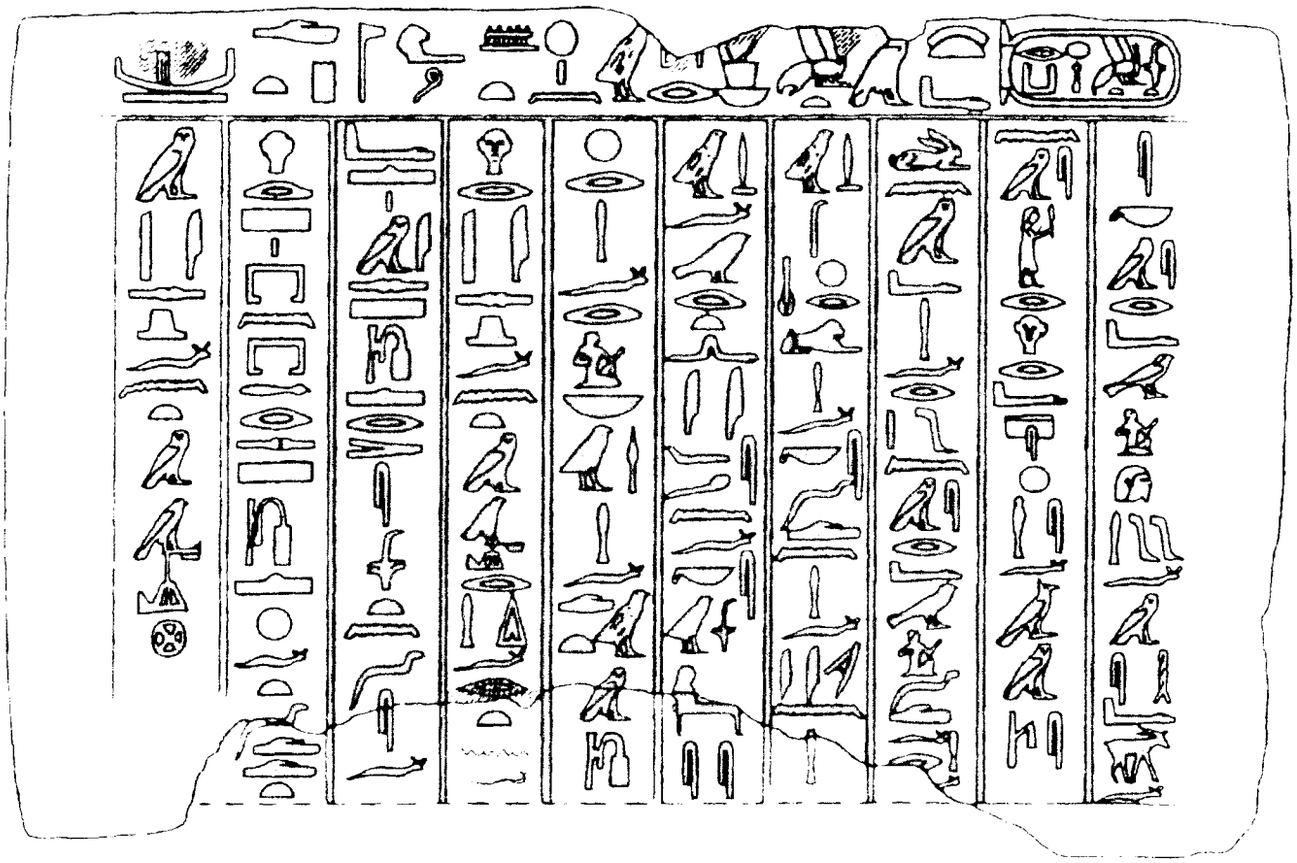


Figure 15.2. Inscription of Rawer (adapted from Hassan 1932, pl. 18, fig. 13)

> The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Neferirkare, appearing as the King of Lower Egypt on the day of receiving the prow-rope of the sacred bark.
> ***When*** the priest Rawer was at the feet of/in front of his Majesty in his rank (lit. "his dignity")
> of priest and keeper of the garment, the *ỉms*-scepter,
> which was in the hand of his Majesty, struck the leg of the priest Rawer. Then his Majesty said to him:
> "May you be healthy," so pronounced his Majesty. ***Since his Majesty had already said***: "what is desired for my Majesty
> is that he be healthy greatly, without there being a blow for him"; **And since** he is esteemed
> before his Majesty more than any man, his Majesty commanded that it be placed in writing
> on his tomb which is in the necropolis.

The inscription of Rawer contains several constructions with *sk*, among which are the following:

> *sk s(t)m Rʿ-wr tp rd.wy ḥm=f m sʿḥ=f n sm ỉry ḥry-ʿ ḫsf ỉms wn m-ʿ ḥm=f r rd n s(t)m Rʿ-wr*
>
> "While the priest Rawer was at the feet of his Majesty in his rank (lit. "his dignity") of priest and one who is keeper of the garment, the *ỉms*-scepter, which was in the hand of his Majesty struck the leg of the priest Rawer."

The preceding occurs as the opening sequence in the narrative following the introduction of the event of the king receiving the prow rope of the sacred bark, which in its physical layout (fig. 15.2) as a horizontal line is explicitly separated from the rest of the vertical inscription,[53] though the two parts still maintain a semantic connection. But, as has been posited throughout this study, should we accept the premise of the mobility of the converter, then this arrangement would clearly mark the -sentence above as the initial portion of the narrative in premodifier form to the main clause governed by the perfective *ḫsf*. Therefore, this clause

[53] Allen 1992, p. 16.

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provides the circumstance in which Rawer was in the king's attendance in his capacity of *sem*-priest during the royal festival. The converted clause is non-verbal and, by virtue of its subordination to the main clause introduced by *ḫsf*, is analyzed as a perfect tense.

Similarly, in the clause following the one just cited, the converter 𓇋𓏏 may be analyzed as being in a non-initial position, as a premodifier clause:

> *ḏd ḥm=f r=f wꜣḏ.tỉ ḫrw ḥm=f* ***sk ḏd.n*** *ḥm=f mry n ḥm(=ỉ) wꜣḏ=f wr.t ny sqr n=f*
>
> His Majesty said to him (Rawer): "May you be healthy," so pronounced his Majesty. ***Since his Majesty had already said***: "what is desired for my Majesty is that he be healthy greatly. . ."

In the just cited example, 𓇋𓏏 converts the circumstantial *sḏm.n=f* clause into a anterior action with respect to the time frame of *ḏd*, the perfective *sḏm=f* of the main clause. Had the Egyptian used another indicative/perfective *sḏm=f* instead of the circumstantial *sḏm.n=f*, then a pluperfect would have resulted.

Example 29 — Sixth Dynasty Letter from Saqqara, Sent from Tura[54]

> *rnp.t sp 11 ꜣbd wʿ šmw sw 23*
> *ỉmy-rꜣ mšʿ ḏd*
> *ỉw ỉnw sš n tꜣty sꜣb ṯꜣty n bꜣk ỉm(=ỉ) r ỉn.t ṯs.t n ʿprw Rꜥ-ꜣw*
> *r ḥbs*[55] *r-gs=f ḫr srḫ ỉmy-wr.t* ***sk*** *bꜣk ỉm(=ỉ) ḫr md.t m dbḥw qʿḥw* [56] ***sk*** *ỉry-mḏꜣ.t*
> *m ỉw.t r Rꜥ-ꜣw ḥnʿ wsḫ.t* ***sk*** *bꜣk ỉm(=ỉ) ỉṯ=f ḥrw 6 m ḫnw*
> *ḥnʿ ṯs.t tn n ḥbs.t=s snkn.t kꜣ.t pw m-ʿ bꜣk ỉm(=ỉ)* ***sk*** *ḥrw ỉs pw wʿ*
> *ḫb.t(ỉ)=f n ṯs.t tn ḥbs.t(ỉ)=s ḏd bꜣk ỉm(=ỉ) ỉmỉ rḫ ỉry-mḏꜣ.t*
>
> Year of Occasion 11, 1st month of the summer, day 23.
> It is the overseer of the expedition who speaks:
> A message of the chief-justice and vizier has been brought to your humble servant regarding the transporting of the group of workmen of Tura
> to be clothed in his (i.e., the vizier's) presence at the western *srḫ*.[57] ***Given*** that your humble servant is protesting against the mandated locality (for the procurement of the clothing); ***and given that*** the archivist is ***already*** coming to Tura with the barge; ***and since*** your humble servant would (usually) spend six days at the Residence
> with this troop before it is clothed, this is what delays the work in the charge of your humble servant; ***and because*** it is (only) a single day
> that should be allocated for this troop in order that they might be clothed, your humble servant says: "Let the archivist be aware."

Apart from its dissenting tone, this letter is characterized by four successive 𓇋𓏏-sentences, all in premodifier form, supplying explanatory information that provides the necessary comment for *ḏd*, the nominal *sḏm=f* in the closing sentence and the main purpose of the letter. These four converted clauses are interconnected and list the provisions of the complaint one by one, almost in the manner of a legal argument, to avoid trivializing the basis of the complaint. Three of the four converted clauses switch freely between grammatical subjects, with three of them having distinct ones.

[54] First publication by Gunn (1925, pp. 242–55). Subsequently studied by Gardiner (1927, pp. 75–78) and Depuydt (2008, pp. 97–99), who has conducted a closer analysis of the 𓇋𓏏-passages.

[55] An infinitive of a transitive verb with no expressed object is translated as a passive.

[56] Sometimes denoting "corner" and associated words, *qbḥ* is also connected to its feminine variant, which means "district" or "locality." It could very well be that in this context it signifies "unusual; exotic" modifying the noun *dbḥ* for a translation of "unusual request"; compare to its occurrence in Harkhuf's biography, where it has a similar meaning of "rare; exotic" (*Urk.* I, 124:14).

[57] The *srḫ* refers to the Djoser Complex, which appears to serve as the administrative headquarters for the vizier.

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Some Notes on 

The evolution and "grammaticalization" of *wnn* ("to be; to exist") as a preterite converter in Late Egyptian[58] provides an interesting prospect for examining its potential uses in such a function in certain contexts even in Old Egyptian.

Despite the fact that the "syntactic status" of *wn* in Late Egyptian is that of a converter, in many instances it reverts to being a finite verb.[59] For Old Egyptian occurrences of *wnn* as an unmarked initial *sḏm=f*, Doret dismisses the possibility of analyzing it as a circumstantial form,[60] preferring instead a nominal *wn.*(*n*)(*=f*).[61] However, it might be sensible to reevaluate this exclusion,[62] in order to propose an exemption in the case of *wnn*, which displays characteristics that appear unique among Egyptian verbs.[63]

In Old Egyptian,  occurs in initial position both as a conjugated form or as an unconjugated morpheme, and should we opt to assign it the function of a converter, some of the contradictory proposals about the form might perhaps be reconciled.

Example 30 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> ***wn(=i)*** *m ꜣṯw ḥwt-ꜥ.t ḫr*(*y*)*-ṯb.ty*
> *rd wi ny-sw.t-bi.ty Mr*(*i*)*-n-Rꜥ nb*(*=i*) *ꜥnḫ-ḏ.t m ḥꜣty-ꜥ ỉmy-rꜣ Šmꜥw*[64] (*Urk.* I, 105:11–12)
>
> When I was (or "used to be") palace tutor and sandal-bearer, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Merenre, my Lord, who lives forever, appointed me as a nobleman and overseer of Upper Egypt.

In this example drawn from the biography of Weni, the use of *wn*(*=i*) appears to assign a durative quality to the event. A nearly identical formulation earlier in the same text notes, once more, Weni's promotion:

Example 31 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> *sṯ wi m sꜣb ỉry-Nḫn*
> *rd wi ḥm=f m smr wꜥty pr-ꜥ ỉmy-rꜣ ḫnty-š* (*Urk.* I, 100:6–7)
>
> When I was Senior Warden of Hierakonpolis,
> His Majesty appointed me as Sole Companion of the Palace and overseer of the *ḫnty-š.*

This episode, used earlier in the present study, states the promotion of Weni to a higher office, with the -clause introducing his incumbent position. The principal difference between the converted sentences in each of the above examples appears to be that in the *wn*-sentence Weni's promotion does not result in him relinquishing his earlier status, but rather gaining additional responsibilities.[65] However, in *Urk.* I, 100:6–7,  appears to convert a circumstance that becomes invalid once the action of the main clause is completed. In other words, once Weni was appointed to his position of "Sole Companion of the Palace and overseer of the *ḫnty-š*" he would have left his functions as *sꜣb ỉry-Nḫn* — though not relinquished the honorific titles — into which he was promoted from an earlier post (*Urk.* I, 99:2–3).

Likewise, in the rather fragmentary text of Kaihap-Tjety from the Sixth Dynasty, two successive converted clauses draw attention to important junctures of his life and career:

[58] Loprieno 1995, p. 166.

[59] Frandsen 1974, p. 174, §96.

[60] Doret 1986, pp. 75–76.

[61] Osing likewise favors that form (1977, p. 172), though Zonhoven raises some objections to such a choice, based principally on morphological principles (2003, p. 191).

[62] Polotsky's theory stipulates that an initial circumstantial must be marked (Doret 1986, p. 64, with references to Polotsky listed therein).

[63] See some of the comments and examples provided by Loprieno 1995, pp. 123–25, 147.

[64] Identical in formulation to *Urk.* I, 105:17–19, with the main clause following the preterite conversion of a clause in premodifier position.

[65] Compare to *Urk.* I, 105:17, where Weni still retains his titles of palace tutor and sandal-bearer, the clause once more converted by *wn*(*=i*).

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Example 32 — From the Tomb of Kaihap-Tjety, Sixth Dynasty

> ***wn(=i)*** *m ḥwn ṯs mḏḥ ḫr ḥm n Ppy* \\\\\\\\\\\\\[66]
> ***wn(=i)*** *sꜣb ʿḏ-mr nḏ.t(i)=(i) n tpy ḫr-ny-sw.t* (*Urk.* I, 250:14–15)
>
> When I was a child who tied the girdle under (in the reign of) the Majesty of Pepy (II) \\\\\\\\\\\\
> When I was a judge and "boundary official" I was appointed to the rank of Foremost-under-the-King.

The new title assumed by Kaihap-Tjety would be cumulative to existing functions, as the *tpy ḫr-ny-sw.t* was most likely an honorific and not occupational.

In other instances *wn* may appear as an invariable, unconjugated morpheme, as in the inscription of Ptahhotep II from the Fifth Dynasty:

Example 33 — From the Inscription of Ptahhotep II, Fifth Dynasty

> *hꜣ r pr=f n ḏ.t m ḥtp nfr wr.t*
> ***wn*** *imꜣḫ=f ḫr ʾInpw ḫnty ḫr.t-nṯr* (*Urk.* I, 189:8–9)
>
> Proceeding to his tomb in very great harmony,
> when he has attained a venerated state before Anubis, Foremost of the necropolis.

In this instance, the cohesion of the translation would ill allow for a durative sense to be applied; thus, a simple past is warranted. If *wn* is allowed to remain invariable (i.e., non-finite), it would be converting the *sḏm=f* into a preterite circumstance. Alternatively, the form *wn=f sḏm=f* may also be possible, with the same semantic effect.

Among the various commendations received by the nomarch Meryptahankhmeryre of the Sixth Dynasty is one which the king conferred upon him following the successful digging of a canal.

Example 34 — From the Biography of Meryptahankhmeryre-Nekhebu, Sixth Dynasty

> *rd n=i ḥm=f nbw-ʿnḫ t ḥnq.t*
> ***wn*** *ʿꜣ ḥss wi ḥm=f ḫr hꜣb.t wi ḥm=f ḫr=s* (*Urk.* I, 221:2–5)
>
> His Majesty gave me *nbw-ʿnḫ* ornaments, bread and beer,
> ***specifically because*** what his Majesty (regularly) praises me for regarding that for which his Majesty commissions me ***was great***.

In other words, Meryptahankhmeryre would regularly receive favors from the king, but on this particular occasion, even the usual praise to which he was accustomed was greater. The clause converted by the preterite *wn* acts as the comment in an explanatory function to the nominal *ḥss* introducing the clause. Such a feature of the converter appears to be common with various sentences fronted by , especially when a shift in the grammatical subject also occurs, and does not appear to be preferred simply for the purposes of providing circumstantiality to the main clause in the narrowest sense of the term; subordination of the latter kind would not appear to be a requirement for the use of a converter per se.

Finally, the *wn ḫpr.n=f* form in Weni's text (*Urk.* I, 107:12), which Doret has noted as being a unique example in narrative Old Egyptian texts,[67] requires clarification.

Example 35 — From the Biography of Weni, Sixth Dynasty

> ***wn*** *ḫt nb*(*.t*) *wḏt.n ḥm=f* ***wn*** *ḫpr.n mi qd*
> *mi wḏt.n nb ḥm=f im* (*Urk.* I, 107:12–13)

[66] Identical to the wording of *Urk.* I, 253:18 (biography of Qar), though the latter adds *m rk* "in the reign of" before the name of the king. The reference to the same rite of passage in Weni's text is introduced by an independent pronoun (*Urk.* I, 98:12)

[67] Doret 1986, p. 113. Edel (1955/1964, §898) cites another parallel from the Coffin Texts. Also see some of Osing's comments on this passage (1977, p. 179).

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> What would (habitually) be realized fully — that is to say, according to everything that his Majesty would have instructed — was everything that his Majesty would order.

The main predication in this excerpt is *wn ḫpr.n*[68] *mi̓ qd mi̓ wḏ.n nb ḥm=f i̓m*, to which the initial *wn ḫt nb*(*.t*) *wḏ.n ḥm=f* is subordinated in premodifier position and acting as its predicate; the sentence *wn ḫt nb*(*.t*) *wḏ.n ḥm=f* itself is an incomplete predication. The choice of the preterite converter *wn* in this statement is perhaps necessitated by an intended habitual aspect, in that the closing lines of this particular episode may not have been intended to mark the successful conclusion of Weni's mission on that specific occasion (a simple unconverted clause would have sufficed to state that fact), but rather, that any command of the king would be carried out as instructed, in its entirety and always, regardless of the events.

Conclusions

The Old Egyptian particle  appears to function as a circumstantial converter effecting a transformation of the sentence it converts with either concomitance or anteriority, depending on the context of the main clause to which it is subordinate. Mobility represents an important feature of this morpheme, which allows it to either stand in premodifier position to the main clause, or to follow it. The frequent change in the grammatical subject observed in clauses converted by would appear to be a consequence of its use, though in quite a few examples the subject remains unchanged across clauses.

In an overwhelming number of instances in which a -sentence modifies a main clause with a nominal form, it appears to act as the principal highlighted comment of that second tense, despite the presence of other adverbials that might, and perhaps do, fulfill that role, but to a lesser intensity. It has also been argued in the preceding pages that a similar function might also be performed by , which has itself been analyzed here in the same vein as , namely as a converter, but of the preterite or imperfect kind. The variety of uses exhibited by examples of both and used in this study attest to the frequency with which converters were used in various compositions.

The purpose of the present study was not to transplant to Old Egyptian the grammatical "behavior" of prevalent morphemes known as converters in the later stages of ancient Egyptian. However, the notion of conversion is present throughout the various phases of the language, and applying it to the analysis of earlier texts might unfold additional features not only about their grammatical intricacies, but just as importantly about their semantic nuances.

[68] Preterite converter *wn* followed by a circumstantial *sḏm.n=f*, with unexpressed subject (ellipsis of the suffix pronoun is common in Old Egyptian [Edel 1955/1964, §994]).

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16

A Family of Priests in the Theban Tombs of Ahmose and R‘a (TT 121 and 72)

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I am very pleased to dedicate this essay to Professor Janet H. Johnson, Egyptologist, Demotist, and tireless teacher and mentor to a generation of Egyptology students. Jan was my first professor of Egyptian, in 1973. It was her first year teaching full time, and she was brilliant. As a teacher, she was understanding and fair, though relentless and demanding, but never contumelious. She was — and remains — a model Egyptologist and valued colleague. She laid solid foundations in philology for us, and not a day goes by when I read Egyptian, even now, that I do not recognize and acknowledge her hand in my skill. “I will build for you a new mansion on the ground of your city, planted with trees on its every side” (pKoller I).

For a number of years, the Theban Tombs Publication Project has been documenting the tombs of Ahmose and R‘a (TT 121 and TT 72) on Gebel Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah through epigraphy, conservation, and reclearance.[1] The two tombs are located close to each other on the hill, and it was the venerable Labib Habachi who first revealed to this then-young Egyptologist that Ahmose and R‘a were father and son. He advised that their tombs should be published together, since the texts in each one complemented and shed light on those of the other. Indeed, as this paper shows, the tombs’ situations, decorations, and texts highlight a family of Theban priests, officials, and chantresses; they document the family’s royal patronage and rise to eminence; they are witness to its political connections, and then a seemingly sudden lapse into obscurity.

Tomb 121 belonged to Ahmose, the Second Prophet of Amun-Re at Karnak temple in the reign of Thutmose III.[2] Later he was First Prophet of Amun in *Henqet-ankh*, the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Qurnah in Western Thebes. Architecturally, the tomb is noteworthy, because it is one of the largest T-form tombs of the period — of a size comparable to those of viziers and high priests of Karnak.[3] Tomb 72 belonged to Ahmose’s son, R‘a, who served primarily under Amenhotep II as First Prophet of the cults of Amun, Menkheperre, and Hathor in *Henqet-ankh*, and other Theban temples.[4] It is likely that he also served earlier during the coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.

The two tombs are located in the Upper Enclosure, near the top of the northeastern slope of Qurnah overlooking al-Khokha (see fig. 16.1). R‘a is situated about 59 m above the base of the hill adjoining the south side of Senenmut’s tomb (TT 71), while Ahmose is about 42 m high on the north side of that tomb. In this manner, the earlier tomb of Senenmut lies immediately between them.

* I want to thank the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA), Department of Egyptian Art, for permission to publish the contents of relevant MMA tomb cards, drawings, and transcriptions. As part of the work of the Theban Tombs Publication Project, the museum gave me permission to publish records pertaining to its clearances of Theban Tombs nos. 72, 121, and MMA 850. Special acknowledgments go to Dr. Dorothea Arnold (now curator emeritus), as well as to Drs. Diana Craig Patch (now Lila Acheson Wallace Curator in Charge); Marsha Hill, for helping me navigate the archives; Catherine Roehrig; and Christine Lilyquist. My thanks go to Dr. Jaromir Malek, who provided me with copies from Norman de G. Davies’s notebooks at the Griffith Institute. I also proffer special thanks to Dr. Nigel Strudwick for informing me of doorjamb fragments that he discovered in TT 99, which he deduced — and I confirmed — were from TT 72, and for suggesting the initial join of our fragments, which is the basis of my fig. 16.10.

[1] Piccione 2005.

[2] For TT 121 see PM 1/1², p. 235; Kampp 1996, pp. 26, 69, 87, 137, 410–412 (figs. 300–03); Wasmuth 2003, pp. 114–15.

[3] Engelmann-von Carnap 1995, pp. 109–10, 114, 116, 123.

[4] For TT 72, see PM 1/1², pp. 142–43; Weigall 1908, p. 130; Kampp 1996, pp. 24, 69, 136, 303–06.

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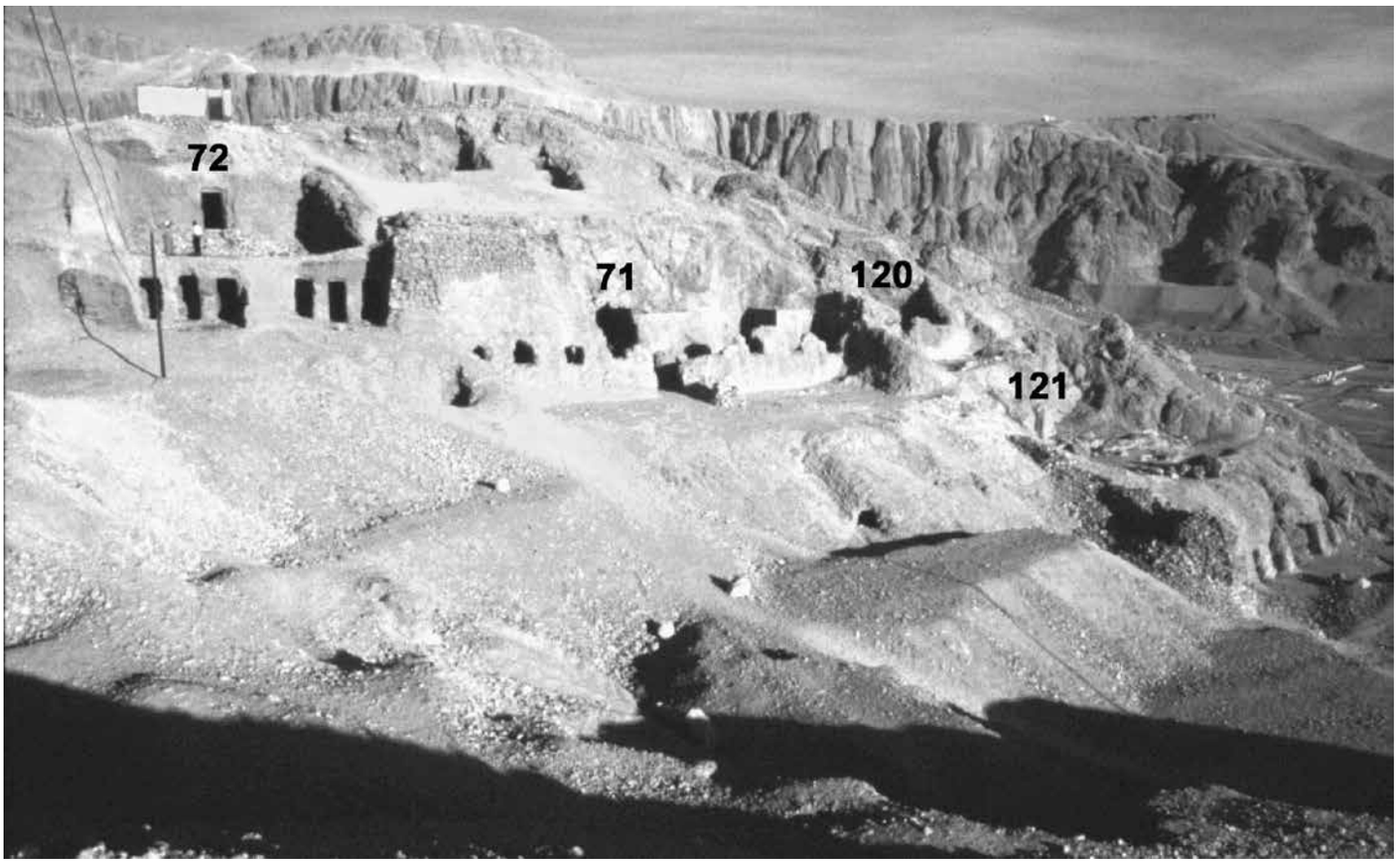


Figure 16.1. The tombs of R‘a (TT 72), Senenmut (TT 71), ‘Anen (TT 120), and Ahmose (TT 121); photo date: 2003

In their studies on the organization of the Theban necropolis, Helck (1962) and Engelmann-von Carnap (1995) argue that this section of the Qurnah necropolis was highly privileged in the reigns of Hatshepsut and early Thutmose III due to its proximity to the temple of Hatshepsut, and to be buried here was a sign of high social status.[5] The area was occupied by some of the highest officials, including First and Second Prophets, stewards of Amun, viziers, overseers of royal works, and others.[6] We understand then that the location of TT 121 and TT 72 in this section of Qurnah — at the top of the hill in this period of the Eighteenth Dynasty — conveyed the high rank and status that Ahmose and R‘a enjoyed at this time. On the other hand, Engelmann-von Carnap (1995) argues that Ahmose’s tomb was located in this section, while the tombs of his contemporaries were located farther down the hill, because — crucially — he served as First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*, as well as Second Prophet of Amun of Karnak.[7] She writes that the architecture of the tomb and its location here indicate the tomb was built earlier in the reign of Thutmose III. However, as I show below, Ahmose was not appointed as First Prophet until much later, when the tomb neared completion, and circumstances dictate that it was a posthumous promotion — that is, made after his death (see below). Therefore, another reason must account for his tomb’s size and presence in this prestigious section.

In 1939, Herbert Ricke demonstrated that the axes of the mortuary temples of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II on the Theban plain pointed, respectively, to the tombs of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in the Valley

[5] Helck 1962, pp. 229–34 (passim); Engelmann-von Carnap 1995, p. 123; idem 1999, p. 77. However, where Helck proposes that the location of an official’s tomb was the primary marker of prestige, Engelmann-von Carnap argues that the size and design of the tomb and its decoration scheme were also significant factors for signaling status and rank. Hence, she argues that it is the very large size of TT 121 (comparable to tombs of First Prophets) coupled with its location in this privileged section that signify Ahmose’s high rank and status. Helck neglects entirely to mention TT 121 in his discussion.

[6] Marjorie Fisher (2013, pp. 38–40) argues (following Helck 1962, p. 230) that the tombs here at the top of the hill, i.e., R‘a (72), Senenmut (71), Ahmose (121), Senimen (252), were constructed to overlook the arrival of the god Amun at Hatshepsut’s valley temple and his processional route through the necropolis during the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, and as Helck noted, so that the dead could also participate in the festival.

[7] So she says, “Die hohe Platzierung und Grösse ist wohl nur bei der Kombination der beiden Ämter denkbar” (Engelmann-von Carnap 1999, p. 77 n. 3).

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of the Kings.[8] More recently, our satellite mapping of the Qurnah necropolis shows that the line of the axis projecting from the temple of Thutmose III to his tomb passes nearly directly through the doorway of the tomb of Ahmose (TT 121) (see fig. 16.2).[9] Fully twenty tombs of all periods are situated within 15 m of each side of the projected axis (see fig. 16.3), and six are contemporary with the reign of Thutmose III.[10] Of these six, coincidence might account for some alignments; however, the extremely close conjunction of Tomb 121 with the temple's axis (nearly through the doorway), as well as the tomb's uncharacteristically large size, coupled with Ahmose's high position as a contemporary of Thutmose III, suggests his tomb was purposefully constructed directly on that line. In this manner, Ahmose might have hoped to connect his tomb in a three-way relationship with the mortuary temple and tomb of the king whom he served, and in some manner, perhaps, to share some of the spiritual benefices flowing from the temple. The knowledge and logistics required to expedite this alignment — probably deriving from his connection to Karnak temple — is another indication of his status at the time.[11] Therefore, the desire of Ahmose to build such a grand tomb on that line could account for locating it in this section of Qurnah, where the space, the view, and the alignment were available.

Tomb 121 was first cleared by Herbert Winlock for the Metropolitan Museum in 1930–1931, as part of the museum's general clearance of the hillside, including TT 71 (Senenmut), TT 72, MMA 850, and surrounding burials. In 1930, Winlock and staff copied certain inscriptions from the walls and objects onto tomb cards, and these are still informative today, especially where the walls were damaged subsequently, or objects have disappeared. Thereafter, in 1934–1935, Norman de G. Davies (working with the MMA) made hand sketches in his notebooks of the wall decorations and texts of TT 72 and TT 121.[12] They are valuable because they document texts, details, and statuary that no longer survive.

Evidently, TT 121 was never completely finished, since in certain areas, the plaster surfaces did not originally cover the walls entirely.[13] Meanwhile, another feature of TT 121 is that the decorated plaster walls throughout the tomb were systematically attacked, and many of the plaster surfaces were chiseled out and removed, down to the underlying rock face. Hence, much of the tomb was found strewn with small fragments of painted plaster. Where the decorated plaster does survive on the walls, it tends to be deeply gouged or disfigured, or else it survives intact in small marginal sections high on the walls near the ceiling.[14] As part of this process, the large granite false-door stela in the Axial Corridor was pulled down, hauled into the Transverse Hall, and broken up. This pattern of denuding the walls appears to be an abortive attempt in late antiquity to convert the large tomb and its courtyard into a Coptic monastery.[15]

The tomb of R'a was first cleared by Arthur Weigall in 1907.[16] He noted that the tomb was situated with a clear line of sight down to the mortuary temple of Thutmose III on the plain below, where R'a served as First Prophet. Weigall was the first to recognize a geographical relationship between this tomb and the temple.

[8] Ricke 1939, pl. 3.

[9] As we first reported in Marinescu 2004, p. 17. This alignment reflects the findings of the On-Line Geographical Information System for the Theban Necropolis (OLGIS-TN) of the College of Charleston and the Santee-Cooper GIS Laboratory, Charleston, South Carolina, URL: http://prosper.cofc.edu/~olgis/.

[10] The tombs date as follows: one Middle Kingdom; one New Kingdom (generally); one Hatshepsut-Thutmose III; five Thutmose III; five Amenhotep II-Amenhotep IV; two Ramesside; five uncertain. The six of twenty built in the reign of Thutmose III (including distance to the axis-line) are TT 61 (Useramun, mayor and vizier), 5.6 m; TT 62 (Amenemweskhet, Overseer of the Cabinet), 14.4 m; TT 65 (Nebamun, Overseer of the Granary), 0.87 m; TT 121 (Ahmose, Second Prophet of Amun), 0.87 m; TT 251 (Amenmose, Overseer of the Cattle and the Storehouse of Amun), 8.1 m; K 267 (unknown), 3.5 m.

[11] Ahmose often emphasized his access to secrets and mysteries associated with Karnak temple (see below, nn. 32, 37–38). Since the mortuary temples of Western Thebes came under the domain of Amun, he could have been privy to confidential information about them.

[12] Davies 1935, pp. 49f.; Davies, MS 11.1, 71–76, 164–65; MS 11.6; MS 11.38, 3 (Griffith Institute, Oxford University).

[13] Along the north and south walls of the Axial Corridor, the plastered surfaces do not extend completely to the floor, but smooth out and end 76–82 cm above the floor, leaving the underlying rock exposed. Similarly, in the Transverse Hall (north extension), the plastering of the ceiling is unfinished, where the plaster smooths out and terminates 126 cm before the end. Also, decorated gold bands in the ceiling (north and south) that were meant to be inscribed were left blank. This smoothing or planing of the plaster with a mason's float is different from other areas of the tomb, where subsequently the plaster was violently chopped from the wall.

[14] Piccione 2003a; Rickerby 1999, pp. 6–8.

[15] Piccione 2003a.

[16] Weigall 1908, p. 130. Weigall reported cleaning out TT 72 and building a modern entrance with an iron gate. Our work in the tomb shows that in the Transverse Hall, he apparently removed the remains of brick walls of a later Coptic workshop and its dirt floor, as well as Coptic brick doorjambs leading to the Axial Corridor, none of which he documented or recorded (so Piccione 2003a).

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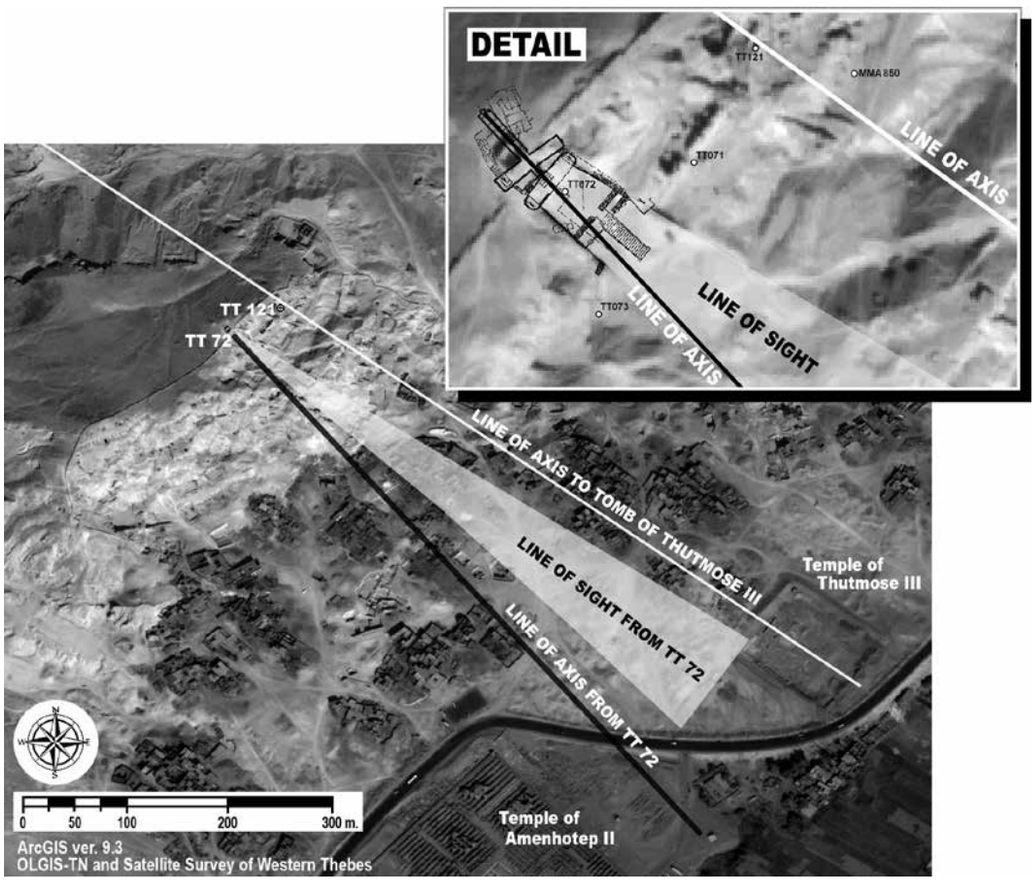


Figure 16.2. GIS-based map of alignments of TT 121 (Ahmose) and TT 72 (R'a) with the temples of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (courtesy of OLGIS-TN). Plan of TT 72 (superimposed in detail) (courtesy of MMA)

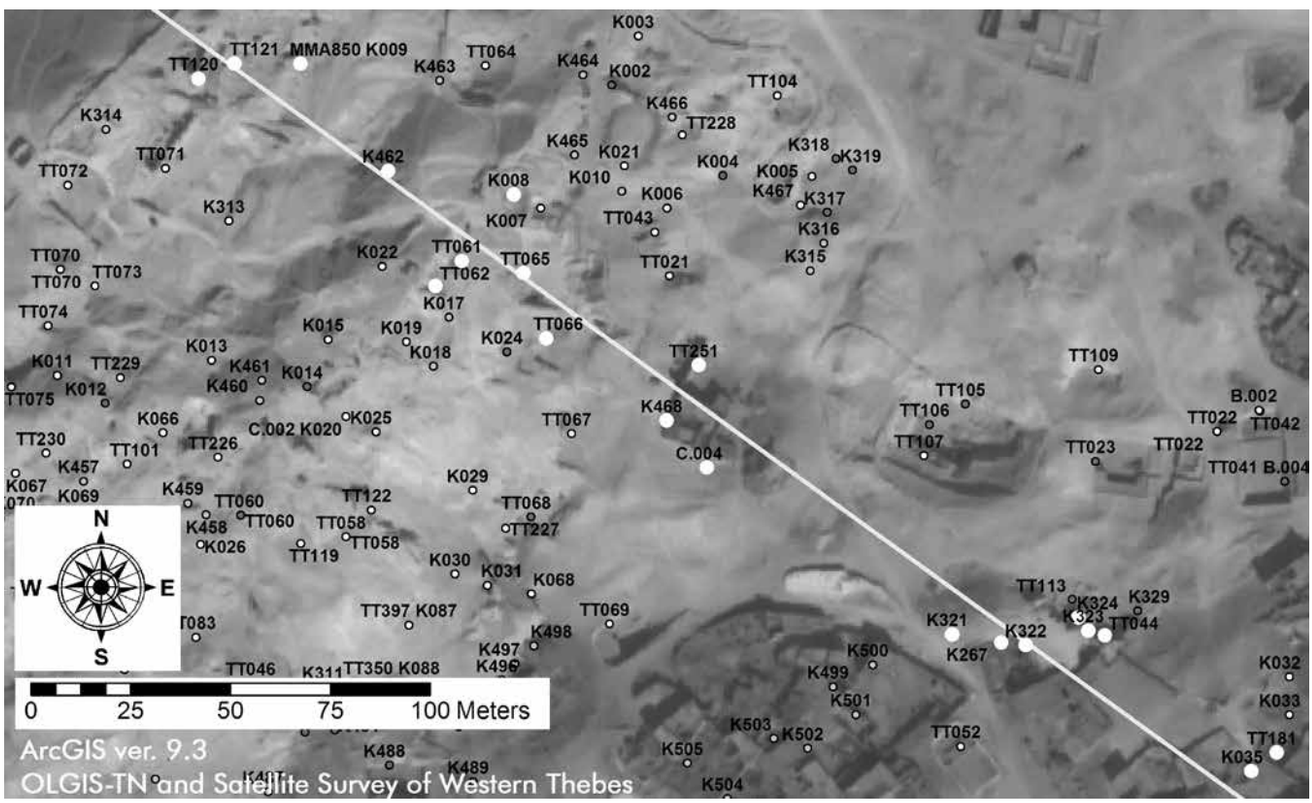


Figure 16.3. Map of Qurnah. Highlighted are tombs located on or within 15 m of each side of the projected axis of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III (courtesy of OLGIS-TN)

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Hence, the wish of R'a to overlook the temple he served and also to be close to his father's tomb would account for locating his own tomb here, even though, by that time, the tombs of his own contemporaries and colleagues had shifted to the south, closer to the temple of Amenhotep II.[17] Our modern satellite mapping reveals further that while the exterior facade of R'a's tomb is turned eastward toward the temple of Thutmose III, the axis of its interior Axial Corridor turns dramatically and points to the southeast, toward the mortuary temple of Amenhotep II, which king R'a served in his lifetime (see fig. 16.2). By splitting his views to the two temples, R'a demonstrated his devotion to both kings and enhanced his status.[18]

In 1913–1914, Herbert Winlock partially cleared and mapped TT 72 for the Metropolitan Museum of Art in order to identify monks' cells or dependencies of the nearby Coptic monasteries.[19] The tomb was severely burned, mostly in the south end of the Transverse Hall. Evidence of later reuse includes burning and blackening of the ceiling and plaster surfaces, firing and baking of the underlying mud plaster, changes in paint pigments due to later heating, proof of Coptic mudbrick walls, and a raised dirt floor containing two fire pits. Based on these patterns, the tomb was reused in Coptic times as a smokehouse or kitchen or similar.[20]

The exterior architecture of R'a's tomb is unique among Theban private tombs, as it is constructed with a system of colonnades, terraces, and interconnecting ramps (fig. 16.1), emulating the style of a contemporary royal terrace temple, such as the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Qurnah and the joint temple of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II at Deir el-Bahari (named *Djeser-akhet*). This architecture is almost certainly related to the fact that R'a served as First Prophet of those temples. That he adapted a royal temple style to his own tomb is probably another indicator of his political and social importance in Theban society at this time. Only 5 m above the courtyard of R'a's tomb — on the crest of the hill — is the cenotaph of Sheikh Aweis el-Qurani (*'âbid fil' Qurnah* "who worships in Qurnah"), a popular Sufi saint in modern Qurnah. Its walls are made of mudbrick and plaster, and the foundations contain reused sandstone fragments. It overlies the site of an ancient shrine, evidently of mudbrick and sandstone and built by R'a, that once stood over the tomb.[21]

Previously, the decoration and inscriptions in the tombs of Ahmose and R'a had not been recorded and published in any systematic manner. In the nineteenth century, Carl Richard Lepsius copied a remarkable scene in TT 72 depicting the young king Amenhotep II enthroned with his mother, Queen Meritre-Hatshepsut.[22] From R'a's tomb, Wolfgang Helck published selected inscriptions, based on earlier copies made by Kurt Sethe.[23] Unfortunately, because of the blackened and charred condition of the walls, many of Sethe's texts were not transcribed with great accuracy.

[17] Helck 1962, pp. 234–36.

[18] The Axial Corridor and Transverse Hall of TT 72 point 136 degrees southeast, while the courtyard and facade are turned to 127 degrees east southeast, a difference of 9 degrees. However, the exterior stairway disjointedly turns back 9 degrees southeast, paralleling the interior axis, and also points to the temple of Amenhotep II. These projections and alignments represent the findings of the OLGIS-TN.

[19] Winlock 1926, pp. 1, 15–16. Winlock's plan and section (unpublished) and MMA tomb cards that document the finds in TT 72 are located in the archives of the MMA's Department of Egyptian Art. Since we found undisturbed stratigraphy in parts of the tomb, it means Winlock's team only partially cleaned it, merely recording what was apparent on the floor without disturbing any soil.

[20] Piccione 2003a; Rickerby 1999, pp. 8–11.

[21] Piccione 2005, p. 131. R'a's shrine was probably a pyramidal structure, similar to many other tombs in the necropolis (e.g., TT nos. 106, 158); cf. Seyfried 1987, pp. 219–53 (passim). Winlock 1926, p. 16, recorded an old tradition reported by Maspero that the present sheikh's cenotaph replaced an earlier shrine of a Christian saint that was famous for the cure of rheumatism. Likewise, the present Muslim shrine of Sheikh Aweis el-Qurani (often mistakenly called Sheikh Abd el-Qurnah) was also said to be famous for that particular cure. Hence, it is not unreasonable that a Christian shrine was erected over an earlier pharaonic structure that was replaced by a later Muslim shrine, both having similar curative properties. The cenotaph is famous as the focus of the annual *mulid* of the sheikh, when the modern Qurnawis process up the hill to visit the shrine (so also van der Spek 2007, p. 184) much to the detriment of TT 72 below. Until the recent demolition of the modern village of Nag' el-Horobat, most of the Qurnawis visiting the shrine were couples engaged to be married, especially brides and their kin, who came for the *baraka*, and according to the local *ghafirs*, hoping especially for male children (personal observation; cf. van der Spek 2007, p. 189, fig. 11.3). In a new development since 2006, the north wall of the shrine has become marked with graffiti in Arabic and Roman letters, written in henna by couples declaring their love for each other — hearts, names, conjoined initials, "X loves Y," etc. — much to the disdain of traditionally minded Muslims (personal observation).

[22] *LD* III, 62 [b]. The assumption is that Lepsius found the scene intact when he recorded it. Subsequently, it was very damaged when much of the surface of brittle painted plaster was shattered, probably when the Coptic partition against the wall was demolished during Weigall's clearance.

[23] *Urk.* 4, 1368, 1457–59.

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Tomb of Ahmose (TT 121)

While Ahmose started building his tomb, it was his son R‘a who completed its decoration — and perhaps even its construction. This fact is clear from several architectural elements and dedicatory texts that R‘a installed and inscribed in his father’s tomb (see below).

Ahmose’s different titles are spread throughout the tomb in a manner that loosely connects the sequence of construction and decoration with his career advancement (see fig. 16.4, TT 121 key plan of Ahmose’s titles). His lowest title, *ḫry-ḥb tpy n ỉmn* “First Lector Priest of Amun,” survives only once at the west end of the high sloping ceiling of the Axial Corridor. His primary title, *ḥm-nṯr sn-nw n ỉmn/ỉmn-Rʿ* “Second Prophet of Amun/Amun-Re” at Karnak temple, appears most often, for example, on the walls of the Axial Corridor (north and south sides), in the high statue niche at the west end of the corridor, on sandstone doorjambs, on a small granite stela, and on certain funerary cones.[24] It also occurs on a large granite false-door stela subsequently inscribed by his son R‘a and erected in the main stela niche of the Axial Corridor. His title, *ỉt-nṯr mry-nṯr* “God’s Father, beloved of the God,” appears on the same large stela, as well as on the ceiling of the Transverse Hall (north side), also inscribed by his son R‘a. Finally, his title *ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn m Ḥnḳ.t-ʿnḫ* “First Prophet of Amun in *Henqet-ankh*,” occurs less commonly, that is, in the high statue niche of the Axial Corridor, on certain funerary cones,[25] and

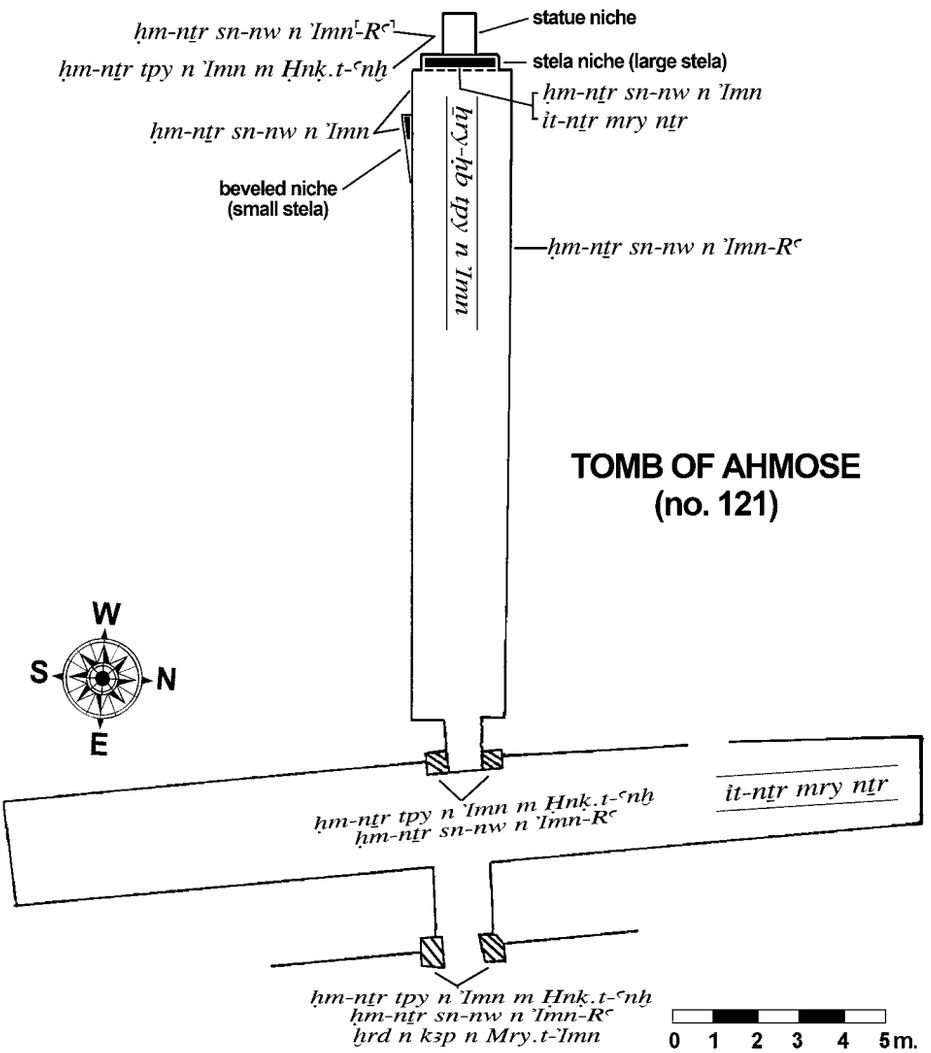
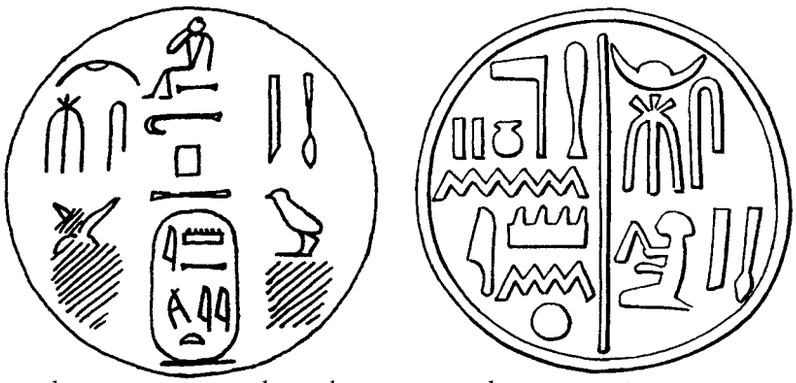


Figure 16.4. TT 121, key-plan of the locations of Ahmose’s titles on the walls and ceilings

[24] Davies and Macadam 1957, no. 300; see fig. 16.5 (B).

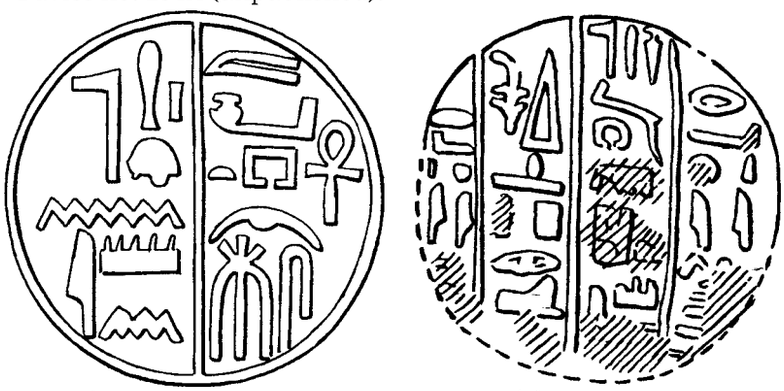
[25] Ibid., no. 297; see fig. 5 (C).

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A. Ahmose; MMA tomb card 5075 Davies no. 184A (unpublished).

B. Ahmose; Davies no. 300.



C. Ahmose; Davies no. 297.

D. R‘a(y): Davies no. 116.

Figure 16.5. Funerary cones of Tombs TT 121 and 72 (from Davies-Macadam 1957, as noted)

on fragmentary sandstone doorjambs, the last two of which also contain the title Second Prophet of Amun-Re. The pattern suggests that he was appointed First Prophet of Amun in *Henqet-ankh* only late in the tomb's construction after the major wall surfaces were decorated and the stela was erected, while still holding the title of Second Prophet of Amun-Re at Karnak.

Other titles of Ahmose indicate that he was a prestigious member of the royal court. High in the Axial Corridor (south wall) are listed his honorific titles and responsibilities (see fig. 16.6):[26]

> *ỉry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ | mḥ-ỉb n nsw.t | m ḫnr.t, ỉr | ỉḫ.t n nb.f, sḫm‹w› rs‹y›-tp n nb t3wy | n nṯr nfr, sdty ʿ3 m Ḥw.t ʿ3.‹t›, wr | wrw n smrw.f, ḥsy, šw m | wṯs.t ỉm.f, ỉr ḫt ʿwy.f | [. . . ỉ.] | ḥm-nṯr [snn-nw] n ỉmn [.], | ḥm.t.f mry.t.f nb.t pr ʿ3.t | šps.t ḥmsy.t tpw t3 | ḥsy.t nṯ Ḥw.t-Ḥr mrr.t | [ỉmn-Rʿ] nb.‹t› iḳr.t ḥr-ỉb mry.t | rḫy.t ḫkr.t nsw.t nb.t pr ỉr.t mʿ3.t-ḫrw nb.t ỉm3ḫ*
>
> (1) Hereditary Prince and Count, (2) Confident of the King (3) in the Council Chamber, (4) who has acted effectively for his Lord, powerful and vigilant for the Lord of the Two Lands (5) (and) for the Good God, the Great Offspring in the Palace, the Greatest (6) of His Companions, who is praised, who is free from (7) extolling himself, a man of action (lit., who has acted with (his) two arms), (8) [.] (9) the [Second] Prophet of Amun [. . .]. (10) His beloved wife, the great and august Lady of the House, (11) who is (still) living on earth,[27] (12) the Singer of Hathor, whom (13) [Amun-Re] loves, possessor of what is pleasing to the heart, beloved of the (14) *rekhyt*-people, Royal Ornament, Lady of the House, Iret, justified, possessor of honor.

Ahmose's wife was Iret, Singer of Hathor and Royal Ornament. She was also named on the large granite stela that R‘a erected in the tomb (see below), and perhaps on the small stela. While she was a singer of Hathor, it is unclear which temple she served, the shrines of Hathor at Deir el-Bahari or the chapel of Hathor in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III, where R‘a later served as First Prophet (or a shrine on the East Bank?).

[26] PM 1/1², 232, 235 (7). Copy is based on MMA tomb card no. 5097; the text was newly photographed and collated at the wall in 2003.

[27] *ḥmsy.t tpw t3* "die auf Erde Befindlichen," Hannig 2003, p. 1428.

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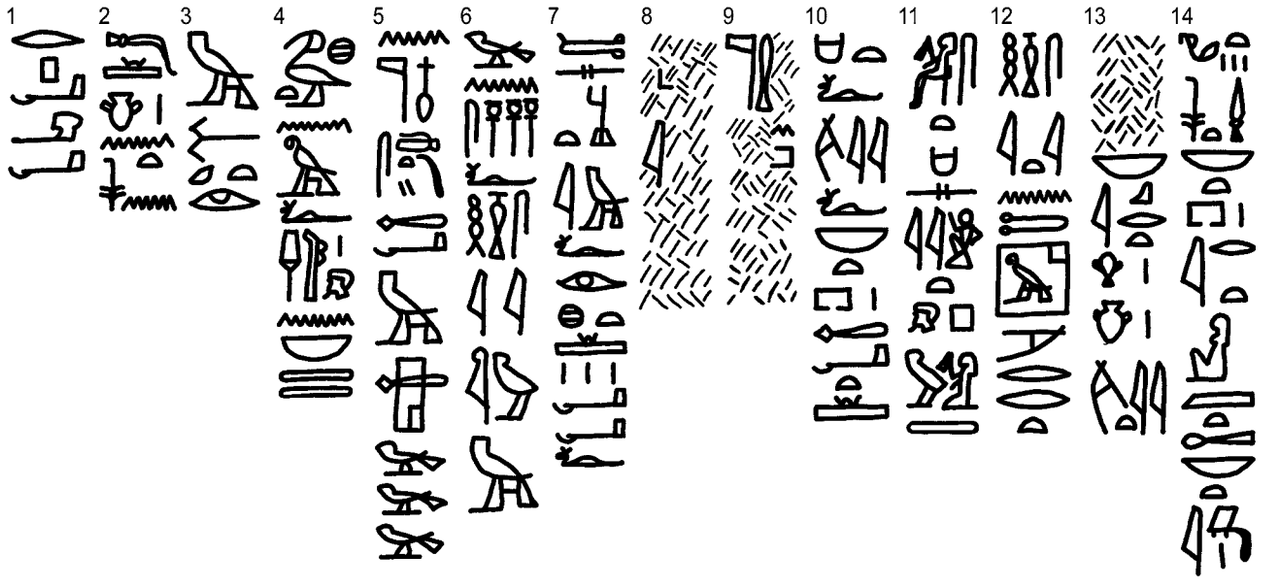


Figure 16.6. TT 121, inscription, Axial Corridor, south wall (corrected from MMA tomb card 5097)

Significantly, the text indicates that Ahmose served two kings, since it mentions them in parallel, the "Lord of the Two Lands," and the "Good God, the Great Offspring in the Palace."[28] The *sdty ꜣ m Ḥw.t ꜣ.t* "Great Offspring in the Palace," can only refer to the young coregent, Amenhotep II, who would have been in his sixteenth year of age when he became coregent in ca. 1427 BC.[29] The text suggests that this part of the tomb (Axial Corridor rear) could have been decorated under the coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, that is, Years 51–54 of Thutmose III (ca. 1427–1425 BC). It certainly reflects Ahmose's activities during the co-regency, when he apparently served two kings.

The tomb of Ahmose contained two red granite false-door stelae: a large stela dedicated by R'a, up to 2.46 m high, and a smaller stela, 1.20 m high. They were broken into fragments in antiquity; however, the MMA found many pieces, copied them, and reassembled the fragments on paper to reconstitute much of their texts. R'a erected the large stela in the tall shallow recess at the west end of the Axial Corridor. According to MMA tomb cards nos. 5101–02, this stela once contained an offering scene, now lost, depicting R'a on the right (facing left), standing before an offering table, making offerings to his father and his father's wife and daughter on the left (facing right) (see fig. 16.7):[30]

Above Ahmose: *ỉry-pꜥt ḥꜣty-ꜥ ỉt-nṯr mr‹y› nṯr | sn-nw ỉb Ḥr, nb tꜣ pn | ḫry sšꜣ n s.t wr.t, mrr | nb tꜣwy, ḫtmw-bỉty ḥm-nṯr sn-nw n | ỉmn, ỉꜥḥ-ms mꜣꜥ-ḫrw | ḫkr.t-nsw.t nb.t pr ḥsy.‹t› | sn-nw.s ỉr.t nb.t imꜣḫ | sꜣ.t.s mr.t.s Bꜣk*[. . .]. |

Above R'a: *ỉrỉ.t ḥtp dỉ nsw.t wꜥb sp sn | sꜣ.f* [*mry*] *ḥm-nṯr* [*tpy*] | *n* [*ỉmn*] *m s* |*ꜥnḫ rn.f rꜥ nb* [. . .]

Above Ahmose: Hereditary Prince and Count, Father of the God, Beloved of the God, | Companion of the Heart of Horus, the Lord of this Land, | Master of the Secrets of the Great Place (i.e., Karnak temple), whom the Lord of the Two Lands loves, | Seal-bearer of the *Bỉty*-king, Second Prophet of | Amun, Ahmose, justified. The Royal Ornament, Lady of the House, she who is praised | of her companion (husband), Iret, possessor of honor. | His daughter, whom he loves, Bak[. . .]. |

Above R'a: Making *ḥtp dỉ nsw.t*, 'Be pure, be pure!' (so says) | his beloved son, the [First] Prophet | of [Amun], causing his name to live every day [. . .].

[28] If the text were referring to only one king with the two titles, we might expect it to run the two titles in sequence, and not employ a second genitival-*n* separating and coordinating the two titles: *n nb tꜣwy n nṯr nfr* "for the Lord of the Two Lands (and) for the Good God."

[29] Wente 1980, p. 252; Piccione 2003b, pp. 96, 100 n. 37.

[30] Collated with photos taken in 1998 of the few fragments still surviving in the tomb. These stela fragments are still located in the Transverse Hall, where the MMA found them. By scaling up the MMA's composite drawing of the large stela, the project confirmed that it fits precisely in the empty stela niche at the rear of the tomb.

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Figure 16.7. TT 121, large stela, reassembled text of the offering scene (MMA tomb card 5101)

Here Ahmose bears the title of Second Prophet. However, the base of the stela is lost, and it is uncertain whether the texts there might also have contained the title of First Prophet. The title “Master of the Secrets of the Great Place” also occurs on a broken block statue of Ahmose,[31] and it refers directly to Karnak Temple, based on a contemporary dyad statue of Ahmose and his mother Baket-Ra from Karnak.[32] The wife’s name, Iret, recurs here. Ahmose also identifies his daughter as Bak[. . .]. Since Ahmose’s mother’s name was Baket-Ra, his daughter might have had the same name, given the predilection in the Eighteenth Dynasty to name children after grandparents.

Ahmose’s small stela, later broken up, as we discovered, was originally set into a long and rectangular beveled niche in the south wall of the Axial Corridor (fig. 16.4).[33] This stela contained Ahmose’s titles of Second Prophet of Amun and Seal bearer of the *Bity*-king, as well as the name of his wife (broken) and probably his daughter (see fig. 16.8).[34] Although fragmentary, the small stela shows no evidence that it was inscribed by his son, R‘a (unlike the large stela). Originally, it was probably erected somewhere else in the tomb (or meant for another location), and most likely it was R‘a who subsequently completed the niche and set the small stela within it. This beveled niche actually cuts through pre-existing decoration on the south wall, confirming that the stela was moved there at a later point, and almost certainly by R‘a.[35] On this stela, Ahmose’s titles include (column 1):



ỉry pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ ʿḳ mȝȝ n [*ỉ*]*p.*[*t*]*-swt*

Hereditary Prince and Count, who enters (freely), beholding (lit., “looking at”) Karnak temple [. . .].

[31] Found in the Luxor temple blockyard and published by Marjorie Fisher (2013, pp. 34–42), the restored title occurs on lines 3–4 (p. 35 [n. 3]).

[32] Ny Carlsberg Museum, Copenhagen ÆIN 74 (PM 2², 278), recently republished by Fisher (2013, pp. 35–37). In the latter’s fig. 3b, col. 5 (p. 37), Ahmose’s title reads *ỉry-pʿt ḥ3ty-ʿ ḥry-sšt3 m ỉp.t-sw.t* “Hereditary Prince and Count, Master of the Secrets in Karnak temple” (contra Fisher who reads Gardiner E15 [recumbent dog] as *s3b* “magistrate,” instead of *ḥry sšt3*). While *st wr.t* can mean generically a shrine or sanctuary of a temple (*Wb.* IV 7, 8–13; Spencer 1984, pp. 108–13), it can also refer specifically to the sanctuary of Karnak temple (ibid., pp. 115f.). On the same dyad, Ahmose is also Master of the Secrets *m Ḥw.t wr.t* “in the Great Temple” (Fisher 2013, fig. 3a), which can only be Karnak. Given the occurrences of *ḥry-sšt3* in the four texts of Ahmose, *st wr.t* can only mean Karnak temple.

[33] As determined by measurements taken in the tomb and compared to scaled drawings on MMA tomb card 5104. The back side of the stela was beveled — or cut at an angle — and, as we discovered, it matches or complements the angle of the beveled niche and so would fit perfectly. This finding is confirmed by the thick remains of ancient plaster in the niche that held the stela in place.

[34] MMA tomb cards 5103, 5104, 5105, with details of fragments of the stela, reconstructed drawings, and hand copy of the text; photograph field no. M16C.81 (neg. no. 92–28).

[35] It is unlikely that Ahmose would have marred or destroyed his own high-quality decoration, especially portrayals of celebrations significant for his post at Karnak temple. The damaged decoration included scenes, apparently, of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, in which three vessels marked with the cartouches of Thutmose III tow the great bark of Amun-Ra on the river (PM 1/1², 235 [7]).

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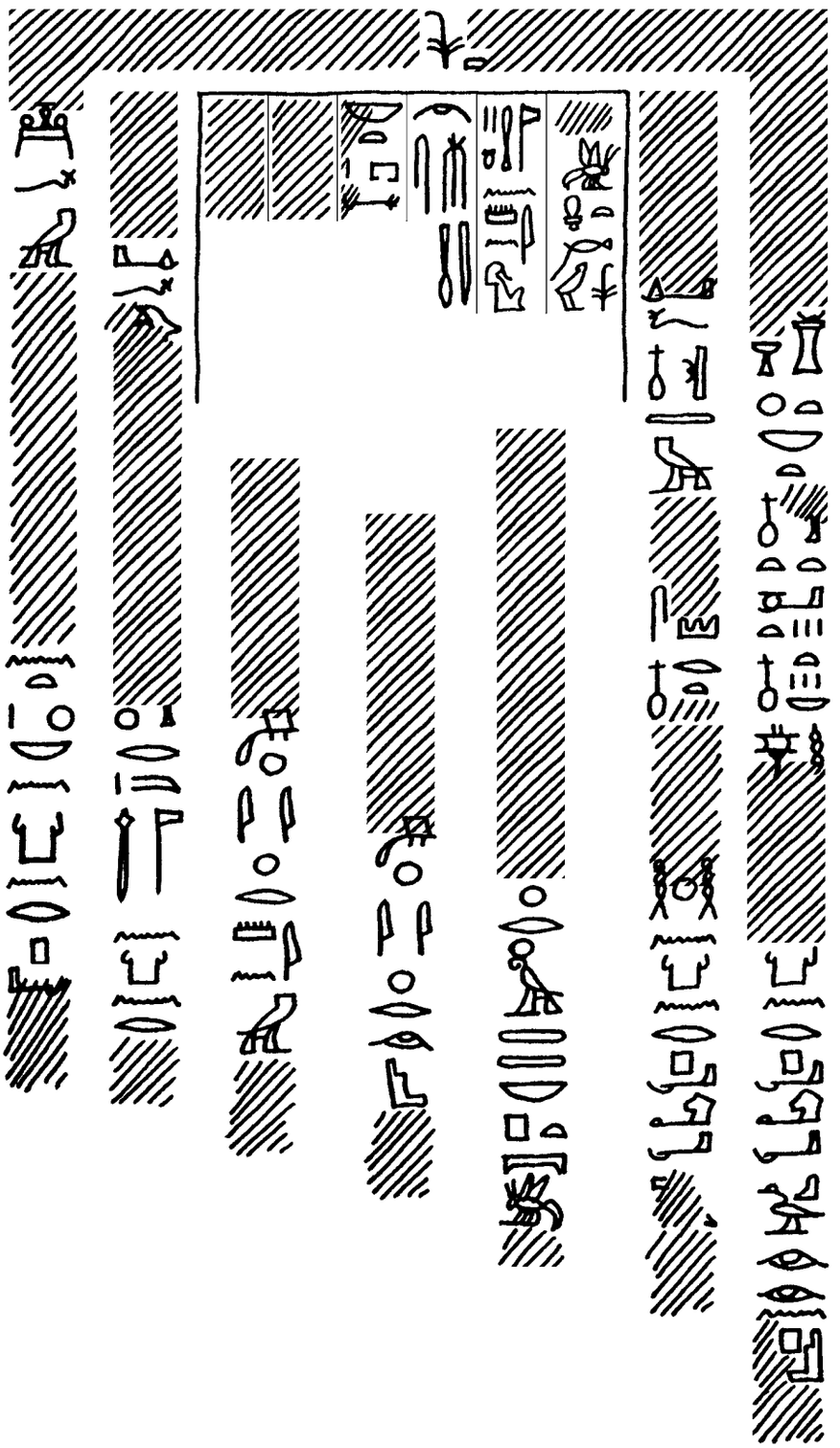


Figure 16.8. TT 121, Ahmose's small granite stela, MMA tomb card 5105.
Text corrected, collated, re-scaled, and fragments repositioned based on MMA photo M16C.81

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The similar expression *ḫ mꜣꜣ m* + holy place also occurs in the tomb of Neferhotep, for example, *mỉ ntk mꜣʿ m Ḥw.t-Ptḥ ḫ mꜣꜣ m St-wr.t* "just as you are a righteous one in the Temple of Ptah, who enters seeing into the Great Place."[36] The meaning is that Ahmose had free access to the temple and to see all its parts that were off limits to the uninitiated. Similarly, along with his title, "Master of the Secrets in Karnak Temple," on two other monuments, Ahmose also bore the similar appellation, *ḫ r ḥrw mꜣꜣ ḏsrw.s* "one who enters up above and sees its (Karnak's) secluded places (*ḏsrw*)."[37] The expression *ḫ mꜣꜣ n ỉp.t-sw.t* means nearly the same, and it emphasizes Ahmose's privileged knowledge of the inaccessible parts of the temple and their rituals.[38]

In 1998, the project discovered a new offering scene and inscription in Tomb 121, located at the rear of the high statue niche in the west wall of the Axial Corridor, which was previously inaccessible to scholars. Much of the scene is lost, but enough survives to reconstruct Ahmose and his mother seated facing left before an offering table. Above them is an offering list and a text with Ahmose's titles and filiation. The decoration indicates that the niche was meant to contain a small seated dyad of Ahmose and Baket-Ra (see tracing, fig. 16.9). The text reads:

> *ḫtmw-bỉty, ỉmy-rꜣ Šmʿw-Mḥw* [*ḥm-nṯr tpy*] | *n ỉ*[*mn*] *m Ḥnḳ.t-ʿnḫ* [*ḥm-nṯr sn-nw n*] | *ỉmn-*[ʳ*R*ʿ⁷] *m* [*ỉ*]*p.t-sw.t* | *ỉʿḥ-ms pn ỉr n* | *sꜣb Rʿ-ms mꜣʿ-ḫrw* | *ms n nb.t-pr Bꜣk.*[*t-Rʿ* ʳ*mꜣʿ.t-ḫrw*⁷]
>
> The Seal-bearer of the *Bity*-king, Overseer of Upper and Lower Egypt, [First Prophet] of | [Amun] in *Henqet-ankh*, [Second Prophet of] | Amun-[ʳRe⁷] in Karnak, this Ahmose, whom | the magistrate, Ramose, justified, | engendered, and to whom the Lady of the House, Bak[et-Ra, ʳjustified⁷], gave birth.

The title, "Overseer of Upper and Lower Egypt," was probably ceremonial at this time, given that real governing authority lay with the vizier, and later the mayor. Still, it denotes an accretion of high honors to Ahmose, and it could underscore arguments that connect the administration of Karnak temple with the civil government of Thebes.[39] Thus, Ahmose's father is identified as Ramose, a government official (*sꜣb*).

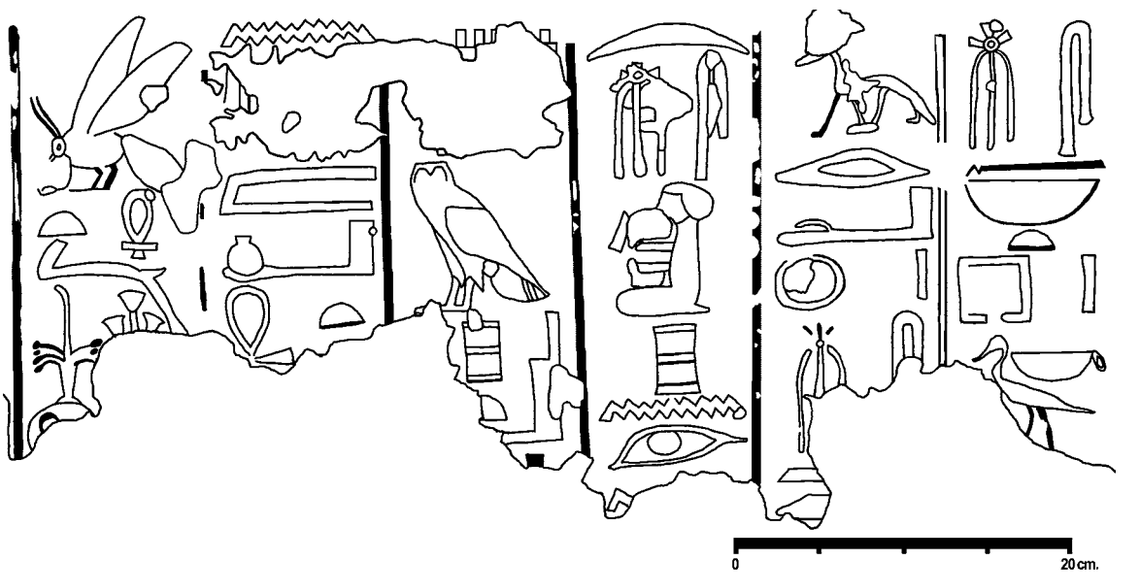


Figure 16.9. TT 121, tracing of text in statue niche, Axial Corridor (west end), south wall (Theban Tombs Publication Project)

[36] So Gardiner 1946, p. 52, pl. 6, line 25, discussing its occurrence in the Speos Artemidos inscription. He apparently read the expression as *ḫ ỉr.ty*, meaning to enter a holy precinct "eye to eye" (or face to face) before a god.

[37] Fisher 2013, p. 37, "the one who enters above (?), who beholds its sacredness." The title occurs in both the Luxor temple block statue and the Karnak dyad (see above, n. 32). The term *r ḥrw* "up above," may refer to secluded upper rooms located on the roof or pylons of the temple or on second floors, e.g., the "altar room," Room XXXV (PM 2^2, 122, pl. XII), reached by staircase.

[38] Perhaps also allowing him to know such things as that the axis of Thutmose III's temple secretly pointed to his tomb hidden in the Valley of the Kings, and so permitting him to locate his own tomb along the line that linked the two structures.

[39] As shown by Eichler (2000, p. 92) and Shirley (2010), in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the high priests and functionaries of Karnak temple often had close family connections to the viziers and mayors and other officials in the civil administration of Thebes.

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Importantly, the text reconfirms Ahmose's mother as Bak[et-Ra]. While she carries no title here other than *nb.t pr*, Lady of the House, on the Karnak dyad (above, n. 20) she is titled *ḫkr.t nswt ḥsy.t nṯ Ḥw.t-Ḥr*, Royal Ornament, Singer of Hathor,[40] which were the same titles held by Ahmose's wife, Iret.

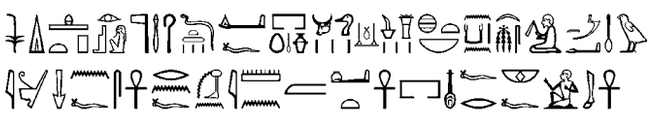
Ahmose's prestigious titles at the royal court were likely due to family connections since childhood. Two funerary cones which the MMA found below the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), adjacent to TT 121, bear Ahmose's name and title (see fig. 16.5 [A]):

ʾIʿḥ-ms pꜣ | ḫrd n kꜣp n Mry.t-ʾImn | mꜣʿ-ḫrw

Ahmose, the | child of the nursery of (Queen) Meritamun, | justified.[41]

If Ahmose were an older man serving late in the reign of Thutmose III and into Amenhotep II's coregency (ca. 1427–1425 BC), then he would have been born about fifty to sixty years earlier, ca. 1487–1477 BC, that is, late in the reign of Thutmose II or early Thutmose III.[42] Hence, his father, Ramose, was a royal magistrate serving the administrations of Thutmose II and/or Hatshepsut, and so the child Ahmose would have been worthy of a place with other officials' children in the palace nursery of dowager Queen Meritamun. As such, we understand then that he was educated at the royal court.[43]

As for other family members of Ahmose, at the funeral temple of Thutmose III (*Henqet-ankh*) in 1905, Weigall excavated a small limestone statuette of Ahmose, now in the Cairo Museum.[44] Here he is seated with hands on knees and wearing a long skirt with inscription:[45]



ḥtp dỉ nsw.t Wsỉr nṯr ʿꜣ ḥḳꜣ ḏt dỉ.f pr.t-ḫrw t ḥnḳ.t kꜣw ꜣpdw šs mnḫ.t snṯr mrḥ.t ḫt nb.‹t› n kꜣ n ʾIʿḥ-ms mʿꜣ-ḫrw
ỉn sn-nw.f sʿnḫ, rn.f wʿb n ʾImn m Ḥnḳ.t-ʿnḫ, Nfr-ḥb.f wḥm ʿnḫ

An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, the great god, ruler of eternity, that he might grant invocation offerings of bread, beer, cattle and fowl, alabaster, clothing, incense and oil, and every thing for the *ka* of Ahmose, justified It is his brother who causes his name to live, the *wʿb*-priest of Amun in *Henqet-ankh*, Neferhebef, repeating life.

While Neferhebef might have been an actual brother and blood relation, it is just as likely that the word *sn-nw* means generally "colleague," similar to the frequent use of the word in the tomb of Rʿa (see below). Neferhebef is otherwise unmentioned in either tomb as a family relation.

In two places inside Ahmose's tomb, memorial inscriptions left by his son, Rʿa, indicate that Rʿa completed decoration for his father, if not the tomb's construction. One surviving text occurs in the ceiling of the Transverse Hall, north end (in a single vertical column):[46]



ỉry pʿt ḥʿty-ʿ ỉt-nṯr mr‹y›-nṯr wʿb ʿwy [.] ʾIʿḥ-ms mꜣʿ-ḫrw
ỉn sꜣ.f sʿnḫ [rn.f ḥm-nṯr tpy ⸢n ʾImn⸣ n] Mn-ḫpr-[Rʿ m Ḥnḳ.t-ʿnḫ . . .]

[40] Fisher 2013, fig. 3a.

[41] MMA tomb card 5075, photo no. M16C.468, cone later numbered by N. de G. Davies 184A. The fact that the two cones were found immediately adjoining the tomb of Ahmose strongly suggests they derived from there, although how they subsequently fell below Senenmut's earlier tomb is unclear.

[42] Meritamun was queen and sister to Amenhotep I (r. 1525–1504), and probably the aunt of Hatshepsut. She is normally thought to have died early — prior to the death of Ahmes-Nefertari under Thutmose I (Bryan 2000, pp. 219–20). However, her eponymous nursery in the palace may still have been functioning into the reigns of Thutmose II and III. If not, and she were still alive, then her early passing should be reconsidered.

[43] See Feucht 1985 on the function of the *kꜣp* in the palace. She argues that holders of the title *ḫrd n kꜣp* were educated at court, and that they ultimately served at all levels of the Egyptian administration, not merely the highest.

[44] *Journal d'Entrée* 42122; PM 22, 427.

[45] Weigall 1906, p. 134 (20).

[46] MMA tomb card 5098; collated in 2003 with the original inscription.

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> Hereditary Prince and Count, God’s Father, Beloved of the God, who is pure of hands [.], Ahmose, justified, it is his son who causes [his name] to live, [the First Prophet ⌜of Amun⌝ and of] Menkheper[re in *Henqet-ankh* . . .].[47]

Another text occurs in the large false-door stela (see above and fig. 16.7):

> Making *ḥtp dì nsw.t*, ‘Be pure, be pure!’ (so says) his beloved son, the [First] Prophet of [Amun], causing his name to live every day [. . .].

While the son’s name is lost in both places, his titles of First Prophet of both Amun and Menkheperre make it clear that it belongs to R‘a.

R‘a’s dedications for his father on the stela and ceiling inscription are associated with Ahmose’s titles, “Second Prophet of Amun” and “God’s Father, Beloved of the God.” Even in R‘a’s own tomb (TT 72), he identifies Ahmose only as Second Prophet of Amun, and he never calls his father First Prophet.[48] However, because Ahmose’s highest title, First Prophet of Amun in *Henqet-ankh*, appears only in elements that could have been added very late to the tomb’s construction (funerary cones, inserted doorjambs, statue niche), and yet, it does not appear on the large false door prepared by R‘a nor in R‘a’s own tomb, Ahmose would have received the First Prophet’s title from the king *posthumously*, perhaps at the request of his son R‘a, who held the same title at that time. This posthumous appointment apparently would have come after R‘a set up his father’s false-door stela, and after decorating his own tomb, TT 72 (see below), but seemingly before completing the funerary cones, doorjambs, and statue niche of his father’s tomb. This sequence indicates that R‘a was completing, enlarging, or replacing elements in his father’s tomb, while he was building and decorating his own tomb nearby at the same time, or perhaps shortly thereafter.[49] Conceivably, a posthumous elevation of Ahmose could have come even after R‘a had completed his own tomb.

This interpretation flies against Engelmann-von Carnap,[50] who argues that the architecture of Ahmose’s tomb and its size and similarity to the tomb of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86), as well as its location in a section populated mostly by tombs from the reign of Hatshepsut, demand that Tomb 121 was built earlier in the reign of Thutmose III, prior to that of Menkheperreseneb (TT 86) and Rekhmire (TT 100). Further, she asserts[51] that Ahmose was the earliest First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh* and would have been so since Year 16 of Thutmose III, when the temple was completed.[52] However, Ahmose was not promoted to First Prophet until late in the tomb’s decoration. Therefore, the position of Second Prophet was his main title in life and the source of most of his status. This conclusion is also borne out by Marjorie Fisher in her study of the Luxor block statue of Ahmose and the Copenhagen dyad from Karnak, mentioned above.[53] On these his highest title is Second Prophet, and they make no mention of First Prophet. Finally, Engelmann-von Carnap was unaware that R‘a completed the tomb, including altering architecture (e.g., cutting the beveled niche to accommodate the small stela, and perhaps, reworking the large niche to fit the monumental stela), nor did she realize that TT 121 is aligned to the central axis of *Henqet-ankh*, which could explain why the tomb was uncharacteristically located in this section of the necropolis. Still, although unlikely, the only way that an earlier date for TT 121 might work is if there were a lag of time, during which the tomb lay unfinished, and after which R‘a resumed its decoration and completion, ending finally with Ahmose’s posthumous promotion (see below).

[47] R‘a’s title is restored from the texts in his own tomb, TT 72. Spacing in the lacuna suggests the presence of *n ’Imn*, otherwise the title is only *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Mn-ḫpr-R‘* “First Prophet of Menkheperre.”

[48] Sethe’s copy, *ḥm-nṯr tpy* [*n ’Imn*] *’I‘ḥ-ms*, in TT 72 (Helck, *Urk*. 4, 1457, 17) is wrong. Epigraphy at the wall reveals: *ḥm-nṯr* [*sn-nw n ’Im*]*n ’I‘ḥ-ms*.

[49] Hence Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap’s assertion (1995, p. 123) does not stand, that the tomb of Ahmose (TT 121) was located in the prestigious northeast section at the top of Qurnah because, critically, he held the title of First Prophet of Menkheperre at that time. In all likelihood, he did not receive that title until after he died.

[50] Engelmann-von Carnap 1995, p. 123; 1999, pp. 82–83.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Citing Ricke 1939, 2.2.5; p. 44 n. 2.

[53] Fisher 2013, pp. 37, 40.

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The Tomb of R‘a (TT 72)

R‘a’s tomb is located 46 m to the southwest of Ahmose. Originally, sandstone doorjambs lined the main entrance on the right and left. On these jambs, R‘a carried the title *ḥm-nṯr tpy*, First Prophet, in five different temples and cults in Western Thebes (see fig. 16.10):[54]

North (right) Jamb:

Left Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t ˠḫ.tˠ nb*].*t n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn m Ḏsr-ꜣḫ.t Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

Middle Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t*] *n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Mn-ḫpr-rˁ Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

Right Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t*]*wt.s n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn m Mn-ỉs.t Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

South (left) Jamb:

Right Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t*] *n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn m Ḥnḳ.t-ˁnḫ Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

Middle Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t pt*] *n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n Mn-ḫpr-rˁ Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

Left Col.: [*ḥtp dỉ nsw.t*] *n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn m Ḏsr-s.t Rˁ mꜣˁ-ḫrw*

North (right) Jamb:

Left Col.: [May the king give an offering] every [ˠthingˠ] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Amun in] *Djeser-akhet*, R‘a, justified.

Middle Col.: [May the king give an offering heaven] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Menkheperre, R‘a, justified.

Right Col.: [May the king give an offering] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Amun in *Men-ỉset*, R‘a, justified.

South (left) Jamb:

Right Col.: [May the king give an offering] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Amun in *Henqet-ankh*, R‘a, [justified].

Middle Col.: [May the king give an offering] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Menkheperre, R‘a, [justified].

Left Col.: [May the king give an offering] its [. . .] for the *ka* of the First Prophet of Amun in *Djeser-set*, R‘a, [justified].

The centrality and prominence given to his title, “First Prophet of Menkheperre,” in the middle columns of both jambs show that R‘a felt this was his most important and prestigious function. The sequence of titles in the named temples in the columns from north to south matches the actual sequence in geographical locations of the same temples from north to south along the Theban plain: *Men-ỉset* (Dra Abu’l-Naga), *Djeser-akhet* (Deir el-Bahari), *Henqet-ankh* (Qurnah), *Djeser-set* (Medinet Habu).

Inside the tomb, offering inscriptions in the Transverse Hall, east wall (PM 1/1², 142 [1]) reveal additional honorific and functioning titles of R‘a, including some associated with King Thutmose III (see fig. 16.11):

[. . . (unknown number of columns) . . .] | *ḥry-tp* [*Wꜣs*].*t* [*n . . .*] | *nsw.t-bỉty Mn-ḫpr-rˁ dỉ ˁnḫ* | *ỉn wˁ ỉḳr mr nb tꜣwy ḥsy* [*pr*] *m ḫ.t* [*ḥsy ḥm-nṯr*] *tpy* [*n ỉm*]*n m Ḥnḳ.t-*[ˁ*nḫ ḥm*]*-nṯr* [*tpy n* [*ỉmn*] *m Ḏsr-ꜣḫ.t ḥm-*[*nṯr*] *tpy n Ḥw.t-Ḥr ḥry.t-ỉb Ḥnḳ.t-*ˁ*nḫ Rˁ*

[.] who has authority over Thebes for [. . .] | the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, given life, | by the Unique and Excellent One, whom the Lord of the Two Lands has loved. The Praised One, who [came] forth from the body [praised] the First Prophet [of Am]un in *Henqet-ankh*, the First Prophet of Amun in *Djeser-akhet*, the First Prophet of Hathor who resides in *Henqet-ankh*, R‘a.

[54] The upper section of the south (left) jamb was in the Berlin Museum, no. 2067 (PM 1/1², 142; L*D Text* III, 259; Berlin 1924, p. 220), but was apparently lost in World War II (Nigel Strudwick, personal communication). The bottom section of the north (right) jamb is still located inside TT 72 (copied and collated 1998), earlier transcription by Sethe (Helck, *Urk.* 4, 1459, [8–10]). In 2007 Nigel Strudwick discovered two additional inscribed fragments of the left and right jambs in the tomb of Sennefer, TT 99 (personal communication) and their respective tracing and photo are provided here. My thanks to Dr. Strudwick for his kind permission to publish these fragments in fig. 16.10.

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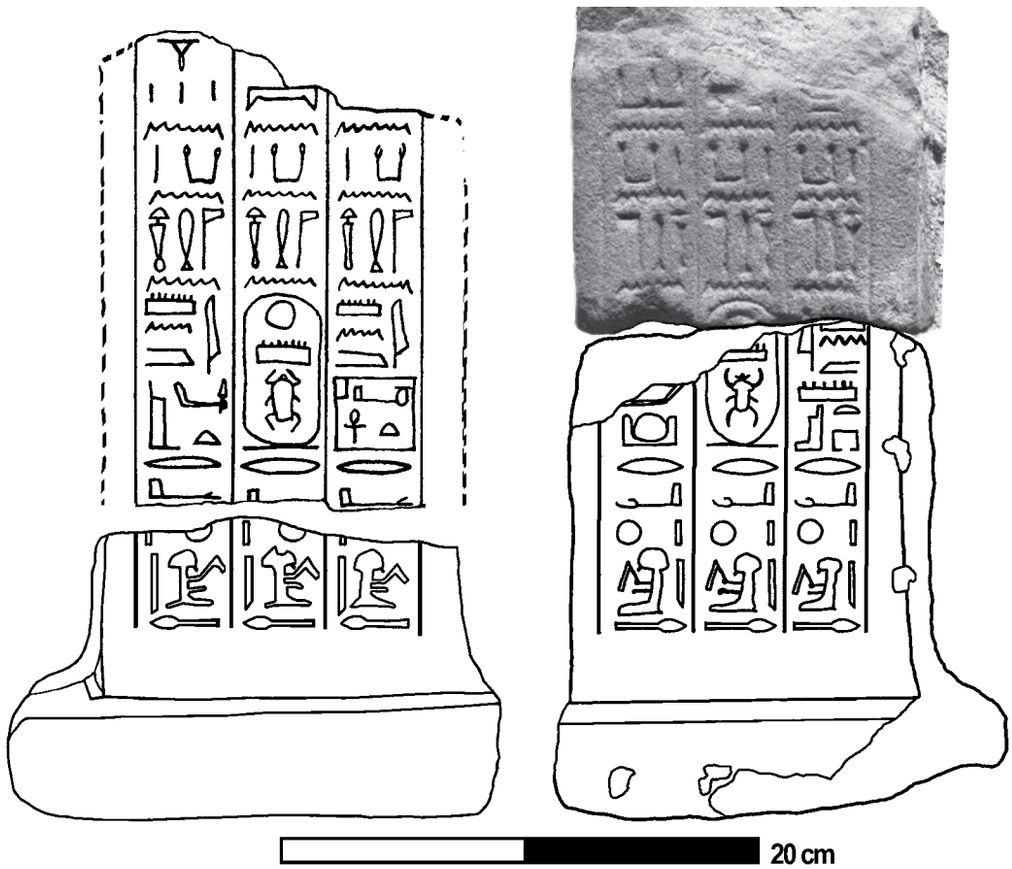


Figure 16.10. TT 72, montage of measured sketches of sandstone doorjambs. Left jamb (upper), Berlin 2067, drawn from Berlin Museum 1924, 220; (lower) from TT 99, traced from photo provided by N. Strudwick; right jamb (lower) from TT 72; (upper) from TT 99 (Strudwick, personal communication)

The scene associated with this text is entirely destroyed.[55] Likewise, the context of *ḥry-tp Wꜣs.t* is unclear.[56] If the title did apply to R‘a, and if it had any validity, it might mean that R‘a was appointed as chief or nomarch of Thebes, which at this time would have been only ceremonial, since actual executive power in Thebes was with the Overseer of the City. Hence, this appellation would parallel the honorific title, “Overseer of Upper and Lower Egypt,” granted earlier to his father Ahmose, and it could point to a high ceremonial status at court.

Where the last two texts mention the temple of *Henqet-ankh*, the separate delineation of titles there among the high priest of Amun, the high priest of Menkheperre, and the high priest of Hathor, means that they functioned effectively as distinct offices, and hence, separate but related cults, although here administered by the same person.

R‘a’s funerary cone reveals an additional cult-related title (fig. 16.5 [D]):[57]

> *Rʿy* [*mꜣʿ-ḫrw*] | *ḥtp dì nsw.t Wsìr* | *ḥm-nṯr tpy ìmy-rꜣ pr nbw* [*Ḥw.t*]-*ʾImn*-[ʳ*Rʿ*ˀ] | *Rʿy mꜣʿ-ḫrw*
>
> R‘ay, justified. | An offering which the king gives ‹to› Osiris, | the First Prophet, Overseer of the Gold-house of the Temple of Amun-[ʳRaˀ], | R‘ay, justified.

[55] Davies, MS 11.1, 75, characterizes the scene as offerings on behalf of Thutmose III. The presence of *ỉn* “by,” introducing R‘a’s titles means that the text began with an infinitival statement (e.g., “viewing,” “receiving,” “inspecting,” “offering”). According to Helck (*Urk.* 4, 1459, 4), R‘a stood before King Thutmose III, presumably based on (1) the reference to the king in the text, and (2) the fact that in the abraded register below, R‘a stands facing left, as though before someone. However, that scene is probably two registers below this text, wherein R‘a receives meat offerings and hence is unrelated. The register immediately below the text is lost entirely, and not enough of the inscription or context survives to restore it.

[56] *ḥry-tp Wꜣs.t n* [. . .] | *nsw.t-bity Mn-ḫpr-rʿ dì ʿnḫ*, so also Davies, MS 1.11, 72. Helck (*Urk.* 4, 1459, 5) has erroneously transcribed the text here, omitting hieroglyphs and column boundaries, and running the text together as: *ḥry-tp nsw.t-bity Mn-ḫpr-rʿ dìʿnḫ*.

[57] Davies-Macadam 1957, no. 116.

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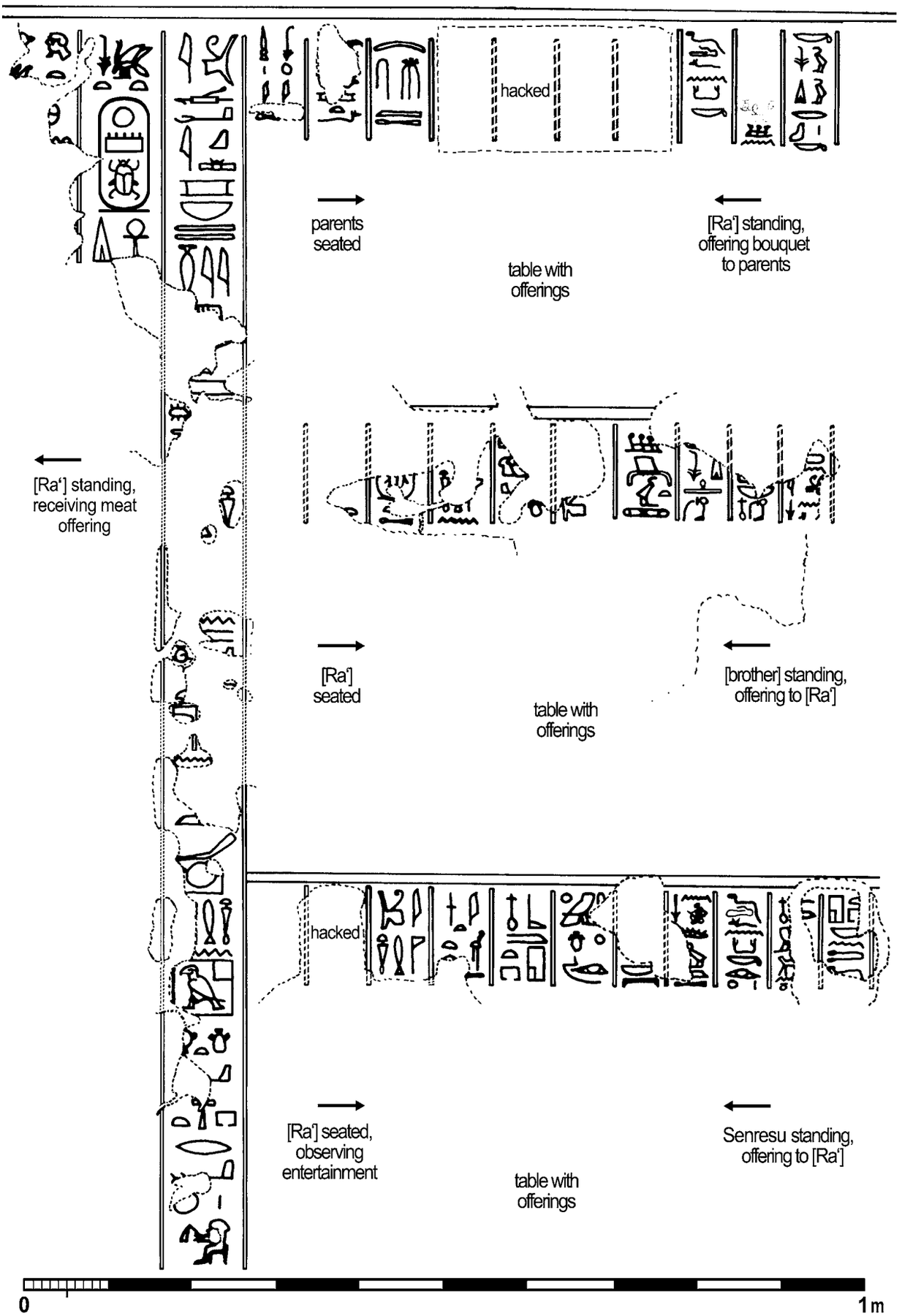


Figure 16.11. TT 72, Transverse Hall (east), offering inscriptions (measured hand copy, Theban Tombs Publication Project)

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Here the title probably refers to the gold workshop of Karnak Temple (*pr-nbw*), although we cannot discount that it might refer to the *Ḥw.t Nbw*, “Mansion of Gold,” which was the ritual center in Karnak Temple where cult statues underwent the Opening of the Mouth Ritual and were consecrated for liturgical use.[58] A reckoning of all of R‘a’s titles shows that he served as high priest in the following establishments:

- *Djeser-akhet*, the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari, finished by Amenhotep II;
- *Men-iset*, the temple of Amenhotep I and Queen Ahmes-Nefertari at Dra Abu el-Naga;
- *Henqet-ankh*, the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Qurnah, including the separate cults of Amun, Menkheperre, and Hathor;
- *Djeser-set*, the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, built by Hatshepsut and rebuilt by Thutmose III.

Thus, in the reign of Amenhotep II, R‘a held titles in six separate cults located in four of the most important temples in Western Thebes at that time, plus the gold center of the domain of Amun. Not enough information exists, though, to determine to what extent he held any offices simultaneously or separately in succession.

Both Ahmose and R‘a bore titles in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III and in the Karnak temple establishment. It is not surprising that a priest in a Theban royal mortuary temple could have administrative connections to the great civil temple at Karnak and vice versa. The West Bank mortuary temples were part of the larger domain of Amun and hence would have functioned under the ultimate administrative authority of Karnak temple. Thus, some fluidity could have existed in appointments between the civil and mortuary administrations.

It is not clear that R‘a had a wife, since none is indicated in any of the scenes and texts in his tomb, and he is shown receiving offerings alone, without a wife or mother beside him. However, as Ann Roth (1999) has shown, the absence of a wife from the tomb decoration need not prove that a man was unmarried. Still, both she and Whale (1989) agree that it is rare for a wife to be excluded from Theban tomb decoration of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Likewise, no children of R‘a occur in any inscriptions or the archaeological record. However, in 1914, Winlock discovered in a shallow pit on the terrace of TT 72 the burial of an unidentified infant. It was eighteen to twenty-four months old, un-mummified, and crudely wrapped and placed in a box made of scrap wood.[59] While it dates to the New Kingdom or later, it cannot be connected to R‘a personally, and probably it reflects an unrelated intrusive burial if not some form of a foundation deposit for the tomb.

In Tomb 121, Ahmose and R‘a both identified Ahmose’s wife as Iret, Singer of Hathor, Royal Ornament, and Lady of the House. Then, in his own tomb (TT 72), R‘a depicted himself offering a floral bouquet to his father and probably grandmother (Transverse Hall [east]).[60] Although he and his father have been roughly hacked out, the mother’s figure and face are intact. Their names and titles are (fig. 16.11, Reg. I):

[.] *ỉʿḥ-ms mɜʿ-ḫrw* | *m*[*wt.f mry*]*t.f* | *ḫkr.t-nsw.t Rʿy mɜʿ.t-ḫrw*[61]

[.] Ahmose, justified. His beloved mother, the Royal Ornament, R‘ay.

The first impression is that R‘a has identified his mother not as Iret, but as R‘ay. Even though Ahmose’s wife and R‘a’s mother have different names, they do share the same title, “Royal Ornament,” and R‘a did depict Iret on the large stela with his father and himself. Therefore, they might have been the same woman — Iret and R‘ay, one of which was perhaps a nickname or Beiname. Alternatively, Iret could have been a stepmother of R‘a. Therefore, according to this particular reconstruction two possibilities could exist: either Iret and R‘ay were the same person, or R‘ay was a first wife of Ahmose, and Iret was a second wife (and stepmother). If the latter were true, then the birth mother, R‘ay, either died, or she was divorced from Ahmose. However, both of these reconstructions seem clumsy and unlikely. Rather, it is more likely to understand that where the wall inscription indicates *mwt.f*, “his mother,” it means Ahmose's own mother, named R‘ay here, who is

[58] Traunecker 1989; Schott 1974.

[59] MMA tomb card 5087, photo no. 3A40, neg. no. 87–31. A name or inscription crudely painted on the box in cursive hieroglyphs is illegible. While the excavators refer to it as a “rubbish pit,” the burial was hewn into the bedrock of the upper terrace, and it extended partially under the rock-cut southern wall.

[60] PM 1/12, 142 [1]–[2].

[61] The head and beak of the vulture-*mwt* are clear. The gypsum plaster of three columns of the text has been carefully excised, leaving only Ahmose’s name and the underlying mud plaster intact. However, in the figure of Ahmose and one column, the mud plaster has been hacked very deeply down to the rock beneath.

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shown seated beside him, and not Rʿa's mother. Elsewhere, Ahmose's mother's name was Baket-Ra, also a Royal Ornament, and she was similarly depicted seated with Ahmose in the Karnak dyad (see n. 32) and in his high statue niche (fig. 16.9). Therefore, Rʿa would have depicted not his father and mother seated together, but his father and grandmother (*mwt*),[62] in which case the name Rʿay might have been a diminutive of Baket-Ra. This possibility would also allow Iret to be Rʿa's birth mother.

In Register II, below the scene of the parents, a brother stands before the seated Rʿa, and he performs *ḥtp dì nswt* for him. Both Rʿa and his brother have been hacked out of the scene, and both their names are lost (fig. 16.11, Reg. II):

Above Rʿa: *šsp ỉw.t* | [. . .] *ỉn* | [*ỉry*]-*pʿt ḥỉty-ʿ* [. . .] | [. . .] *ḥm-nṯr-tpy n* | [*ỉmn n Mn*]-*ḫpr*-[*Rʿ*] *mỉʿ-ḫrw* | [*m Ḥnḳ*].*t*-[*ʿnḫ*] | [.] |

Above brother: [*ỉrỉ.t*] *ḥtp dì nswt wʿb* | [. . . *ḫt*] *nb.‹t› nfr. ‹t› wʿb.‹t›* | [. . . ʳ*ṯn*ˀ] *ỉn sn-nw.f* | [.]

Above Rʿa: Receiving offerings | [. . .] by | the [Hereditary Prince] and Count [. . .], | [. . . the First Prophet of | [Amun and Men]kheper[re], justified, | [in *Henqe*]*t*-[*ankh* . . .] | [. . .].

Above brother: [Making] *ḥtp dì nswt*. "Be pure | [. . .] every good and clean [thing] | [. . . you(?)]," by his brother | [.].

Register III is nearly identical to Register II above it, although here the offerant is identified as Senresu, who elsewhere in the tomb is called Ra's "brother" (see below, and fig. 16.12). Here his figure is intact. He presents to Rʿa a small bowl on offering stand; behind him is a female extending a shallow bowl; Rʿa is seated at left watching entertainments on the far right, now lost (fig. 16.11, Reg. III):

Above Rʿa: *sḫmḫ-ỉb mỉỉ bw nfr m ḥwt ỉmy.t ỉmnt.t ỉn ḥm-nṯr tpy* | [*n ỉmn m Ḥnḳ.t-ʿnḫ*] | [. . .]

Above Senresu: [. . . *nb pt*] | *Sn-rsw mỉʿ-ḫrw* | *ḏd.f n kỉ.k ỉrỉ hrw* | *nfr m-ḫnw* | *ḥw.t.k nṯ ḏ*[*t*] | [.]

Above Rʿa: Taking recreation, viewing the good things in the mansion which is in the west by the First Prophet | [of Amun in *Henqet-ʿnkh*]. |

Above Senresu: [. . .] Lord of Heaven, | Senresu, justified. | He says, "For your *ka*, making holiday | within your mansion of eternity [.]."

Probably Senresu was not an actual "brother" of Rʿa. He also appears in another offering scene with other "brothers" (*sn-nw*) of Rʿa (see below), some of whom cannot be his brothers but "colleagues."

In the Transverse Hall of Tomb 72 (west wall), Rʿa and three "brothers" or colleagues (*sn-nw*) are depicted in an offering scene, now nearly completely destroyed.[63] However, the heavily damaged text above the scene can still be recognized.[64] Rʿa stands before King Amenhotep II, who is enthroned under a canopy, and he holds a long floral bouquet to the nose of the king. Here Rʿa has been very carefully and meticulously excised along the outlines of his figure without disturbing the underlying mud plaster. Behind Rʿa in the now-lost section once stood three "brothers," who are named and identified as priests in other Theban temples, and they present offerings of bouquets, milk, sistra, and *menats*. That King Amenhotep II is an adolescent is indicated by the fact that he is shown as a younger man, and he is enthroned with his mother, Queen Merytre Hatshepsut, seated beside him.[65] The offering invocations are written in sixteen vertical columns (see fig. 16.12):[66]

ḥm-nṯr tp(*y*) *n ỉ*[*mn*] *n Mn-ḫpr-rʿ m* | *Ḥnḳt-ʿnḫ, Rʿ sỉ ḥm-nṯr* [*sn-nw*] | [*n ỉmn*] *ỉʿḥ-ms mỉʿ-ḫrw: n.kỉ.k* | *ʿnḫ n.f* [*n ỉmn*] *ḥs*(*y*).*f tw mr.f* | *sn-nw.f ḫry-ḥb tpy* [*n ỉmn ỉmn*]-*ḥtp:* | *ms*(*w*) *Ḥr mr*(*y*) *Ḥr kỉ nḫt wr pḥ.ty* | *ỉy.n.*(*ỉ*)] *ỉn.*(*ỉ*) *n.k ʿnḫ r šr.t.k nb tỉwy mrr Rʿ* | *sn-nw.f ḥm-nṯr tp*(*y*) [*n ỉmn*] *Sn-rs*(*w*) *ỉy.n.*(*ỉ*)] | *ỉn.*(*ỉ*) *n.k ʿnḫ* [*n ỉmn . . .*] *sn.‹k›* | *ỉrt.t srp n ḥʿw.k m ʿnḫ wỉs ʿnḫ*(*w*) *ḏt* | *sn-nw.f ḥm-nṯr tp*(*y*) [*n ỉmn . . .*] *nb Mn-ḫpr-rʿ-snb* | *ỉy.n.*(*ỉ*) *ỉn.*(*ỉ*) *n.k ʿnḫ* [*n ỉmn . . .*] | [. . .] *ḫwsw* ʳ*sw*ˀ [. . .] | *ḥs*(*y*).*s tw mr.f tw s*[ʳ*wỉḥ*ˀ] {*or s*[ʳ*k*ˀ]}[. . .] | *kỉ.k sššw.‹t› mnỉw.‹t›* [. . . *šsp . . .*] | *st dỉw r fnd.k ḥs.n tw nb.k* [.]

[62] *Wb.* II 54, 5, *mwt* "Ahnfrau, Urmutter," hence as grandmother or ancestress.

[63] PM 1/12, 142 [5].

[64] The conservator's condition survey indicates that periodically in Coptic times, the wall was blackened and heavily scorched with a fiery heat so intense that it chemically bonded the black soot to the paint pigment beneath. The result is a glazing of the blackened plaster and, often, a curious "negative" effect, with the appearance of grayish hieroglyphs on a black surface, making some of the text legible (Rickerby 1999, p. 9). Also, because many of the hieroglyphs were painted with thick raised brush strokes, some of them can be read under the glaze by close examination with a strong light raking across the upraised paint strokes.

[65] *LD* III, 62 (b); cf. Radwan 1969, pp. 6, 93.

[66] Cf. Davis, MSS 11.1, 71. This copy markedly improves Helck, *Urk.* 4, 1368, 1457f., and Cumming 1984, p. 447 [1–5].

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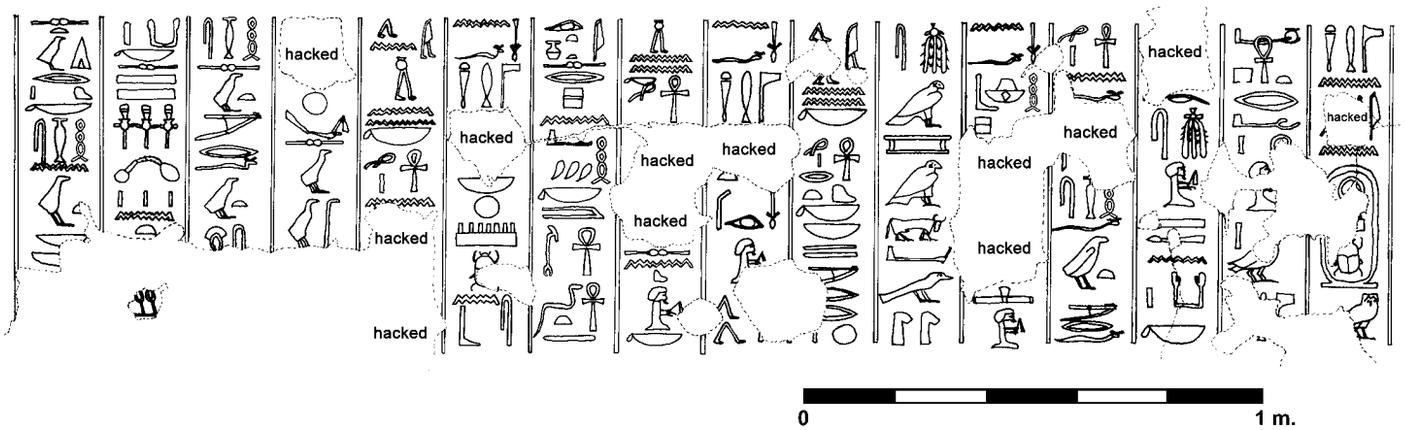


Figure 16.12. TT 72, Transverse Hall (west), offering inscription of R‘a and his “brothers” before Amenhotep II (measured hand copy Theban Tombs Publication Project)

> The First Prophet of [Amun] and of Menkheperre in | *Henqet-ankh*, R‘a, Son of the [Second] Prophet of | [Amun], Ahmose, justified (he says): “For your *ka*, | the bouquet for him, [Amun-Re], that he might praise you, whom he has loved.” | His brother, the [First] Lector Priest of [Amun, Amen]hotep (he says): | “(O) Beloved Offspring of Horus, Horus, the Mighty Bull, Great of Strength, | I have come, that I might bring to you the bouquet for your nose, (O) Lord of the Two Lands, whom Ra loves.” | His brother, the First Prophet of [Amun], Senresu (he says): “[I have come],[67] that I might bring to you a bouquet of [Amun . . .] which ‹you› might smell, | and milk which rejuvenates your body in life and dominion, that it might live forever.” | His brother, the First Prophet of [Amun . . .] every [. . .],[68] Menkheperreseneb (he says): | “I have come that I might bring to you the bouquet of| [Amun Amun]-Ra, it {building, accomplishing?} it [.] | she might praise you whom he has loved, [who makes endure {or wipes away?}], | your *ka*, the sistra and *menats* [. . . receive . . .] | it, which is placed at your nose, [when your Lord has praised you].”

The three “brothers” are identified as Amenhotep, First Lector Priest of Amun; Senresu, First Prophet; and Menkheperreseneb, First Prophet of Amun. All the brothers are priests of Amun, meaning they served in Karnak or Theban mortuary temples associated with the domain of Amun. While their identities are not all that certain, they are probably not actual “brothers” of R‘a but his “colleagues” and peers (*sn-nw*) in the Theban priesthood. Amenhotep, a First Lector Priest of Amun, cannot be identified with any certainty, but he is also depicted in the Axial Corridor of the tomb as First Lector Priest alongside the *sem*-priest, performing the Opening of the Mouth Ritual on R‘a’s mummy, which was a role normally reserved for a son or brother of the deceased. Similarly, Senresu is depicted in the Transverse Hall making *ḥtp-dỉ nswt* to R‘a (mentioned above). As a First Prophet of Amun, he might be the same Senires who was perhaps the owner of TT 317, now redated by the Japanese to the reign of Amenhotep II.[69] Menkheperreseneb was probably the First Prophet of Amun and son of Amenemhat, known from TT 86, who held office since Year 33 of Thutmose III.[70] He should not be identified with the latter’s earlier like-named uncle from TT 112.[71]

In this text, the First Lector Priest Amenhotep addresses King Amenhotep II as *msw Ḥr mr(y) Ḥr kꜣ nḫt, wr pḥ.ty* “Beloved Offspring of Horus, Horus the Mighty Bull, Great of Strength.” That the young king is specifically called “Beloved Offspring of Horus” at the same time he is called “Horus the Mighty Bull” is significant. The reference to two Horuses simultaneously in the text can only mean that two Horus kings were living at

[67] Reading is unclear here; text is restored from parallels in the speeches of the other “brothers.”

[68] The reading is difficult here under the charred blackening. Sethe in Helck, *Urk.* 4, 1458, 8 transcribed *ḥm-nṯr tpy* [*n ỉmn*] *Nb-*[*ỉmn mꜣʿ-ḫrw*], but the reading of [*n ỉmn . . .*] *nb Mn-ḫpr-rʿ-snb* under close examination is more sure (so also Davies, MS 11.1, 71, who suggested a restoration in the lacuna of [*m st*] *nb* “in every place”).

[69] Shirley 2014, p. 179 n 17. This Senresu cannot be the more famous Seni/Senires known earlier as the viceroy of Nubia and mayor of Thebes under Thutmose II (Shirley 2014, p. 179). Previously, he had been associated with TT 317 (perhaps as its owner), which was dated to the reign of Hatshepsut-Thutmose III (PM 1/1², 390; Kampp 1996, II, pp. 573f.). However, if the later date to Amenhotep II is correct, and the Senires shown here is a different person, as seems likely, then he was a contemporary of R‘a and perhaps the same person depicted as his “brother” and First Prophet.

[70] Shirley 2014, p. 241 n. 227.

[71] Dorman 1995.

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the same time and hence Amenhotep II was a coregent alongside his father, Thutmose III. The decoration of this part of the tomb would then reflect activities during the coregency (ca. 1427–1415 BC).

A date to the coregency is strengthened by a scene on the adjacent south wall of the Transverse Hall, where King Amenhotep II is depicted in his chariot hunting in the desert accompanied by armed troops.[72] Although the scene is heavily baked with a permanent black glaze, the inscription above it reveals that the hunted animals are specifically to be offered in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III,[73] so it probably also reflects the coregency period.

While the inscriptions of the Transverse Hall contain scenes pertaining to the coregency and mention both kings, the surviving texts of the Axial Corridor (Opening of the Mouth, offering list, and scenes of the funeral) mention Thutmose III only as part of R‘a’s title as his priest. Further, since Ahmose is mentioned in TT 72 only in the Transverse Hall, and then only with the title of Second Prophet of Amun, he would have received his posthumous promotion to First Prophet of Menkheperre from King Amenhotep II only after R‘a finished decorating the Transverse Hall, and very late in his work in his father’s tomb.

Here lies a cautionary tale in taking the contexts for scenes and titles in a tomb too literally. The inscription in TT 121 that refers to Amenhotep II as the “great offspring in the palace,” and the text in TT 72 that names him “beloved offspring of Horus, Horus the Mighty Bull,” would indicate that both Ahmose and R‘a served the coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. The implications and ramifications of this assertion are complicated and far reaching. They appear to imply that while Ahmose was serving the coregency as Second Prophet at Karnak, his son R‘a was also serving as First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*, that is, if the inscriptions and titles are understood literally to record contemporaneous events. However, in reality, it is not possible for this father and son to hold comparable offices nearly simultaneously.[74] Clearly, some form of time dilation is occurring in the scenes and texts in the two tombs. Hence, they might not reflect the actual times that they appear to depict, for example, in the royal offering scene of R‘a in TT 72, where he is titled First Prophet of Menkheperre. Both men may have served the coregency simultaneously, but perhaps at different times in their careers, Ahmose later in his career, while his son R‘a was possibly still early in his own. However, R‘a chose to emphasize his service to the coregency by portraying himself in the offering scene with a title (*ḫm-nṯr tpy*) that he might not have actually carried at that time. In many ways, it points to the timeless nature of Egyptian art, as defined originally by Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951). Time and circumstances are conflated in these scenes. A similar time dilation occurs in a wall scene in the near contemporary tomb of Kenamun, (TT 93).[75] Hence such scenes in the tombs of R‘a and Kenamum have been taken out of sequential time, and they represent what Gronewegen-Frankfort[76] characterized as the "timeless existence" in early New Kingdom art. If R‘a and Ahmose were not contemporaries as senior priests, then there had to be a time lag between their appointments and between building TT 121 and TT 72. Thus, TT 121 had to have lain uncompleted some years before R‘a could finish it when he became high priest. The fact that he did not finish it immediately, or he waited to add his inscriptions and to erect the great stela, suggests that he was not of a means or in a position to do so. Evidently he acquired the means only when he was promoted to high priest, which was also when he began his own tomb. Therefore, the archaeology, texts, and circumstances suggest the following chronology:

1. Ahmose designed and began his tomb as Second Prophet in the reign of Thutmose III; he had to be Second Prophet at the time because of the great size of the tomb, and he had the knowledge and authority to locate his tomb in that section of Qurnah along the axis of *Henqet-ankh*.
2. When Ahmose died and was buried, most of his tomb was completed and decorated, although not entirely; the decoration of the Axial Corridor reflected the time of the co-regency; his son R‘a was probably a lesser priest on the rise at the time.

[72] Davies MS 11.1, 74; Radwan 1969, p. 101.

[73] Davies 1935, pp. 49f.

[74] For that, they would need to be near contemporaries as senior priests. Thus, R‘a would have to be close in age and career to his own father, and/or he would had to have been promoted extremely early in his career to First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*. Moreover, he would have to be closer to Thutmose III chronologically, spending most of his early career under that king instead of Amenhotep II. None of these appear likely or even possible. Further, it is not likely that one could build a tomb exterior like R‘a’s, copying a royal temple style, unless one was a First Prophet and even a *ḫry-tp W3s.t*. Hence, R‘a’s tomb had to come later, after he was promoted to First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*.

[75] PM 1/12, p. 192 [16]; Davies 1930, pl. IX, A. Amenhotep II is depicted as a boy-king seated on the lap of his wet nurse, Amenemopet, as though he were a child — and yet still a king! In fact, he did not become king until he was at least 16 years old. Thus, when Amenemopet nursed the boy, he was actually only a royal prince.

[76] Ibid., p. 79.

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3. R‘a started his rise through the ranks late in reign of Thutmose III and in the co-regency; later he was appointed First Prophet in several West Bank temples, probably in the sole reign of Amenhotep II; thereafter, he was promoted to First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*.
4. R‘a designed and began his own tomb near his father’s as a First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*, well into the reign of Amenhotep II; he anachronistically depicted himself as a First Prophet in the scenes of the co-regency of young Amenhotep II, despite that he was not a First Prophet at that time.
5. While building his own tomb, R‘a completed the decoration in his father’s tomb, erecting the large stela, cutting the beveled niche, and inserting the smaller (earlier) stela, and filling in available space on the walls and ceiling with his memorial inscriptions.
6. Ahmose was posthumously promoted to First Prophet in *Henqet-ankh*; R‘a replaced elements in TT 121 with the higher title and completed the decoration of the high statue niche.

Eclipse of the Family

Where the decoration inside Ahmose’s tomb survives, so also does his name. It was not hacked out, and he suffered no *ad hominem* attacks. Furthermore, the names of Amun had been attacked only sporadically as part of the later Amarna proscriptions.[77] In the tomb of R‘a, the names of Amun on the sandstone doorjambs were not attacked, and they still survive intact, whereas every occurrence of Amun’s name inside the tomb was roughly excised. This suggests that the doorjambs were already removed from the tomb doorway by the time of the Amarna period. Inside the Transverse Hall, all the figures of R‘a were carefully and completely excised. However, the figures of his mummy in the Axial Corridor were left intact, except for the usual defacement of the eyes, which was common for the later Christian and Muslim periods. Significantly, the names of R‘a throughout the tomb were not attacked. It suggests that the attackers either could not read hieroglyphic Egyptian or were not intent on destroying his name. Since contemporary *ad hominem* attacks almost regularly included both the figures and names of the victims, this implies that the attacks on R‘a were most likely executed by later Copts reusing the tomb, especially as their activities were centered in the Transverse Hall, where defacement of his figures was most concentrated. Therefore, the attacks on R‘a’s figures do not represent a dramatic fall from grace, nor a coordinated royal purge, nor the work of political enemies. Still, the tomb of R‘a seems to be the last in the Theban necropolis of his family. Three generations are documented beginning with Ramose, a high government official probably in the reign of Thutmose II, perhaps as early as Thutmose I, and his wife Baket-Ra, a Royal Ornament and Singer of Hathor.[78] Their son Ahmose grew up in the palace nursery and was educated at court, probably along with the royal children. That it was the nursery, specifically, of Queen Meritamun, implies that the family had close ties to King Ahmose and Amenhotep I. Ahmose may have had a brother, Neferhebef, and both became priests in the reign of Thutmose III. Ahmose ultimately rose through the priesthood of Amun at Karnak to become Second Prophet, while Neferhebef — if he was a real brother — became a *w‘b*-priest in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. Ahmose’s wife was the Lady of the House, Iret, also a Royal Ornament and Singer of Hathor. Ahmose served through the reign of Thutmose III and into the coregency of Amenhotep II. His son was R‘a, and his daughter was Bak[. . .]. R‘a apparently began his career late in the reign of Thutmose III and continued into that of Amenhotep II. He served the domain of Amun mostly on the West Bank of Thebes, where he was First Prophet in a number of important temples, until he was appointed First Prophet in the mortuary temple of Thutmose III. Apparently, at the same time, he directed the gold workshop in the domain of Amun. R‘a recorded his grandmother’s name as R‘ay, a Royal Ornament, probably a diminutive of Baket-Ra (the mother of Ahmose).

There is no clear evidence that R‘a had a wife or any children, and the family line seems to end with him. So why did this family appear to lapse into obscurity, and what might account for the end of the family of Ramose in the historical record? Like other powerful families of hereditary officials and priests who served the state from the reign of King Ahmose through Thutmose III, it may have been effectively retired from

[77] So also Kampp 1996, p. 412.

[78] The *ḫkr.t-nswt*, lit., “she who is ornamented by the king,” probably functioned as a lady in waiting at court, serving in the following of the queen or other high female royalty (Nord 1970; Drenkhan 1976; Ward 1983).

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public service. J. J. Shirley[79] describes a process by which the great family of Ahmose-ʻAmtju, Useramun, and Rekhmire and their sons, grandsons, and nephews served through the early generations of the Eighteenth Dynasty as viziers, government officials, and priests of Amun. This family controlled positions in the government and in the Amun precinct, until it declined in the reign of Amenhotep II, when it was replaced by new officials tied personally to the new king and filled with the new *Zeitgeist*. Likewise, new faces and names related to royal nurses, tutors, and palace officials were promoted to positions where earlier long-standing families and officials had served.[80] Hence, the family of Ramose-Ahmose-Rʻa were among those who were supplanted. Even a family so closely allied to the royal family, and on whom Amenhotep II bestowed great favor in the form of a posthumous elevation, could experience this demotion. It is likely that just as Rekhmire was the last of his great family to serve as vizier and to be buried splendidly in Thebes,[81] so then was Rʻa the last of his people to serve as a chief priest in the domain of Amun. With his retirement, his family lost its prestige and notability, and it fell into an obscurity so complete, that even to this day, scholars remain unaware of it or do not fully appreciate its importance in early Eighteenth Dynasty society.

[79] Shirley 2010, pp. 83–93, 108–109; 2013, pp. 586–88.
[80] Shirley 2013, pp. 586–88.
[81] Shirley 2010, p. 109.

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Abbreviations

LD	Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Five parts, 12 volumes. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung,1849–1958. Reprinted, Geneva: Editions Belles-Lettres, 1972.
LD *Text*	Lepsius, Carl Richard. *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text*. Five Parts. Edited by Edouard Naville. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1897–1913.
PM $1/1^2$	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume 1: *The Theban Necropolis*. Part 1. *Private Tombs*. 2nd ed. rev. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1960.
PM 2^2	Porter, Bertha, and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Volume 2: *Theban Temples*. 2nd ed. rev. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1972.
Urk. 4	Helck, Wolfgang. *Urkunden des 18. Dynastie*. Volume 4, Part 17. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.
Wb. I–V	Erman, Adolf, and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982

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17

The Origin of Evil in Egyptian Theological Speculation

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Janet Johnson has long advocated the relevance of late and Demotic sources to matters of Egyptian society and thought, and I am pleased to offer her this integration of evidence from the Late, Hellenistic, and Roman periods within the broader question of the ancient Egyptians' understanding of their world and its nature.

In a stimulating article written more than a dozen years ago, Paul John Frandsen surveyed the Egyptian evidence for the origin of evil and the impact such evidence would bring upon contrasting modern interpretations of the Egyptian universe.[1] In particular, Frandsen noted the disagreement between Assmann and Junge over the supposedly "pristine condition of the original creation" in which for Assmann "evil was not part of the integral elements of creation" and only "originates with the rebellious nature of humankind." In contrast, Junge (following Hornung) posited a creation in conflict, in which evil is a constituent element, embodied by Apep/Apophis and Seth.[2] The Heliopolitan system indeed makes Seth a descendant of the creator, but while no mention is made of Apophis, Junge considers the demon's existence implicit and his omission to be evidence of Egypt's exceptional disinterest in the question of the origin of evil.[3] In reply, Assmann insisted that for Junge's position to be proven, unequivocal references must indicate that the origin of Apophis was coterminous with the transformation of the creator from his originally inert state: "Eindeutig wäre z.B. die Aussage, dass — in Junge's Paraphrase — Apophis 'zugleich mit eben jenem Akt (entsteht), mit dem Gott der Ungeschiedenheit der Präexistenz die Existenz abgerungen hat, indem er zu sich kam.'"[4] Frandsen was "unable to adduce any further evidence in this particular respect,"[5] and for the remainder of the article he provides documentation for a further primordial creature of evil, Iaau, known from the Coffin Texts.[6]

Although unknown to all parties in this discussion, information on the primordial birth of Apophis has been published since 1961 for Esna,[7] with even earlier evidence gathered in the *Wb.* (II, 247/11 = Belegstellen II, 354). Two parallel passages in the Metternich Stela and P. Bremner-Rhind identify Apep with the umbilical cord of the creator Re:

[1] Frandsen 2000, pp. 9–34.

[2] Ibid., pp. 9–12, quotations on pp. 9–10.

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

[4] "Conclusive would be, for example, the statement that — in Junge's paraphrase — Apophis (came to be) 'at the same time as that very act with which god wrestled existence out of the undifferentiated state of pre-existence, when he gained his senses'" (my translation). See Assmann 1994, pp. 94–95, quoted in Frandsen 2000, pp. 11–12, and paraphrased in ibid., p. 13.

[5] Ibid., p. 13.

[6] Frandsen's analysis of Iaau is now disputed at length in Kemboly 2010, pp. 32–35 and 115–87. As rightly noted by Lana Troy (2012) in her review of the work, "it is apparent that Kemboly has a worldview to defend" (p. 325) with a "transparent theological bias" (p. 326) in favor of a blameless creator. To rehabilitate Iaau, Kemboly must dismiss the evil determinative associated with the being (pp. 131–32), suggest numerous interpretive revisions (e.g., p. 133), and adopt a position of agnosticism regarding whether "eating faeces and drinking urine . . . are prototypical symbols or epitomes of evil" (p. 119). None of this is compelling, and much is wrong (see Ritner 2008, pp. 168–72, on the effects of bodily reversal). Kemboly's reanalysis of textual evidence regarding Apep is discussed below.

[7] Esna column 2 (text 206; reign of Trajan); see Sauneron 1961, pp. 235–36; idem 1962, pp. 265–66; and idem 1968, p. 32.

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ḥꜣ=k ꜥꜣpp np(ꜥ) pfy n Rᶜ q(ꜥ)b pfy n ỉmy-ḫt "Back, Apep, that umbilical cord of Re, that intestine of the viscera." (S. Metternich, no. I, l. 1)[8]

np(ꜥ) pfy ḥm n Rᶜ "That umbilical cord, retreat from Re" (S. Metternich, no. I, l. 2)[9]

ḏd-mdw ḥꜣ=k ꜥꜣpp npt pwy n Rᶜ qbt pwy n (ỉ)my-ḫ.t "Recitation: Back, Apep, this umbilical cord of Re, this intestine of the viscera." (P. Bremner-Rhind, 29/22–23)[10]

npt ḥm n Rᶜ ỉw=ỉ rḫ.kwỉ ḏw ỉr=k "Umbilical cord, retreat from Re; I know the evil that you have done." (P. Bremner-Rhind, 29/23)

Following the *Wb.* translation "Darm" for *np(ꜥ)/npt*, Faulkner rendered the term as "bowel" in the two Bremner-Rhind passages and considered that this "contemptuous identification" of Apep with the viscera of Re "is due to the serpentine form of the demon."[11] The *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* ventured only "Körperteil?" for the *npꜣw* in the fragmentary birth spell in P. Ramesseum IV B 4.[12] The word in question is different from the term *ḫpꜣ* (Coptic **ϩⲗⲡⲉ**), conventionally translated as "umbilical cord" in the Westcar Papyrus (cols. 10/12 and 19, 11/3); that term is more properly the word for the navel itself, and only by extension does it indicate the "navel-string" in the cutting of the umbilical cord.[13] Faulkner himself corrected his earlier interpretation when translating Coffin Text Spell 322 (the deceased as a *ba*-spirit "who eats his navel-string") and Book of the Dead Spell 153A, which, like Westcar, describes the cutting of the umbilical cord, but substitutes *npꜣ* for the less precise *ḫpꜣ*.[14] In the same year, Dieter Jahnkuhn recognized the proper translation of *npꜣ* in the Edfu temple ritual "Protection of the House."[15] The clear identification of the origin of Apep as the umbilical cord of Re was publicized in 1997 by Penelope Wilson, who gathered most of the examples above: "The identification of Apopis as the umbilical cord of Re explains the serpent form of Apopis and also indicates that the cord was thought to be a part of someone but either dead or hostile."[16]

Thus, in Egyptian concepts, Apep does not receive a "contemptuous identification" on the basis of his form, but just the opposite: he derives his coiled form from his origin as the discarded umbilical cord of Re. The descriptions in the Metternich and Bremner-Rhind texts are not simply defamatory imagery; they are literal descriptions. In 2002, with some hesitation, Christian Leitz incorporated these and further Edfu examples for the designation of Apep simply as umbilical cord, "Nabelschnur(?)," or more specifically as the umbilical cord of Re, "Die Nabelschnur(?) des Re."[17] Indirect evidence that the identification of Apep and the navel of Re was of much earlier date is provided by Book of the Dead Spell 17, §S8: "My wrongdoing has been removed, my evil has been done away with. WHAT IS THAT? It means that N.'s navel cord (*ḫpꜣ.t*) was cut. The evil that adhered to me has been cast away. WHAT IS THAT? It means that I am cleansed on the day of my birth."[18]

The most informative Egyptian text concerning the origin of Apep is found in the cosmological narrative on column 2 from Esna temple.[19] The relevant text traces, among other features, the birth of Neith, her

[8] Sander-Hansen 1956, pp. 16–17. In both cases, Sander-Hansen translates *np(ꜥ)* simply as "Feind." For the expression *q(ꜥ)b n ỉmy-ḫ.t* "the intestine of the viscera," see *Wb.* V, 9/19. Perhaps the literal "coil of the guts" is a more appropriate interpretation; cf. Klasens 1952, p. 59 (*npꜣ*, however, translated as "bowel"). For the textual parallels to these passages, see ibid., p. 37, and note the serpent determinative for *q(ꜥ)b* in the Metternich example and the coil in the Belhague text.

[9] Sander-Hansen 1956, pp. 16–17.

[10] See Faulkner 1933, p. 75; and idem 1938, p. 42.

[11] Faulkner 1938, p. 49 n. to 29, 22–23.

[12] von Deines and Westendorf 1961, p. 457. Following the *Wb.*, *npꜣw* (interpreted as plural *npꜣ.w*) is translated "Därme" in Westendorf 1999, vol. 1, p. 431. The term and spell are left untranslated in Bardinet 1995, p. 471.

[13] *Wb.* III, 365; Crum 1939, p. 671a. See also von Deines and Westendorf 1962, p. 682.

[14] Faulkner 1973, vol. I, p. 251 and n. 4; and idem 1972, p. 120. For the texts, see de Buck 1951, p. 149; and Naville 1886 [1971], vol. 2, p. 433.

[15] Edfou VI, 148, §34; see Jankuhn 1972, p. 58. The text describes "the umbilical cord of Horus, that he threw in the water so that Neith of Sais came into being." Jankuhn does not equate *npꜣw* with *Wb.* II, 247.

[16] Wilson 1997, p. 510. For further phonetic spellings of *npꜣ/npt* as *nbt/nbd*, see Klasens 1952, p. 37.

[17] Leitz 2002, vol. 4, pp. 201–02. See also "Die Nabelschnur(?) des Horus" from "Das Buch 'Schutz des Hauses'" in ibid., p. 202, discussed also in Wilson 1997, p. 510.

[18] See Allen 1974, p. 28; and Naville 1886 [1971], vol. 1, plate XXIII, ll. 19–20, and vol. 2, p. 44.

[19] Sauneron 1962, pp. 265–66 (no. 206); and idem 1968, p. 32. For the structure of the text, see Broze 1999, pp. 63–72.

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transformation into a cow (Mehet-weret "The Great Swimmer"[20]), the origin of the primal mound, the creation of Egypt, and the birth of Re. After Neith gives birth to Re, the birth of Apep is detailed:

> *ỉst tr.n=s npꜣ n sꜣ=s ỉr.n=s m-ḫnw mw ḫp(r)=f n (= m) ḥf n mḥ 120 ḏ(d).tw n=f ꜥꜣpp qmꜣ ỉb=f sbỉ r Rꜥ ḥnꜥ smꜣ.w=f pr m ỉr.t=f*
>
> "Then she discarded the umbilical cord of her son whom she had made within the water, so that it came to be as a snake of 120 cubits, while he was called Apep and his heart created rebellion against Re along with his confederacy that came forth from his eye."[21]

Sauneron had originally read the initial section *ỉs ꜣ tr.n=sn pꜥ(y) n rꜣ=s* and translated "Or donc ils repoussèrent le crachat de sa bouche . . . il (= ce crachat) devient un serpent . . . ,"[22] but by the time of his formal text edition seven years later, the supposed *rꜣ=s* "her mouth" had been corrected to *sꜣ=s* "her son."[23] Given the recognition of *npꜣ* as umbilical cord as early as 1972, and its full discussion in the *Ptolemaic Lexikon* in 1997, those who regularly taught "Ptolemaic hieroglyphs" quickly connected the obvious Esna description with the now well-known epithet of Apep. The republication of the Esna text by Leitz in a 2003/2006 collection of cosmological texts further ensured its visibility,[24] so that a "discovery" of this identification of *npꜣ* by Joachim Quack in 2006 did little but confirm common knowledge and class notes: "Das wort *npꜣ* bedeutet nicht 'Darm', sondern 'Nabelschnur'. Sowohl in einer magischen Beschwörung als auch an einer bislang verkannten Stelle in der Neith-Kosmogonie wird Apopis as 'Nabelschnur des Re' bezeichnet."[25]

The Esna text was again confused in a 2010 study by M. Kemboly, who adopted Sauneron's revised translation *sꜣ=s* "her son" as if it were his own,[26] yet retained the misreading *tr.n=sn pꜥ(y)* while rejecting the publication by Quack.[27] Without knowledge of the critical evidence in the Metternich Stela and P. Bremner-Rhind proving Apep to be Re's umbilical cord, Kemboly preferred to see Apep's origin as the subsequent work of Re (i.e., his spittle), so that Apep might further be removed from the act of creation: "Apophis is not created from Neith but from Re."[28] In fact, Apep is Neith's creation, coterminous and consubstantial with Re.

Contrary to Quack,[29] Apep is thus not truly the "brother of Re," but rather a discarded piece of Re himself. The relationship is comparable to (probably intentionally) the dangerous snake fashioned from Re's spittle in the tale of "Isis and the Name of Re."[30] In both cases, the expelled body part retains divine power and poses a direct threat to its original divine source. The same fear of danger and pollution from bodily detritus extends to humans as well, in conformity with the noted anthropological study by Mary Douglas.[31] Once severed, the

[20] Not "The Great Flood," as commonly translated; see §18 of this narrative: *ꜥḥꜥ.n ỉr.n=s ḫpr=s n* (= *m*) *ꜣḥỉ.t* (= *ỉḥ.t*) *ỉr.n=s Rꜥ ḥr wp.t=s mḥy.n=s ḫr=f ḏd-ỉn nṯr.w Mḥ-wr.t dy ḥnꜥ sꜣ=s ḫp*(*r*) *Mḥ-wr.t pw* "Then she made her form as a cow. As she placed Re at her brow, so she swam bearing him. The gods said: 'Mehet-weret is here with her son.' That is how Mehet-weret came to be" (Sauneron 1968, p. 33). The cow is regularly shown wading/swimming through the flood well before the Roman period; she is not the flood itself, contra Kákosy 1982, vol. 4, cols. 3–4. See the Metropolitan Museum Hathor bowl in Hayes 1990, pp. 205–06. See also the description of the sky goddess above Nun in Hornung 1982a, pp. 41–44, 49, and 81–87; and Ritner 1997, vol. 1, p. 34, at n. 11.

[21] Sauneron 1968, p. 32 §15 (ll. 10–11).

[22] Sauneron 1961, 235–36; and idem 1962, pp. 265–66.

[23] Sauneron 1968, p. 32. Despite this change, Sauneron's earlier reading and translation were retained in Sternberg-el Hotabi 1995, vol. III/5, p. 1084.

[24] Leitz 2006, p. 148.

[25] Quack 2006, pp. 377–79 (quotation from the abstract). Without comment, Quack cites the prior studies by Faulkner, Jankuhn, and Wilson on pp. 377 n. 4, and 378 n. 9. On p. 378, Quack announces a link between Apep's snake form and the umbilical cord without mention of Faulkner's (or Wilson's) earlier recognition. A passage cited by Quack from the unpublished P. Berlin 15765a, l. 2 (*ḥsq npꜣ šsr n mw.t=f* "cleaving the navel-string, the cord of his mother") should be compared with the context of Book of the Dead 153A (noted above) in which it is the *npꜣ*, rather than the *ḫpꜣ*, that is cut.

[26] Kemboly 2010, p. 351: "Therefore, in my view, the object of *ỉr.n=s* . . . is not 'the spittle of the mouth' of Neith, but the 'son' (Re) whom she created . . . Thus I disagree with Sauneron's translation of the passage." Kemboly seems unaware of the revision in Esna III (Sauneron 1968). For the underlying bias of this publication, see the review by Troy 2012.

[27] Ibid., pp. 352–53.

[28] Ibid., p. 352, and see p. 353: "there is actually no being who should be held answerable for the origin of Apophis as one knows him from Egyptian sources."

[29] Quack 2006, pp. 378–79, following Plutarch *De Iside*, Chapter 36. Quack, however, is probably correct in seeing this origin of Apep as the basis for Plutarch's simplified interpretation. Unlike the sibling relationship of Seth to Horus, the term "brother" is never applied to Apep and Re; see the comments gathered in Quack 2006, p. 378.

[30] P. Turin 1993; for the text and bibliography, see Ritner 1997, pp. 33–34.

[31] Douglas 1966. For the use of Douglas's work in Egyptological discussion of saliva and excrement as corrupting, discharged bodily impurities, see Kadish 1979, pp. 203–17; Zibelius 1984, p. 399; Ritner 2008, p. 83; and Frandsen 2001, pp. 141–74, particularly pp. 159–62 for the belly.

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navel string becomes "matter out of place"[32] from the margin of the human body: "all margins are dangerous. We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points. Matter issuing from them is marginal stuff of the most obvious kind. Spittle, blood, milk, urine, faeces or tears by simply issuing forth have traversed the boundary of the body. So also have bodily parings, skin, nail, hair clippings and sweat."[33]

In Egypt, these negative associations apply most notably to spittle and excrement, but the severed umbilical cord is no less potentially threatening. Thus it is consumed by the deceased in Coffin Text Spell 322 and retained and worn as an amulet in recent Egyptian folk custom.[34] When discarded into the primordial flood by Egyptian deities, these numinous relics beget the terrors of the water: Apep, serpent of chaos, and Neith, mother of crocodiles. Indeed, the birth of Apep as Re's umbilical cord cast into the water *by Neith* is a counterpart to her own origin from the umbilical cord of Horus, expelled by him into the flood.[35] Having come into being from a dangerous umbilical cord, Neith in turn imparts such a connection to her son: "the navel-string, the cord of his mother."[36] The sinister aspect of the navel itself (*ḫpꜣ.t*) is already evident in the New Kingdom medical Papyrus Ebers (col. 100/18–19) concerning "bitterness of the heart" produced by hostile magic, either from a spoken spell ("the breath of the mouth") or "the action/stroke of a *wab*-priest": "As it enters into the left eye, so it goes out through navel."[37]

The origin story of Apep is thus securely documented from the time of the Thirtieth Dynasty (the date of the carving of the Metternich Stela), and the myth may well be at least as old as the New Kingdom.[38] Apep, and thus the notion of "evil," is produced simultaneously with Re as part of his own essence. The desire by Assmann and Junge for a conclusive statement that Apep's origin be "zugleich" with the creation is fulfilled. Egyptian concepts of the universe incorporated the notion of "evil" within the cosmos from its very origin; evil did not arise only subsequently with the rebellion of mankind. At Esna, moreover, mankind's future rebellion was predicted, and thus determined, by Neith at the creation of Re.[39]

If Junge is correct in this part of the debate, far less certain is his contention that Egypt displays an exceptional disinterest in the question of evil and its origin. Frandsen's study of Iaau in the Coffin Texts already rendered this suggestion unlikely. Rites and spells against Apep are numerous for much of Egyptian history,[40] and Demotic tales on the origin of the universe include encounters between Apep and Re. An example of such a text is found in the Yale papyrus P. CtYBR inv. 425 (B), a Roman-era literary work dating to the second century (fig. 17.1).[41] On the basis of its handwriting, the papyrus may be assigned to Tebtunis.[42] The text consists of one column of fifteen lines written on the back[43] of the papyrus, which measures 146 × 100 mm. The top margin of the papyrus is preserved. On the front of the papyrus is a Greek account, P. CtYBR inv. 425 (A), listing personal names, totals of arurai, and amounts of grain. The Greek account is dated by the Apis papyrological database to the second century AD.[44]

[32] Douglas 1966, p. 40.

[33] Ibid., p. 121.

[34] Wilson 1997, p. 510, citing Blackman 1927, pp. 64–65 and 79, fig. 37. These implications are not noted in the simplistic discussion of severing the umbilical cord in Kemboly 2010, p. 353.

[35] Jankuhn 1972, p. 58. Such banishment into the Abyss is applied to evil or *bwt* as early as the Pyramid Texts. Spell 338 (§§551–52) thus banishes hunger: "O Hunger do not come for me; go to the Abyss, depart to the flood!"; see Faulkner 1969, p. 109. The spell is discussed in Frandsen 2001, p. 160.

[36] Quoting P. Berlin 15765a, l. 2; see above, n. 25.

[37] P. Ebers §855 h; see Ritner 2006, p. 104. Note also the pustule sign used regularly to determine or even act as a logogram for *ḫpꜣ*; see von Deines and Westendorf 1962, p. 682.

[38] For the first attestation of Apep, see Morenz 2004, and for the date of the myth, and in addition to Book of the Dead spell 17 noted above, see the evidence and opinions cited by Quack 2006, p. 379. These early examples refute Hornung 1982b, p. 158: "Only the latest temple in Egypt, the temple of Esna, contains a reference to the origin of Apophis."

[39] "The Annunciation of the Sun" §10 (Sauneron 1968, pp. 30–31): *ḥms pw ir=n ꜣhꜣ.t* (= *ih.t*) *ḥr mꜣwy nty r ḫp*(*r*) *ḏd=s r* (= *iw*) *nṯr špṯ r ḫp*(*r*) *mỉn ... r* (= *iw*) *ms.w=f r ḫꜣk-ib.w r=f sḫr=*(*w*) *sn n=f ḥwi=*(*w*) *sn n=f* "Then the cow sat thinking of what would happen. She said: 'A noble god will come into being today . . . His children will rebel against him, while they are overthrown for him, while they are stricken for him.'"

[40] See, inter alia, Book of the Dead Spells 7, 108, 127, 130, 134, etc., and the anti-Apep rituals noted in Ritner 2008, pp. 211–12.

[41] See http://papyri.info/apis/yale.apis.0004254200 (accessed August 23, 2016). The plates are courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. I thank former curator Robert Babcock for giving me access to the documents when I served as professor at Yale in 1993.

[42] Cf. the writings of *ḥw.t, sḫ* (and determinative), *hrw* and *ḥr* with those discussed in Tait 1977, p. 7. The handwriting belongs to Tait's Type 1; see ibid., pp. viii-ix. The Apis papyrological database suggests a range of dates from 99 BC to 299 AD.

[43] For the term "back" rather than "verso," see Smith and Tait 1983, p. xi.

[44] See http://papyri.info/apis/yale.apis.0004254100 (accessed August 23, 2016).

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1. [...ḥ]n(?)[45] *Ḥw.t-wly.t i-ir pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ* [...]
2. [... *nꜣ* w]ꜥb.w[46] *n Sy*[47] *ḏ-qnby.t ḏ* [...]
3. [... *nꜣ mt*].*w st sḫ ḥr nꜣ ḏmꜥ.w nꜣ mt.w* [...]
4. [... *Pꜣ*]-Rꜥ *pꜣy=s šr r Wny Mḥy ḫpr* [...]
5. [...]water det. *n Sy ḫpr* wꜥ *hrw r Pꜣ-Rꜥ ḥmsy.ṯ* [...]
6. [...] *nw=f r pꜣ ḏwf ḏ=f n Ḏḥwty iḫ pꜣy sy*[*m* ...]
7. [...] *Ḥꜥpy pꜣy ḏꜣḏꜣ pꜣ ḥf nt ḫr pꜣ sꜥn* [...]
8. [... *ḏ*]*wf iw=y r ꜣmn=y n-im=w*[48] *bn-iw na ꜥpp* [...]
9. [...]*nb*(?)[49] *ti-ꜥlꜣ*[50] *Pꜣ-Rꜥ r-ḏꜣḏꜣ=s r-ḫ pꜣy=s smt ḫp*[*r*...]
10. [...*Ḥꜥp*]*y*(?) *n rn ḏ pꜣ-i-ir=s n tꜣ*(?)[...] *n-tr*(?)*=s*[51] [...]
11. [... *sḏ*]*r=f ḥr tꜣ bꜣ n ḏwf* [...]
12. [...]. *i-ir=w rt n pꜣ ḏ*[*wf* ...]
13. [... *ḏꜣḏꜣ*].*ṯ*[52]*=f ḫpr ḏ Ḏḥ*[*wty* ...]
14. [...] *iw=f ḥmsy* [...]
15. [...] *s* [...] *pꜣy* ...[...]

1. [...] in(?) Hawara. The great god made [...]
2. [... the] priests of Sais a court document, saying [...]
3. [... the wor]ds. They write on the papyri the words[53] [...]
4. [... P]re her son to Hermopolis Parva.[54] There happened [...]
5. [... water[55]] of Sais. A day happened when Pre was seated [...]
6. [...] He looked at the papyrus. He said to Thoth: What is this pla[nt ... ?]
7. [...] It is [the ... of] Hapy,[56] the head of the snake which is under the clay. [...]
8. [... p]apyrus. I shall hide myself there. The ones of Apep[57] will not [...]
9. [...] any(?) [...] Pre mounted up upon it in accordance with its form. There happened [...]
10. [... of(?)] Hapy(?) by name. It was speaking that she did to the [...] When(?) she [...]
11. [...] He [lay] down on the stalk of papyrus [...]
12. [...] It was in the papyrus that they grew. [...]
13. [...] his head(?) having come into being. Th[oth] said [...]
14. [...] while he sat [...]
15. [...] she(?) [...] this/it is [...]

Like the narrative of column text 206 at Esna, the Tebtunis mythological papyrus is closely associated with Sais. The mention in l. 4 of "Pre her son" may indicate a lost reference to Neith, if the words "her son" are in apposition to Pre and not the direct object of Pre's actions. Alternatively, the feminine pronouns might refer to the serpent and papyrus goddess Wadjet, whose imagery fits the context and whose cult center Buto is linked both to Hermopolis Parva (and thus to Thoth) and to the gates of Hapy, the Inundation.[58] Gardiner has further identified these "gates" with the approach to "'Northern Hapy,' the territory of the nome of Sais."[59] A geographical connection might also explain the snake whose head is beneath the clay in l. 7. Given the broken context, the snake may be Apep or one of his minions or — less likely given the Lower Egyptian scenario — the uroboros seen protecting the source of the Nile below Hapy on the "Gate of Hadrian" at Philae.[60] An intriguing

[45] The two horizontal lines at the edge of the break may represent the supraliner stroke and final stroke of the house determinative of the preposition *ḫn*; cf. Hoffmann 1996, p. 491.

[46] For the form, see Erichsen 1954, p. 83 (right side of page), and Hoffmann 1996, p. 454.

[47] The "foreign-land" determinative is used for Egyptian toponyms as well; cf. Hoffmann 1996, p. 440.

[48] Cf. ibid., 1996, p. 470.

[49] The flesh determinative is also possible.

[50] The originally causative form corresponds to Coptic intransitive ⲧⲁⲗⲟ+ ⲉ "to go up/be mounted on"; see Crum 1939, p. 408.

[51] Perhaps a broken writing of the temporal.

[52] The traces of ligature, flesh determinative, and pronominal suffix ending *ṯ* may fit *rt.ṯ=* (cf. Hoffmann 1996, p. 482) or *ḏꜣḏꜣ.ṯ=* (cf. Hoffmann 1996, p. 513).

[53] Or "[The wor]ds, they are written on the papyri. The words, [. . .]."

[54] For *Wnw Mḥ.*(*t*) Wenu of Lower Egypt/Hermopolis Parva, see Gardiner 1947, vol. II, pp. 196*–99*; and Gauthier 1925, vol. 1, p. 197.

[55] Sais is located on the right bank of the Rosetta branch of the Nile.

[56] Or more simply: "It is Hapy."

[57] For the comparable theriomorphic and human partisans of Apep and Seth, see Ritner 2008, p. 160 n. 743.

[58] See Gardiner 1947, pp. 196*–98*.

[59] Ibid., p. 198*. The Saite nome forms the southern boundary of the territory of Buto and Hermopolis Parva.

[60] Porter and Moss 1939, p. 254 (4).

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possibility is provided by a description of the northern boundary of the Butic nome: "The 'son-of-the-earth' serpent on the shore of the Mediterranean," a reference to the "narrow strip of dunes, formed by sea-shells, separating the coastal lakes from the Mediterranean."[61] As in the Yale papyrus, the image is of a snake burrowed below the ground near water.

Set within the framework of the Inundation, the tale relates how Re withdrew to the top of a papyrus stalk to evade the partisans of Apep, even as he mounted the Mehet-weret cow above Nun to evade human rebels in the "Book of the Heavenly Cow." Both Re's actions and the sources of evil (Apep's agents/rebellious mankind) are comparable. In its content, the Yale papyrus seems related to the genre of Demotic fragments gathered by Mark Smith in his study of cosmogonic narratives, *On the Primaeval Ocean*.[62]

A similar narrative is preserved in the more damaged Yale papyrus P. CtYBR inv. 364 (B), also a Roman-era Demotic mythical text from Tebtunis (fig. 17.2). Assigned by the Apis database to the period between the first and second centuries, this document contains two very abraded columns that mention Pre (1/3, 4, 9, 11 and 18), Thoth (1/5, 13), and Apep (1/12). As recognized by the Apis database, the papyrus is part of the same manuscript as P. Carlsberg 462, which has been more precisely dated by Mark Smith to the first half of the second century AD.[63] In a personal communication, Kim Ryholt has noted a possible link to P. Carlsberg 302 as well.[64] The Yale document measures 213 × 147 mm. Column 1 contains twenty-two partial line endings as well as portions of the top left and bottom margins; a large blank margin separates this column from a second that preserves only the initial words of nineteen lines.[65] It is beyond the scope of this article to treat fully this damaged Yale fragment and its Copenhagen counterparts. As in P. CtYBR inv. 425 (B), Pre's desire is noted (1/3 *ḥꜣ.ṯ Pꜣ-Rʿ*), and after "what has happened to Pre" (1/4 *pꜣ i-ir ḫpr n Pꜣ-Rʿ*) Thoth is summoned (1/5). Isis "the mother of Horus" is invoked (1/8) and Hapy speaks (1/9). Thereafter Apep withdraws (1/12 *sṯꜣ ʿpp*). Topographical features are of particular interest, including a stone (1/2) and a plant with numerous branches and leaves (1/19 *i[w]=f ʿšꜣ n šlḥ gby*). Even in its fragmentary state, the narrative is yet further evidence of Egyptian concern for the place of evil in the structure of the universe.

Well after the end of Egyptian civilization, Apep retains his significance as a source of evil in both scientific and popular thought. Within the last decade, the name Apophis has been given to an asteroid that threatens the destruction of the earth and the return of chaos:

> Anatoly Perminov, Russia's space agency chief, said Wednesday that a spacecraft may be dispatched to knock a large asteroid off course and reduce the chances of Earth impact. When the 885-foot asteroid Apophis was first discovered in 2004, astronomers estimated its chances of smashing into Earth in its first flyby, in 2029, at 1-in-37. NASA, however, has since recalculated the year that Apophis could fly near the Earth, to 2036, and the possibility of a collision, to 1-in-135,000.[66]

As a mythological figure of evil, Apep has been revived for a new generation through the animated series "Tutenstein," whose Egyptological content is owed to Kasia Szpakowska. In Rick Riordan's popular volume *The Serpent's Shadow*, Apophis and Re are rejoined and separated as at the beginning of creation:

> The serpent hissed, his scales falling away in smoking pieces. "Ma'at and Chaos are linked you fools! You cannot push me away without pushing away the gods." . . . The body of Apophis crumbled into sand and steaming goo . . . Then someone else rose from the smoking ruins of Apophis. Ra shimmered like a mirage, towering over us

[61] Gardiner 1947, pp. 198*–99*.

[62] Smith 2002. A discussion of the Mehet-weret cow is included in the corpus; see Fragment 8 on pp. 80–84.

[63] Published in Smith 2000, pp. 95–112. Apophis occurs in a fragmentary context in col. 1/7.

[64] Email of August 2, 2012. The papyrus is published in Smith 2002, pp. 80–84, as Fragment 8, cited above. The Greek hand on the front of P. CtYBR inv. 364 (B) does not match that on either of the Copenhagen papyri, but Ryholt notes: "I have since found more than 20 examples where longer demotic and hieratic texts were written on papyri pasted together from smaller discarded Greek documents. Moreover, even the same Greek document may be written in different hands. The different Greek hands are therefore no obstacle." Ryholt's study of this phenomenon is in press.

[65] See http://papyri.info/apis/yale.apis.0003644200 (accessed August 23, 2016). The front of the papyrus contains a list or register in Greek, dating to the second century, with personal names, land possession, vacant plots, graves, and houses; see http://papyri.info/apis/yale.apis.0003644100 (accessed August 23, 2016).

[66] "Deep impact suggested to avert Armageddon," *Chicago Tribune,* Thursday, December 31, 2009, §1.16.

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> as a muscular old man with golden skin, kingly robes, and the pharaoh's crown. He stepped forward and daylight returned to the sky.[67]

Although intended for a youthful modern audience, Riordan's novel reflects a genuine concern of ancient Egyptian theological speculation. Maat and chaos are linked, and both good and evil are conjoined in the origin of the universe.

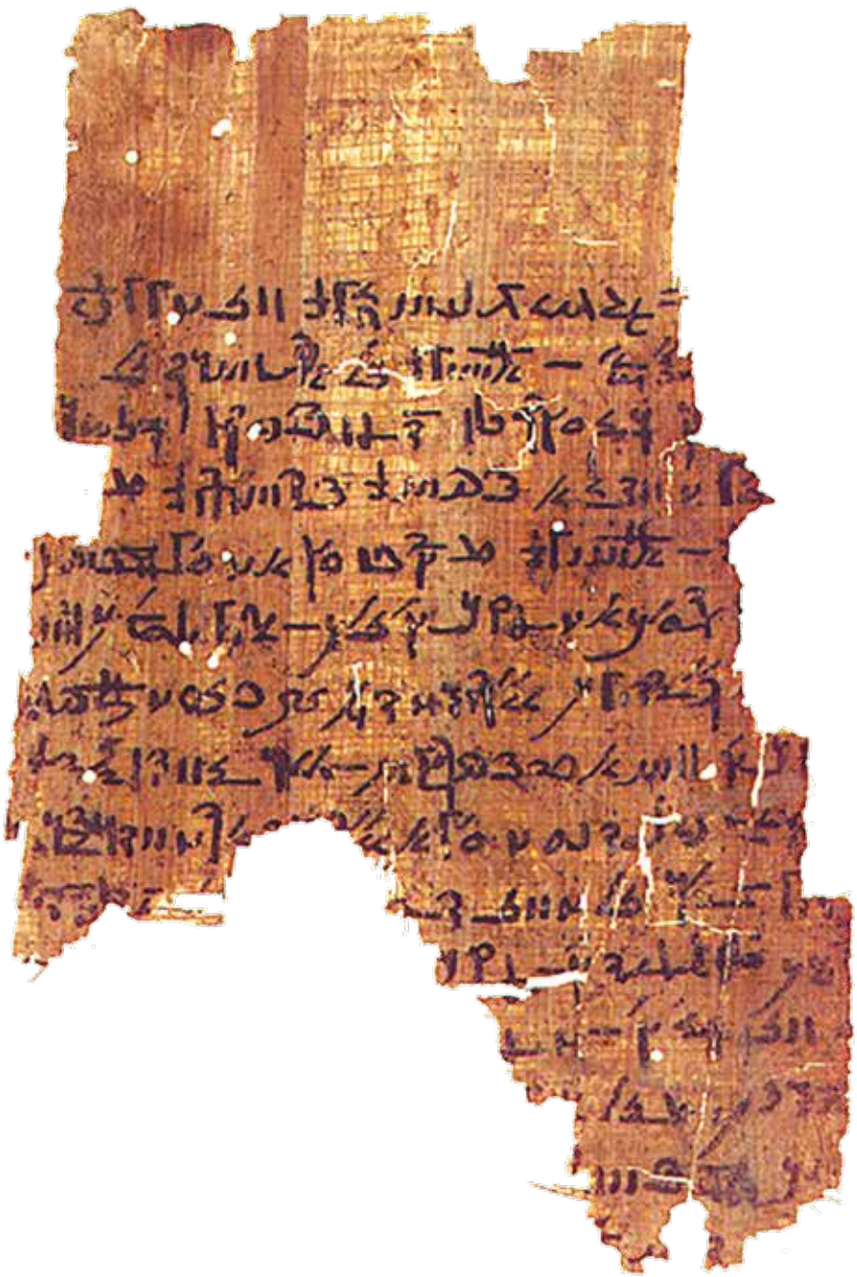


Figure 7.1. P. CtYBR inv. 425 (B)

[67] Riordan 2012, p. 369. I thank my student Jessica Henderson for first drawing my attention to this series. The volume is reviewed in *KMT* 23/3 (2012): 84–85.

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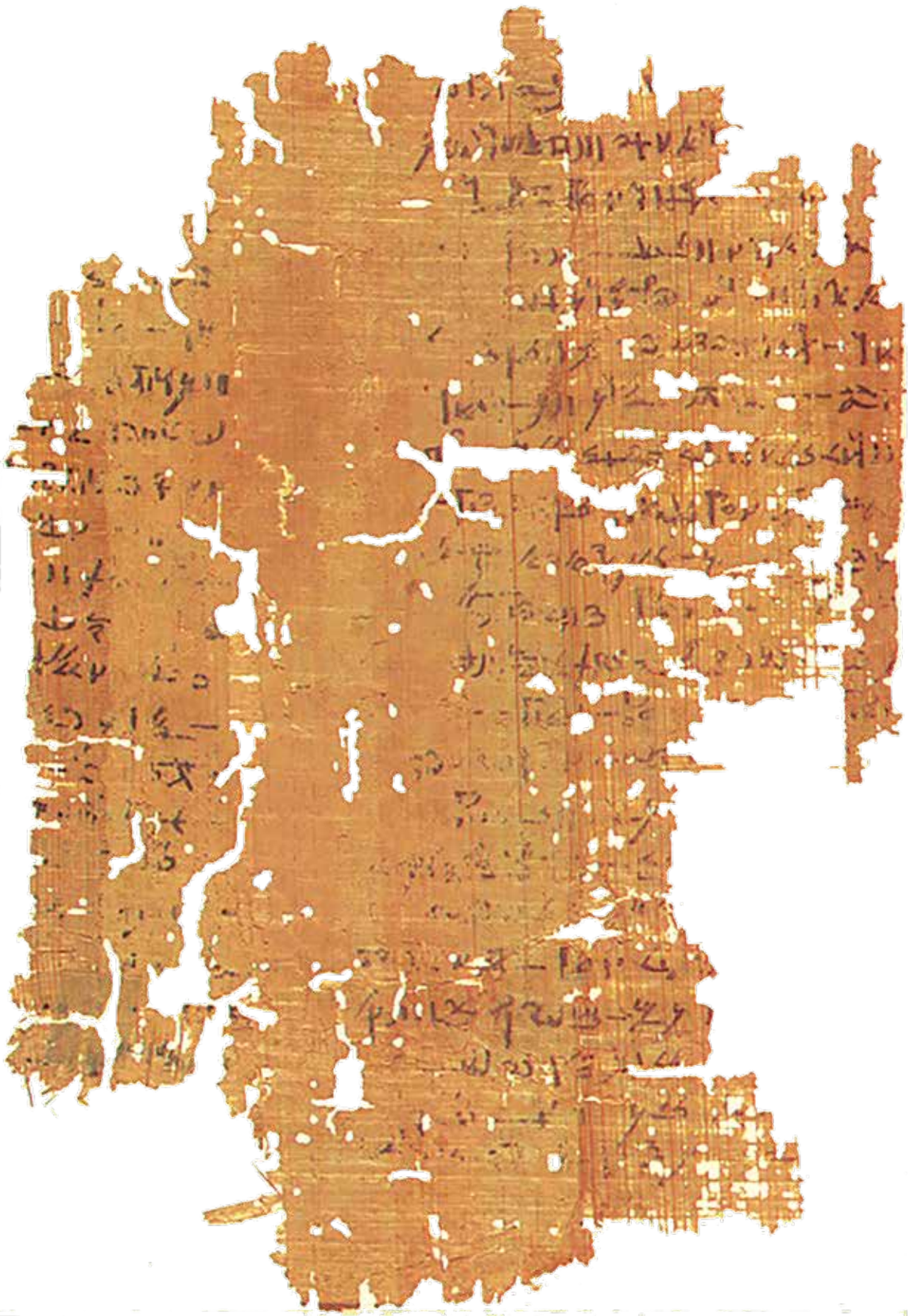


Figure 7.2. P. CtYBR inv. 364 (B)

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18

Fear of Hieroglyphs: Patterns of Suppression and Mutilation in Old Kingdom Burial Chambers

*Ann Macy Roth, New York University**

In her courses, Janet Johnson always enthusiastically shared with me, as with all her students, her extensive knowledge of the languages, literature, and social history of ancient Egypt; and outside them, she offered equally invaluable advice about the etiquette and conventions of Egyptological scholarship and insights into the history of its institutions and the quirks and foibles of its practitioners. In gratitude for all this, and above all for always serving as an inspiring model for the Girl Egyptologist that I so much wanted to become, I offer this brief survey of one intriguing aspect of the early ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic record, the phenomenon of mutilated hieroglyphs (not Demotic, but close).

Fear of Hieroglyphic Signs

Egyptologists often cite instances like the cobra in figure 18.1 to illustrate the ancient Egyptians' naive belief that mere pictures could harm them. Here, in the New Kingdom tomb chapel of Kheruef, the name of the god Apophis is written with the periphrastic "evil of character" *Ḏw-qd*,[1] and the endless ouroboros of nonexistence himself is pictured at the end of the word as a determinative. Because of the danger of the idea he represents, he is forcibly kept on the wall by a trio of knives, to prevent him from escaping and causing damage. Earlier, in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, mutilations like the decapitated viper in figure 18.2 were common on coffins. Such examples demonstrate the magical importance of the written word and the literal reality that the Egyptians attributed to hieroglyphic images.

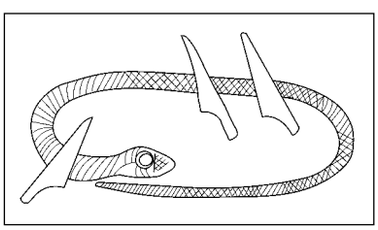


Figure 18.1. Hieroglyphic determinative representing the Apophis snake, Tomb of Kheruef. Drawing by the author

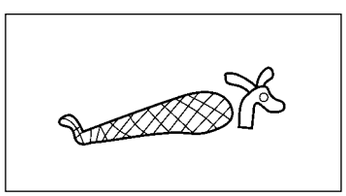


Figure 18.2. A viper hieroglyph with a separated head. Coffin of Menqabu, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.1631a–b. Drawing by the author

* An earlier, inconclusive version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Tucson, Arizona, 2004. I am grateful for the comments of many colleagues on the paper as presented, and also to Janet Richards and Miroslav Bárta, who generously made their unpublished evidence from burial chambers available to me. I am also indebted to several colleagues who encouraged me to publish the study when I mentioned some of the patterns during a general discussion at the Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology conference held in Cambridge in June 2009. Finally, I am particularly grateful for the generosity of James P. Allen for making his Pyramid Text concordance available on the internet in time to allow me to use it to check a number of the ideas presented here. This paper was submitted for publication in 2013. The references have not been updated, and more recent work, particularly on decorated burial chambers, is not discussed.

[1] The name occurs twice in the tomb (Wente 1980, p. 71 n. j; Epigraphic Survey 1980, pls. 20 and 73), although the determinative is no longer preserved in the first example. Figure 1 is based on the author's photo of the second example. For a full discussion of this practice, see Ritner 2008, pp. 111–90, esp. 167d; Ritner 2012, pp. 395–405, esp. 402 (fig. 13.5); and Bryan 2012, pp. 363–94.

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Potentially problematic images could simply be omitted or they could be shown mutilated, rendering them incomplete and therefore dysfunctional; later images, like the serpent of Apophis, might be pinned to the wall with graphical knives.[2] In discussing such measures, Gunn wrote condescendingly of "the superstitious fears of a people, who, frightened by the very lifelikeness of their own plastic art, shrank from placing in close proximity with the solitary dead a number of figures which, taking on life, might in some way injure him."[3]

However, not all examples of the suppression or mutilation of hieroglyphic signs occur with snakes or other obviously dangerous animals. Signs that depict quite benign animals could also be suppressed or mutilated, particularly in the Old Kingdom period. These signs are particularly interesting because of the clues they offer about both the images and the way the Egyptians viewed the spaces in which they occurred. Such signs are not obviously potential threats, but their intact presence must have been thought to endanger or impair the deceased or his chances for eternal life in some way, making them inappropriate in the context in which they were omitted or mutilated.

Initially, that context was invariably underground. Although the pinioning knives of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period could be used in a variety of contexts — burial chambers and chapels of tombs, funerary papyri, temples — and Middle Kingdom examples mainly occur on coffins, the Old Kingdom mutilations and suppressions occur in Pyramid Texts inscribed on the walls of royal pyramid substructures and in the decorated non-royal burial chambers that become somewhat less rare during the same period when the Pyramid Texts were inscribed, the very late Fifth and the Sixth Dynasties. It seems likely that the same increase in chthonic emphasis in the mortuary religion, presumably a result of the rise of Osiris, was responsible for both royal and nonroyal burial chamber decoration. The suppressions and mutilations of hieroglyphs that occur in both may also be related to the new Osirian emphasis.

The focus of the present article will be on these Old Kingdom examples, the criteria for which seem to have been far more complex than for the later examples, showing different patterns of occurrence between nonroyal and royal contexts and varying over time and geographically, as the phenomenon evolved. Previous studies of the suppression and mutilation of hieroglyphs have been mainly descriptive: the motives behind such suppressions are addressed only through supposition, assumption, and speculation. However, some interesting patterns in the Old Kingdom evidence suggest that the motives were more varied and complicated than has generally been thought.

Pyramid Texts: The Patterns

The clearest suppressions and mutilations of individual hieroglyphs, regardless of their meaning, occurred in the Pyramid Texts. Initially, the most common signs to be so suppressed were those that represented human beings and fish; later other animal signs were also suppressed or mutilated. Mutilated signs were carved in partial form, partially filled with plaster, or in some cases, merely partially painted.[4]

The Pyramid Texts examples were the first to be studied. Pierre Lacau systematically described the suppressions, replacements by geometrical signs, and mutilations found in human and animal signs in the Pyramid Texts and later mortuary texts. He demonstrated that the hieroglyphs that were suppressed and mutilated in royal context changed over the course of the Old Kingdom.[5]

Humans were suppressed or mutilated or replaced by an abstract symbol (a circle or a diagonal line) in all the pyramids of the Old Kingdom. The mutilation of human determinatives in the Pyramid Texts show a clear progression (fig. 18.3):[6] Unas's texts omit the human figure entirely, showing only their tools, but beginning with Teti, the hands and arms are often shown, or the lower half of the body in the case of kneeling signs. Signs in the pyramid of Mernere have a tendency to show the head and shoulders as well. This pattern is not entirely immutable, as Lacau acknowledges. For example, the mutilation of human hieroglyphs occurs already

[2] To my knowledge, the knives pinning the image to the wall occur in the New Kingdom only with snakes that can be identified with Apophis, although in later periods a single knife was used with images of the god Seth (teVelde 1985–1986, p. 67).

[3] Gunn 1926, p. 175.

[4] For an example, see Lauer 1976, pl. 155.

[5] Lacau 1913, pp. 1–49.

[6] Pierre 1997.

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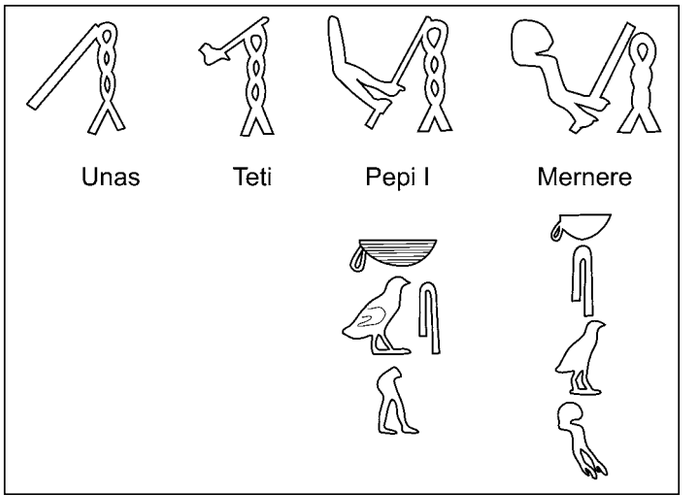


Figure 18.3. Mutilated hieroglyphs from the Pyramid Texts. Drawing by the author after Pierre 1997

in the pyramid of Unas: the word *ḫr*, determined normally by a fallen man (, GSL A 15), is determined in that pyramid by the sign from the waist to the feet, is omitted entirely in Teti's pyramid, and is determined by the head and arms only in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neith.[7]

Fish were also omitted in all periods. According to Lacau's survey, the larger mammals were largely left intact in the pyramids of Unas and Teti, although there are isolated examples of suppression in Unas's pyramid (a hippopotamus, a baboon) and several more in Teti's pyramid (a giraffe, a lion, a female donkey, a baboon). A larger variety of mammals began to be attacked in the reign of Pepi I. Rabbits (, GSL E 34), hartebeests (, GSL E 9), lions (, GSL E 23), elephants (, GSL E 26), and the various bulls and calves were suppressed and, increasingly, mutilated. Jackals (, GSL E 17) were suppressed in the pyramid of Pepi I, but not otherwise. Even the two-headed bull in the word *ḫns* was rendered as two bodiless, opposite-facing heads.[8] Rabbits could also be replaced by the flower sign (, GSL M 42), representing the same two consonants, *wn*. Giraffes and jackals could also be replaced by phonetic writings. Beyond the mammals, Lacau notes only the rare suppression of a pelican[9] and the fact that scorpions are routinely represented in a peculiar form that omits their tails.[10]

In addition to the mutilations and suppressions noted by Lacau, there are several mammal signs that were omitted from his survey. The collared goat (, GSL E 31) that determines *sʿḥ* is generally omitted from the pyramid of Unas, and replaced with the collar in later pyramids.[11] The name of the ram god Khnum, normally written with the ram (, GSL E 10) is written phonetically with the jug (, GSL W 9) in the pyramids of Teti,[12] Pepi I, Mernere, and Pepi II.[13] The goatskin (, GSL F 26) is used in the phrase *m ḫnw* in the pyramid of Unas, but spelled out alphabetically in the pyramid of Teti,[14] a peculiar suppression, given that the skin is already headless, and one that is perhaps influenced by the similarity of the sign to intact four-legged mammals.

In sum, the inscription of the Pyramid Texts from the outset involved suppressing and mutilating certain signs. Human figures and fish were initially suppressed and on occasion mutilated, along with a few mammals; later, mammals were more consistently suppressed and mutilated, and mutilation became somewhat more common (or, viewed another way, suppression became less thorough). Birds, insects, and snakes were not affected.

Pyramid Texts: Discussion

Curiously, Lacau's survey[15] shows that hartebeests were suppressed in the Pyramid Texts in the pyramid of Pepi I, but lions were mutilated; in the pyramids of Mernere and Pepi II, the reverse is true: hartebeests were mutilated and lions omitted. It is thus apparent that suppression and mutilation reflect different choices, choices that were not made on the basis of clarity, since these variants occur in the same words, and were not random, since the pattern is fairly consistent for each pyramid. The choice was presumably related to the nature of the animal and the reason for neutralizing the animals generally.

[7] Allen 2013, II PT 233, 237a–b.
[8] Lacau 1913, pp. 36–41.
[9] Ibid., p. 41.
[10] Ibid., p. 49.
[11] Allen 2013, II PT 224, 219a.
[12] Ibid., II PT 324, 524a.
[13] Ibid., IV PT 522 passim.
[14] Ibid., III PT 255, 200a.
[15] Lacau 1913, pp. 36–37.

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The view clearly changed over time, but was mutilation seen as more aggressive, rendering the person or animal in the image broken, or did it represent a compromise for signs that were seen as less problematic? Given that the mutilations were often accomplished with paint and plaster after the carving of the texts, the question also arises of who was responsible for these decisions. Were they the judgments of religious authorities or merely of the supervising scribe?

In his study of the graphical anomalies of the Pyramid Texts, Lacau offers few conclusions. He observes, correctly, that the changes in the patterns over time rule out the assumption that the suppressions and mutilations are archaisms, remnants of a primitive period, but instead that they reflected contemporary concerns.[16] His discussion of the reason for the changes essentially repeats his initial assumptions: "[L]es images sont des êtres vivants doués d'un pouvoir magique. Certains signes que représentent des êtres dangereux ou impurs peuvent donc nuire au mort. Inversement le contact du mort peut profaner les images des dieux."[17]

However, in the Pyramid Texts, as Lacau notes, the birds, insects, cobras, and vipers so often mutilated in later periods were left intact. With the exception of the single pelican, they were neither omitted nor mutilated. Of the omitted or mutilated animals, lions and scorpions are of course dangerous, but the others are all herbivores, and not threatening to humans. It therefore seems unlikely that lions and scorpions were suppressed or mutilated because they were viewed as dangerous; their absence is instead to be attributed to their membership in a larger category.

The suppression of fish seems to have been the most thorough and consistent throughout the Pyramid Texts. This omission is generally attributed to impurity. The single suppressed pelican can perhaps be attributed to the fish potentially hidden in its beak. And while fish may have been seen as generally unclean, their suppression in royal burial chambers in particular may be related to the negative role assigned to the fish that ate Osiris's genitals, according to Plutarch's account of the myth.[18] The Seth animal was suppressed only beginning in the reign of Teti, however, usually replaced by a phonetic spelling of the god's name, or sometimes by the storm hieroglyph (, GSL N 4).

Lacau suggests, citing Leviticus 11:6 and Deuteronomy 14:7, that rabbits may have been thought of as impure,[19] presumably placing them, and perhaps other animals, in the same category as the fish that are so consistently avoided in these texts. However, the pattern of omission of the rabbit and the other mammals is quite different from that of fish. Given that a rabbit is used to write the name of Unas, this explanation seems very unlikely; notions of purity are not apt to change so quickly, and there is no later Egyptian evidence for such a view.

The mammals suppressed and mutilated include rabbits, hartebeests, lions, bulls, calves, sheep, goats, elephants, jackals, giraffes, and gazelles. Why were these animals suppressed or mutilated? Almost all of the animals suppressed and mutilated in the Pyramid Texts are mammals, and most of them are wild animals most often represented in desert scenes. Such desert scenes in private tombs often depict rabbits, various antelope species (including hartebeests), wild asses, wild cattle, jackals, and lions.[20] These animals are often shown on hilly terrain, similar to the foreign land sign (, GSL N 25). To the Egyptians, the desert represented the realm of the nonexistent, the wild and chaotic world outside the Nile Valley. The foreign areas to the south, from which elephants, giraffes, and baboons came, were seen as equally disordered, and it is perhaps significant that the earliest suppressions, in the pyramids of Unas and Teti, included examples from this category, baboons and a giraffe, as well as a lion, which may have already been far more common in Nubia during this period. The other two animals suppressed in these early pyramids were a donkey and a hippopotamus, both animals particularly associated with the god Seth.

A connection with Seth seems to be a unifying feature of most of the suppressions and mutilations. As the killer of Osiris, he was obviously not a desirable figure in the burial chamber of the dead king. The Seth

[16] Lacau 1913, p. 49.

[17] Ibid., p. 64.

[18] Plutarch, Moralia, 358 B. Plutarch states that three fish devoured the genitals of Osiris and that is why Egyptians particularly abstain from them. The early and thorough suppression of fish signs in the Pyramid Texts, with their Osirian associations, would tend to confirm his explanation.

[19] Lacau 1919, p. 38 n. 4.

[20] For a royal scenes of such animals from the Niuserre sun temple, see Edel and Wenig 1974; for an extensive non-royal scene, see Roth 1995, pl. 189.

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animal is suppressed, as are the animals most closely associated with him. And given that Seth was also associated early on with the deserts and foreign lands, the most likely explanation for the suppression of harmless animals like hartebeests, rabbits, and giraffes is that they evoked the realm of Seth.[21]

The suppression of domestic animals like goats and cattle does not necessarily contradict this interpretation. Wild or feral animals of these species clearly lived in the deserts or outside of Egypt. (It is perhaps significant that the imported domesticates sheep and goats are simply omitted, and not, insofar as I can determine, mutilated.) Wild cattle are known from desert scenes, and sheep and goats were almost certainly herded by desert nomads. Generic hieroglyphs of cattle, sheep, and goats could have referred to animals in the desert realm as well as their Nile Valley counterparts, and it may be for that reason that they were also omitted. Interestingly, in place of the collared domestic goat, only the collar is written, the mark of its domestic status, while the goat itself is omitted.

The preservation of birds, insects, cobras, and horned vipers can also be explained by this theory: birds and insects were thought of as living in the air, and snakes and vipers came out of the earth. It is the animals of the human realm, above the earth and below the skies, that were of concern.

It seems likely, then, that during the course of the Sixth Dynasty, Egyptian theologians came to see these animals as references to Seth and the external forces of nonexistence and chaos that threatened the ordered world. Even more dangerous than vipers and cobras, these disordered forces had to be subdued and suppressed, since they endangered existence itself. That duty, to create *maʿat* by subduing the chaos of nonexistence associated with the deserts and foreign lands outside the Nile Valley, was one of the principal duties of the king, and hence of Osiris, with whom he was identified. It is not surprising that allusions to these places and these forces should be kept out of his burial chamber.

Non-royal Burial Chambers: The Patterns

Suppressions and mutilations also occur in the burial chambers of nonroyal Egyptians, which begin to be decorated more frequently at about the same time as the Pyramid Texts began to be inscribed on the walls of royal pyramids. The patterns of omission and mutilation in both contexts share some features, but there are also notable differences.

Whereas the Pyramid Texts inscriptions avoided fish and humans, and later the name of Seth and mammals, the nonroyal examples deploy a broader variety of techniques and avoid more categories of hieroglyphs. Fish are again absent in most cases, although oddly not in the case where a fish occurs in a personal name.[22] Humans are often suppressed or mutilated, not only in hieroglyphic inscriptions, but also in accompanying scenes, which are, after all, only hieroglyphs writ large. There are a few examples when a mammal is mutilated, but the only example is a lion, an animal that can justifiably be seen as dangerous, and this is much less consistent than in the later Pyramid Texts. In contrast to the royal burial chambers, cobras and vipers are mutilated in nonroyal context, mainly in the later part of the period.

Another distinction is that although the Pyramid Texts omit the Seth animal, spelling the god's name phonetically, the nonroyal burial chamber inscriptions avoid the animal forms of a far greater range of gods. Phonetic spellings substitute for the jackal used to write Anubis, the falcon used to write Horus and Hathor, the ibis used to write the name of Thoth, and in one example, the *swt*-plant used to indicate the king in the *ḥtp-di-nswt* formula.[23] This kind of phonetic substitution had long been used in nonroyal personal names,[24] and it may be that the solution to the problematic presence of Seth in the Pyramid Texts was in fact borrowed from the nonroyal realm, rather than vice versa. In addition, gods and goddesses were sometimes not even named phonetically, but were referred to periphrastically, by their epithets. This is common even with gods who do not normally take an animal form, such as Ptah and Osiris.

[21] The fact that jackals are suppressed only in the pyramid of Pepi I may also be relevant. Jackals closely resemble the hunting dogs that attack wild animals on behalf of the human hunters.

[22] Bárta 2005, fig. 4; I am very grateful to Miroslav Bárta for a very high-resolution photograph of this false door stela, which allowed me to see the details of the hieroglyphs.

[23] Lacau 1926, pp. 69–77.

[24] Roth 1991, p. 204.

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In view of the fact that the patterns of suppressions and mutilations seem to differ from cemetery to cemetery, the discussion of the patterns below is organized by location. However, the real pattern, it is argued here, is chronological, and hence the locations will be dealt with in roughly chronological order.

Giza

The most unusual patterns in burial chamber decoration come not from a provincial backwater, but from four of the five decorated burial chambers attested at Giza. Hermann Junker differentiated these examples from those at Saqqara because of their greater freedom, suggesting that the few decorated burial chambers at Giza contain representations indistinguishable from the sort of decoration found in the chapel above.[25]

Indeed, the scenes of dancing, singing, and bread making in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh contrast with the static piles of offerings found in most decorated burial chambers. However, close observation shows that there are changes from the above-ground patterns, and that these changes are related to the same omissions and suppressions known from other nonroyal tombs. Although human beings are pictured, none of the participants are named individuals, except for the tomb owner himself, whose name is everywhere. In a chapel, for example, the scene of musicians would normally include the tomb owner's daughters playing harps, but here they are all anonymous. There are no family members or named individuals in the burial chamber, and aside from a single mention of anonymous *ka*-priest in a caption[26] and a similarly anonymous lector priest,[27] no titles other than the tomb owner's are mentioned.

One can also deduce the presence of cult functionaries whose images have been suppressed. The dragging in of the four feathered *mrt*-chests is a ritual often shown in tomb chapels,[28] but in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh, the four chests are shown on sledges, without the cult functionaries who would normally drag them. Their omission, where anonymous workers and sailors are depicted, may be a matter of rank or perhaps anonymity. These omissions of cult functionaries and identified individuals other than the tomb owner are clearly related to the omission of human forms altogether elsewhere.

Another subtle omission can be noted in the boating scenes in the burial chamber, in which the water is shown as a solid block of color, omitting the fish sometimes shown in the river in the decoration of tomb chapels. The offering list[29] does not distinguish among the different types of wine, avoiding the fishing-bird sign (, GSL G 51) often used in that context. Again, both circumstances parallel the frequent suppression of fish hieroglyphs in the burial chambers of other cemeteries.

The names and images of divinities, however, are intact in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh, as Junker noted. The god Anubis is written in his animal form on the sarcophagus and in the offering formula that surmounts the offering list, rather than being spelled out as in burial chambers elsewhere, and the falcon in the hieroglyph for "west" is retained in several examples.

The tomb is dated to the Sixth Dynasty quite confidently by Junker, who points to many late Fifth and Sixth Dynasty motifs. In particular, he argues that the burial chamber is approached from the east rather than the north, and he states that only in the Sixth Dynasty does this orientation become common. However, a burial chamber approached from the east occurs in the tomb of Senedjemib-Inti at Giza,[30] dating to the later reign of Djedkare-Izezi based on letters from that king;[31] the tomb of Ptahhotep I at Saqqara, also dating to the reign of Izezi, was similarly approached by a sloping passage opening to the east.[32] Such an orientation thus does not necessarily date the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty.

[25] Junker 1940, p. 45.

[26] Ibid., pl. XII.

[27] Ibid., pl. XVI.

[28] PM III 905, 13(b) (Appendix: Classification of Selected Scenes) lists six examples of the chests being dragged, one where they are at rest on a riverbank awaiting the funeral procession, and one in another burial chamber (that of Ihy, discussed below, where the scene in question is illustrated).

[29] Junker 1940, pl. XVI.

[30] Brovarski 2001, fig. 70.

[31] Ibid., p. 23.

[32] Hassan 1975, p. 56.

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It is clear, however, that Junker's principal argument for the date is the decoration of the substructure, for which he states that all parallel examples date to the Sixth Dynasty at the earliest.[33] Similarly, Porter and Moss,[34] and Klaus Baer[35] date the tomb to that period; the latter offers no arguments, but comments that the burial chamber is fully decorated. This again suggests that the decoration of the chamber is the principal reason for the dating.

The motifs included point to an earlier date, however. In particular, the scene in the above-ground chapel in which the tomb owner is seated with his wife in an armchair with a brachiomophic whisk, a mat on the wall behind him, playing *senet*, with other men playing *mehen,* musicians, dancers, and scribes, is extensively paralleled in the late Fifth Dynasty, but disappears in the Sixth. Kaiemankh's false door is also consistent with late Fifth Dynasty Giza style, and the offering formulas, above and below ground, consistently mention Anubis rather than Osiris. This might suggest a date in the reigns of Niusserre, Menkauhor, or Djedkare-Izezi, because by the reign of Unas, Osiris was generally far more common than Anubis in such formulae. A late Fifth Dynasty (Djedkare to early Unas) date for this tomb has recently been convincingly argued, primarily on the basis of the spear fishing scene but also on other grounds.[36]

It should also be noted that the concerns of Kaiemankh seem to be the same as those expressed in the pyramid of Unas: only fish and named humans other than the tomb owner are seen as dangers. It thus seems likely that the anomalous appearance of human figures, including the tomb owner, in this burial chamber is due to its early date.

Another decorated Giza burial chamber that shows human figures is that of Kakherptah (G 5560),[37] the burial chamber of which, like that of Kaiemankh, has an offering list on the east wall, although in this case the owner is shown seated at an offering meal to the right of it. As in the burial chamber of Kaiemankh, no named individuals are represented except for the tomb owner. There is an exhortation directly addressed to the lector priest who would have entered the burial chamber during the funeral to carry out the ritual, but this man is neither named nor represented. There are, however, four human figures among the hieroglyphs captioning the offering scene, as well as two jackals, one representing Anubis. There is even a fish shown, a poisonous puffer fish, which perhaps was not taboo because it was not edible. The offering list is equally full of anonymous people: no fewer than seven human determinatives occur; the fishing-bird sign (, GSL G 51), is however depicted without a fish in its beak. The tomb is dated to the early Sixth Dynasty by Porter and Moss,[38] probably following Junker,[39] but his argument again assumes that any tomb with subterranean decoration is of Sixth Dynasty date. The east–west offering chapel and multi-room chapel, as well as a fragment of the false door mentioning Osiris,[40] do indeed suggest a later date than Kaiemankh's tomb, but they do not exclude the reign of Unas, when many of these features are well attested. This is also true of the sloping passage from the east leading to the burial chamber,[41] as was discussed above.

The third tomb at Giza with a decorated substructure, that of Seshemnefer IV (LG 53), seems likely to have followed the same pattern, although only the top part of an offering list is preserved, again on the east wall of a the burial chamber approached by a sloping passage from the east. This small segment contains two human figures.[42] It is not clear whether there was originally a table scene beyond the door to the right, though there are traces of paint on the wall and would have been space for one.[43] Junker again dates the tomb to the Sixth Dynasty, and again his criteria do not exclude a late Fifth Dynasty date. The tomb is normally dated to the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the early Sixth Dynasty.[44]

Two tombs in the Khafre cemetery at Giza also have decoration on the east walls of their burial chamber, and both were dated by Junker to the Sixth Dynasty.[45]

[33] Junker 1940, p. 2.
[34] PM III 131.
[35] Baer 1960, 141.
[36] Woods 2009.
[37] Junker 1947, pp. 108–21.
[38] PM III 166.
[39] Junker 1947, pp. 3, 108.
[40] Ibid., p 112.
[41] Ibid., p. 110, fig. 48.
[42] Junker 1953, p. 115, fig. 53.
[43] Ibid., p. 114.
[44] Baer 1960, p. 131; PM III 223.
[45] Junker 1947, p. 3.

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The tomb of the overseer of works Rawer, on a terrace to the west of the Khentkawes monument, was a large solid mastaba of limestone with two false door niches, and an external mudbrick chapel containing four pillars; a large *serdab* was to the north.[46] From the floor of the chapel, a sloping passage leads west to a large rock-cut burial chamber running north–south, with the sarcophagus in a large niche cut in the center of the west wall, opposite the entrance, originally separated by wooden double doors. The eastern and southern walls of the main chamber were decorated, although they were not in good condition and were only recorded verbally. The northern half of the eastern wall preserved a broad offering list, which ran the entire length of the wall, surmounted by a frieze of vases, and below, three registers. Offering bearers are preserved at the northern end of the upper register, but other parts of the register and the one below it show only piled offerings. The lowest register (the only one that is completely painted), shows a row of trussed, butchered cattle, with butchers and offering bearers to the north. On the southern wall are fragmentary remnants of what Hassan calls "a large offering scene."[47]

The decoration of the external chapel consists only of a false door and fragments of architectural elements, both inscribed in deep, detailed hieroglyphs. The dating is not obvious from the information presented, although Hassan notes that the burial chamber resembles that of Queen Khentkawes, just to the east.[48] Porter-Moss gives both Reisner's dates of late Fourth to Fifth Dynasty and Baer's of Sixth Dynasty.[49] The presence of offering bearers and butchers, albeit originally separated from the sarcophagus by wooden doors, might suggest a late Fifth Dynasty date, based on the parallel with Kaiemankh.

The tomb of Seshemnefer-Ifi, in the Khafre quarry cemetery, shows on the southern end of its eastern wall the remains of a lowest register containing five butchered animals, an oryx, a gazelle, and two bulls. Above them are two registers containing piles of offerings, and an upper register with an inscription ending "...[venerate]ed [be]fore Osiris, Seshemnefer."[50] To judge from the sunk-relief decoration of the chapel above, particularly the chin-high narrow loaves on its offering table scenes and the six-paneled false door with a torus and cavetto cornice,[51] the tomb dates late in the Sixth Dynasty. This date would accord well with the similarity of the preserved fragments of the burial chamber decoration with the late Sixth Dynasty examples at Saqqara and South Saqqara.

The five Giza tombs thus seem to show a clear sequence and some general patterns of decoration. Except for the tomb of Seshemnefer-Ifi, the latest of the group, the pattern was the placement of an offering list on the east wall, sometimes with an offering scene depicting the tomb owner to the south. This consistent placement on the east is puzzling if we assume that the decoration of the royal burial chamber was the inspiration, because in pyramids the ritual that corresponds to the offering list is invariably placed on the north wall of the burial chamber. The northern placement is perhaps due to the stress placed on the opening of the mouth by Barta's Type B offering list, adopted in royal contexts by the mid-Fifth Dynasty, but in private contexts only in the late Sixth.[52] The connection of this ritual with stars, particularly Ursus Major, may have determined the northern placement in royal contexts.[53] In the nonroyal tombs, by contrast, the offering list was placed where the deceased, lying on his left side with his head to the north, would be facing it. Given this distinction in placement, it seems reasonable to suggest that the decoration of nonroyal burial chambers was not a later imitation of the royal Pyramid Texts tradition, but that they were parallel developments, both inspired by the growing importance of Osiris. In that case, it should be possible to date the tombs of Rawer and Kaiemankh to the reign of Unas or somewhat earlier;[54] the very similar tombs of Kakherptah and Seshemnefer IV to the reigns of Unas or Teti; and the tomb of Seshemnefer-Ifi to the later Sixth Dynasty.

[46] Hassan 1944, pp. 293–97.

[47] Ibid., p. 297.

[48] Ibid.

[49] PM III 242.

[50] Hassan 1953, p. 63, fig. 53.

[51] Ibid., pp. 59–62.

[52] Barta 1963, p. 47.

[53] Roth 1993, pp. 70–71.

[54] A date as early as the reign of Izezi more likely by Inspector Hany el-Tayeb's recent excavation of a decorated burial chamber in the tomb of the vizier Rashepses, just north of the Step Pyramid complex a Saqqara and well dated to the reign of Izezi by a letter from that king. Photo caption in the blog of Chris Naunton: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=10151585306020380&set=a.10151585300965380.1073741825.573015379&type=3&l=35ce40892a&theater (accessed August 26, 2013).

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Where the Giza tradition does seem to show a difference from that of Saqqara, at least in the first four examples, is its exclusion of *identifiable* human figures other than the tomb owner. This may be an early feature, which later developed into the wholesale avoidance of any human figures, including that representing the tomb owner, as in the Pyramid Texts.

Saqqara

One of the earliest decorated burial chambers at Saqqara, the burial chamber of Ihy in the Unas Cemetery, offers some confirmation of this early dating for the first four Giza tombs.[55] When it was taken over by Princess Idut in the later Sixth Dynasty, Idut's workmen merely removed Ihy's name and titles. The chamber had been painted with an offering list on the north and east walls, an elaborate palace façade design on the west, and with piled offerings above and trussed cattle below. The offering scene known from the four earliest Giza tombs, and later in the tomb of Ankhmaahor, does not appear. As in the chapel of Kaiemankh, the four *mrt*-chests are shown on sledges (fig. 18.4),[56] but there are no men pulling them.

There are human figures depicted in the hieroglyphs, however. One survives in the fragmentary offering list,[57] and there may have been more had the list been better preserved. More significant is the badly erased inscription on Ihy's sarcophagus.[58] It shows a human figure as a determinative in the word *kꜣt* on the west side,[59] although on the east side the same determinative is omitted. There are also gaps after two instances of Ihy's name (on the cover and the interior east face)[60] that suggest it had a human determinative. These texts are not shown in the photographs, but they were apparently not readable, the erasures more thorough than those done by princess Idut's workmen. This may be because Ihy erased them himself, or it may be that, as representations of the disgraced vizier, they were attacked with special violence.

There are no names of gods surviving in the burial chamber or on the sarcophagus, so it is impossible to determine how they were treated. Nor does the portion of the offering list that might contain the fishing bird survive.

This tomb probably dates to the reign of Unas, given its position and the office held by its owner. It seems to be a transition from the four Giza burial chambers to the Teti cemetery tombs, in that human figures were represented, but sometimes erased.

Another burial chamber inscription from the Unas cemetery, the sarcophagus of Seshemnefer, led Lacau to describe a uniquely nonroyal aspect of suppression in burial chambers, that of divine images and names.[61] On the lid of the sarcophagus, the owner is said to be "venerated before he who is upon his mountain and lord of the holy land and before the great god the lord of heaven," referring to Anubis and Re by their epithets rather than their names. The *ḥtp di* (*nswt*) formula on the same sarcophagus names "the



Figure 18.4. Four *mrt*-chests on sledges, burial chamber of Ihy at Saqqara. After Macramallah 1935; drawing by author

[55] Macramallah 1935, pls. 21–24.

[56] Ibid., pl. 26 and

[57] Ibid., pl. 22B; The kneeling man is clearly visible in the top row of pl. 22 B, but in the transcription of the list on p. 33, where it should occur with offering 17 in the upper register, it is rendered as a flower hieroglyph (𓇼, GSL M 42).

[58] Macramallah 1935, pl. 25.

[59] Ibid., pl. 25C.

[60] Ibid., p. 36.

[61] Lacau 1926, pp. 69–77.

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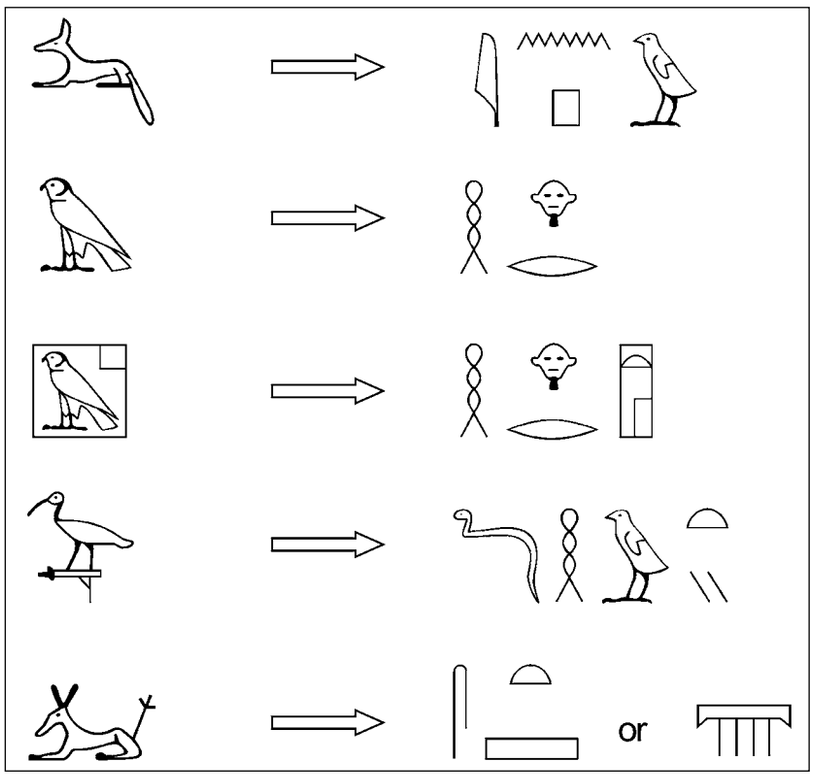


Figure 18.5. The spelling out of divine names, to suppress the hieroglyphs representing divine animals: Anubis, Horus, Hathor, Thoth, and Seth. The mention (and suppression) of Seth occurs only in the Pyramid Texts after Unas; the other examples are from nonroyal burial chambers. Hieroglyphs produced using the VisualGlyph program

lord of Busiris" (Osiris) on the west face, and on the east face the word *nswt* is spelled out in alphabetic signs, *n-s-w,* perhaps avoiding the divine implications of the heraldic *swt*-plant on which it was based. Interestingly, given the rigidity with which divine names are avoided, a human figure seems to have been carved on the sarcophagus originally, since there is an erasure where we would expect the old man of "good old age," and just to the left of the erasure the falcon of *imntt* is preserved, the only divine emblem on the entire coffin.

Lacau[62] saw these as early examples of a Middle Kingdom phenomenon he had noted in his earlier article,[63] in which divine names were spelled out in order to suppress the animals used in the normal writings of those names (the jackal of Anubis, the ibis of Thoth, the falcon of Horus, and the goose of Geb) (fig. 18.5). He describes these omissions as prudent, suggesting that the divine emblems could interfere with the dead because they were alive, and at the same time they could be profaned by contact with the tomb owner's corpse. He sees these avoidances of the name itself as being an exaggerated version of this prudence, extending even to Osiris, whose name is not written with his image.

The pyramid cemetery of the Teti pyramid contains many more examples of decorated burial chambers, most of them in the tombs of viziers. These were initially studied by Battiscombe Gunn in an appendix to the publication of the cemetery excavations.[64] Table I summarizes the features of the burial chambers and several inscribed sarcophagi in the Teti cemetery, as well as the false door from the burial chamber of Inti in the northern part of Saqqara, which shows many of the same features. These patterns generally date from Teti through Mernere.

Most of these tombs avoid human forms in the burial chamber; the exceptions are the burial chamber of Kagemni, where anonymous determinatives doing active labor are preserved,[65] and that of Neferseshemre, where the human determinative for *kꜣt* is preserved;[66] these examples may represent a remnant of the acceptance of anonymous human forms seen in the early Giza tombs. A third exception, the sarcophagus of Mereruka, is particularly interesting because human forms are avoided on the walls of his burial chamber.[67] Possibly his sarcophagus was decorated first, when these forms were less strictly excluded; or the sculptor may simply have been sloppier than the workmen who painted the walls, given that a fish is also present on the sarcophagus interior.

The mutilation of human hieroglyphs is quite rare in the cemetery. Ankhmaahor and Kaaper show men reduced to head, shoulders, and arms in the vocative, presumably because the reed-leaf sign alone would have been ambiguous. The lower half of a seated man in *Hmsi* in Mereruka's offering list is the only other example.

[62] Lacau 1926, p. 72.
[63] Lacau 1913, p. 58.
[64] Gunn 1926.
[65] Ibid., pp. 172–73.
[66] Ibid., p. 172.
[67] Ibid., pp. 173–74.

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	Human Forms	*Mutilated Human*	*Animal Divinities*	*Other Animals*	*Fish*	*Vipers, Cobras*
Neferseshemre sarcophagus (Gunn 1926)	avoids except *kꜣt*	none	spelled out	(short text)	none expected	intact
Kagemni (Firth and Gunn 1926, pp. 172–73, pl. 5)	active forms occur	none	epithets only	jackal, falcon in *ḫrtỉ-nṯr, ỉmntt*	none	intact
Mereruka (Firth and Gunn 1926, pp. 173–74, pls. 2–4)	avoids on walls, occur on sarcophagus	***ḥmsỉ* in** offering **list**	spelled out, but avoids *bꜣw* of Pe and Nekhen	falcon and ibis occur	one inside sarcophagus fish omitted in 𓊪, GSL G 51 in offering list	intact, but omitted in Wadjet
Khentika (James 1953)	avoids	in vocative, elsewhere	spelled out	jackal, falcon in *ḫrtỉ-nṯr*	fish omitted in 𓊪, GSL G 51 in offering list	intact
Ankhmaahor (Kanawati 1997)	avoids	in vocative	epithets only	present, including jackal	fish present in 𓊪, GSL G 51 in offering list	intact
Tetu sarcophagus (Gunn 1926)	avoids	none	spelled out	(short text)	none expected	intact
Nedjetempet sarcophagus (Kanawati and Hassan 1996)	avoids	none	epithets only (Osiris and Anubis)	present	none expected	intact
Kaaper sarcophagus (Kanawati and Hassan 1996)	avoids	in vocative, *wʿb*	no divinities named	(short text)	none expected	intact
Inumin (Kanawati 2006)	avoids	four examples in offering list	no divinities named	jackal present	fish present in 𓊪, GSL G 51 in offering list	intact
Remni (Kanawati 2009)	avoids	none	no divinities named	name & titles only	none expected	intact
Qar sarcophagus (Bárta 2009)	avoids	none	none present	jackal present	fish present in *ʿḏ-mr*	—
Inti false door (Bárta 2005)	avoids	none	epithets except Osiris	present, including jackal	present in name	intact

Table 18.I. Decorated Burial Chambers and Sarcophagi, Saqqara, Reign of Teti and Later

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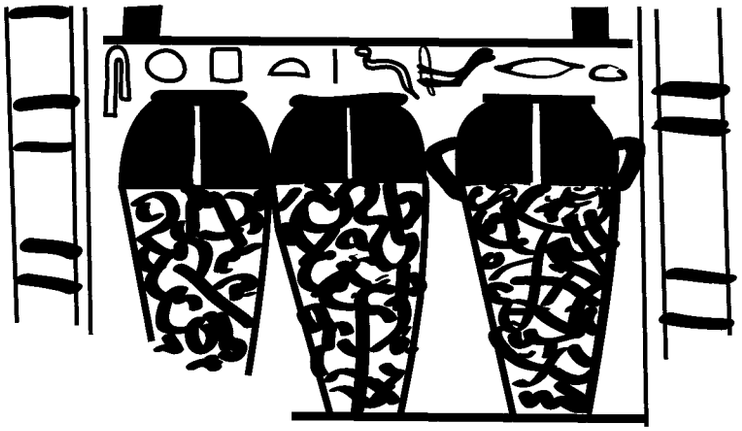


Figure 18.6. Jars from the burial chamber of Ankhmaahor, captioned "bringing milk products." After Firth and Gunn 1926, pl. 6; straightened and drawn by author

The avoidance of human figures is particularly clear in the burial chamber of Ankhmaahor, because its north wall shows an offering scene, in which the chair of the recipient is empty.[68] Another scene from the west wall of Ankhmaahor's burial chamber appears to be an ordinary pile of chests and vessels, but the inscription: *sḫpt ḏsrt*, "bringing milk-products," clearly alludes to missing human figures (fig. 18.6); normally such a text would caption the offering bearers who were transporting the milk products.[69]

Divinities mentioned in these burial chambers are either given names that are spelled out alphabetically or more commonly referred to only by their epithets. The name of Osiris, of course, does not need to be spelled out, since it contains no representation of the god, but it is also sometimes written when other gods are referred to only by their epithets. Even in the burial chamber of Ankhmaahor, where the gods are normally referred to only by their epithets, however, the divine name in the owner's name is spelled out, as it normally is in nonroyal names. In the tomb of Mereruka, even demi-gods, such as the souls of Pe and Nekhen, are avoided; the three birds used to write the word *bꜣw* are suppressed.

Animals that do not embody divinities occur frequently; there is no evidence of the attacks on mammals known from the Pyramid Texts. This includes jackals that are not used in the name of Anubis, mammals such as the wildebeest that occurs in offering lists, and even the falcon that occurs in the word *ḥrti-nṯr*. Although the falcon in the last named sign actually represents the word "god," it was presumably allowed because it did not represent a specific divinity. Cobras and vipers occur unmodified, although in one example in the burial chamber of Mereruka, the cobra in the name of the goddess Wadjet is suppressed. This is presumably because Wadjet is a cobra goddess, and in the context of her name, the cobra was taken as a representation of the goddess. This demonstrates that the scribes who wrote these texts were very aware of the context of the signs they suppressed. Not all jackals were Anubis, and not all cobras were Wadjet.

Similar suppressions occur in the tomb of Inti in the northernmost part of the Saqqara cemetery.[70] Inti had a small false door attached to his sarcophagus with mud plaster. This was not a conventional false door, but one specially made to be in the burial chamber, as can be seen from the pattern of omissions on it, which is quite similar to the pattern found in Ankhmaahor's burial chamber. Most obviously, the image of the tomb owner is omitted from the central offering scene on the tablet, although the typical list of offerings is given there. Again, Anubis is referred to only by epithets, in some cases a long string of them, doubtless intended to ensure that he was identifiable. Ptah's name is also replaced by his epithets, "lord of Tjennet" and "south of his wall." The name of Osiris occurs on the left jamb, however. The jackals in the title *zꜣb* are not suppressed, nor, more surprisingly, is the fish in the name of Inti himself.

On a slightly different pattern is the decorated burial chamber of Remeni in the Teti pyramid cemetery. As its excavator pointed out,[71] it was unusual in that cemetery for someone who was not a vizier to have a fully decorated burial chamber, and the scene of boats on its east wall is strikingly similar to that in the Giza burial chamber of Kaiemankh. As in that burial chamber, boats with raised and lowered sails traveling upstream and downstream are shown, but unlike Kaiemankh's boats, they have no crews. The only occupants are the recumbent cattle shown at the prow of the northbound boats; such cattle also appear in the northbound boats in Kaiemankh's burial chamber. In both tombs, the name and titles of the tomb owner were inscribed over every boat, although the figure of the owner is absent from the boats in Remni's burial chamber. Also

[68] Firth and Gunn 1926, pl. 6.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Bárta 2005.

[71] Kanawati 2011.

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as in the tomb of Kaiemankh, the water below is without fish, reduced to a single thick line.[72] The only texts in the burial chamber are Remni's name and titles, which caption even the piled offerings. The remainder of the decoration consists of piled offerings and a register of trussed cattle, their forelegs removed and resting on them, at the base of the south wall decoration.

Heliopolis

Showing many of the same concerns as the Saqqara tombs are the four burial chambers of Old Kingdom high priests of Heliopolis (*wr mȝȝ*) found just outside the ancient city wall by a man digging in his garden in Mattariya in 1916.[73] The tombs of Khuenhor called Khuwi (#4) and Sebeky (#2) are just to the east of the city wall, and those of Sebeky-Bia (#3) and Meru (#1) are to the east of them. Only the decorated burial chambers survive; each opens to the south of a space that is called a court by the excavator, but is probably the base of a vertical shaft.[74] The east, west, and south walls of the chambers are decorated, the east wall with an offering list, the west with furniture, clothing, and jewelry, and the south with granaries.

Fish are avoided in these tombs, and human figures are either omitted or (in the offering lists and the obscure title *bb*) mutilated. In general in these tombs, Osiris is named, and the name of Anubis is spelled out, avoiding the jackal that represents the god. Other divinities, such as Ma'at, Zepa, and Reput are simply named without their anthropomorphic or animal determinatives.[75] But in reference to two gods, these tombs are more reticent. They refer to Atum as "lord of Heliopolis" and Geb as "lord of the earth," avoiding their names. Lacau could see no reason for such a complete avoidance in these two cases and attributes it to "idées personnelles de certains scribes." However, it is consistently used in three of the four tombs; the fourth, Sebeky, who does not hold or mention his titles in the cults of Atum and Geb, claims to be venerated by the "great god, lord of heaven,"[76] surely a similar elision of the name of Re. It seems probable that the hesitation to name these three gods is related to the fact that they are among the principal deities of Heliopolis, and therefore a greater respect is shown them than divinities such as Ma'at and Ptah-Sokar.

Lacau also points out a striking anomaly on the east wall of the chamber of Meru, where the wrapped-staff *nṯr* sign is omitted in the title *ḥm-nṯr* in naming priesthoods of "lord of Heliopolis," "lord of the earth," and the millipede god Zepa.[77] The priestly title was similarly written for Zepa in the tomb of Sebeky/Bia, in that case on the west wall.[78] The wrapped staff was presumably seen as a representative of those gods, and omitted out of the same respect that inspired the elision of their names, in the first two cases. Zepa is not usually considered as an important god, but his cult is centered at Heliopolis, and he may have been more important during this period. Alternatively, the sign may have been omitted because it stood for the millipede and was thought dangerous to the deceased.

Daressy also noted that the lion hieroglyph in Meru's name was universally cut at the neck as are all the vipers in tombs #1, #3, and #4, according to Lacau.[79] The cobra occurs quite rarely in these tombs; I could find only one example in the tomb of Sebeky, and another in the offering list that occurred in all four tombs.[80] Lacau does not mention whether the necks of this sign are cut.

Sebeky called Bia (#3) has a type-A offering list,[81] and those of the other high priests are said to be identical, but in the chamber of Sebeky (#2), the new elements of the late Sixth Dynasty type-B list are given separately on the east well, just before the longer standard type-A list.[82] This suggests that his tomb dates in the second half of the Sixth Dynasty, and presumably the neighboring tombs were of that date or shortly before.

[72] Kanawati 2009, pl. 38.

[73] Daressy 1916, pp. 13–20; Lacau 1926, pp. 77–79.

[74] Barsanti 1916.

[75] Lacau overlooked the fact that the goddess Reput, normally determined by a sedan chair, is also missing the determinative in the titles of Sebeky/Bia (Daressy 1916, p. 204). The sedan chair is inanimate, but it is clearly suppressed here, perhaps comparably to the divine flag used to write *nṯr* in the same tomb and the *sw* sign on the sarcophagus of Seshemnefer. Or, like the pelican whose beak may have contained fish, the sedan chair may have been omitted because of the potential human inside it.

[76] Daressy 1916, p. 201.

[77] Lacau 1926, p. 80.

[78] Daressy 1916, p. 206.

[79] Lacau 1926, p. 78.

[80] Daressy 1916, pp. 202 and 206 #97.

[81] Ibid., p. 205.

[82] Ibid., p. 200.

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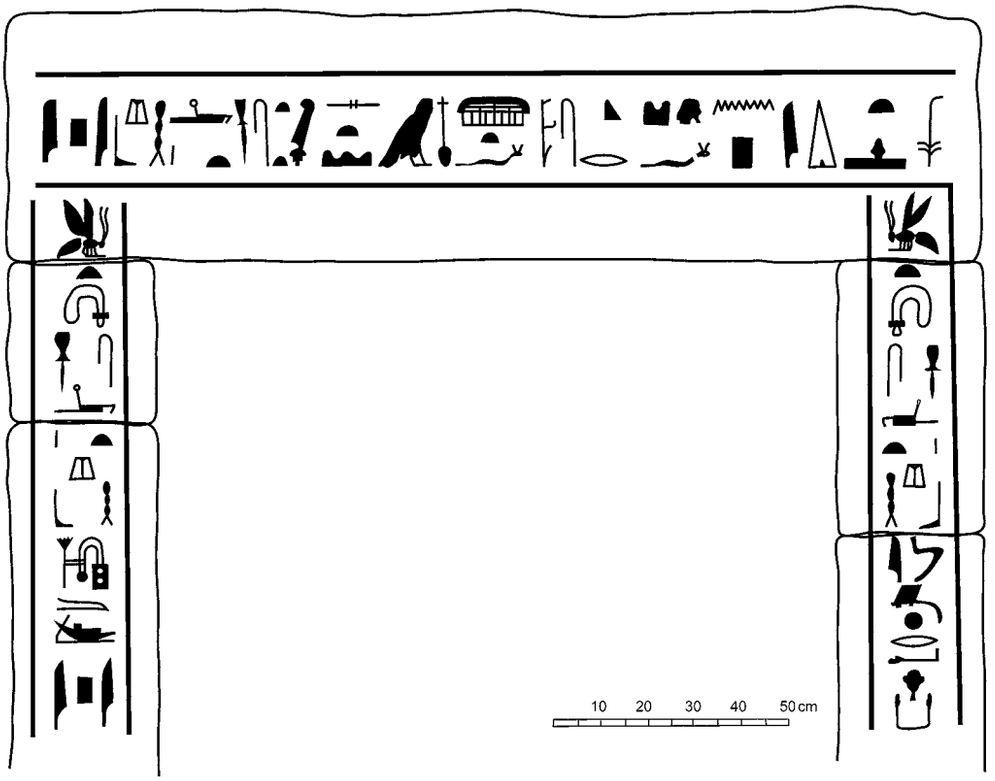


Figure 18.7. The entrance to the burial chamber of Raherkai, South Saqqara.
After Jéquier 1929; drawn by author

In sum, then, these burial chambers of the high priests differ from the Saqqara tombs, in that the Heliopolis tombs are more selective and hierarchical in their use of these periphrastic constructions. (It is also possible, of course, that there were different hierarchies in the individual Saqqara tombs, since their owners were more diverse in titles and offices.) On the other hand, the Heliopolis burials show the mutilation of vipers and lions, similar to the examples that appear at South Saqqara, and the tomb of Sebeky shows an early, segregated example of the type-B offering list that is so common there. These patterns may be regional, but it seems more likely that the Heliopolis tombs represent a transitional stage.

South Saqqara

In tombs at South Saqqara, mostly dating to Pepi I or later, gods' names normally written with divine images continue to be spelled out, but the suppression of the entire name and its replacement by epithets seems to have fallen into disuse. Humans continue to be avoided, but now they are more often mutilated, reduced to a head and shoulders, as is usually the case in the contemporary Pyramid Texts. In addition, vipers and cobras began to be mutilated much more frequently, but still inconsistently. The fishing-bird sign(𓅱, GSL G 51, appears with its fish clearly intact in the offering list of Degem;[83] in others, however, the fish appears to have been omitted or replaced with a single line.

The tombs at South Saqqara have rather sparsely decorated chapels, and the differences between the burial chamber context and that of the above-ground chapel can be clearly seen by comparing corresponding parts, such as the false door from the late Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of Raherkai and the real door into the same man's burial chamber (fig. 18.7).[84] Human determinatives following the owner's name are omitted on the burial chamber door, and anthropomorphic determinatives are also omitted after the name of deities

[83] Jéquier 1929, pl. 16.
[84] Ibid., figs. 138–39.

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like Osiris and in the word "god." (Generic human determinatives may also be mutilated.) The word "west" does not occur on Raherkai's false door, but in nearby chapels, the sign was written in the normal manner, with a falcon perched on a folded cloth, holding a large ostrich feather. On Raherkai's burial chamber door, in the phrase "western cemetery," the falcon is omitted from the sign, presumably because it was viewed as a divine image. Similarly, the name Anubis is written with a jackal on the false door, but spelled out phonetically underground. The viper in the following epithet is intact on the false door but written with a severed head in the burial chamber.

In the burial chamber of a woman named Wadjet, Hathor and Anubis are spelled out consistently.[85] The tomb owner's name, which was shared with the goddess Wadjet, was also spelled out phonetically, but this was the standard spelling in the chapel as well. In contrast to the tomb of Mereruka, however, where the cobra hieroglyph in the name was omitted, probably because it was read as an image of the goddess Wadjet, in the name of the lady Wadjet in her burial chamber, it is present, and not mutilated. This is perhaps to be compared with the preservation of the fish hieroglyph in the name of Inti, in northern Saqqara: a name was sufficiently tied to the identity of the tomb owner that it was left intact despite the danger its hieroglyphs may have posed.

The burial chamber inscriptions of another woman, Bebibi, have a headless cobra and a viper with a separated head; it is not clear whether there is a distinction to be drawn between these two methods of mutilation. The tomb's artists were also completely inconsistent with divine images, avoiding them both in the name of the festival of Thoth and the *ỉmnt* sign on the lintel, but including them on the right jamb.[86] This suggests two different sculptors with different ideas.

Provincial Tombs

Abydos

In the recently rediscovered tomb of Weni the elder at Abydos, dating to the early Sixth Dynasty, the burial chamber seems to show much the same pattern as at the Heliopolis tombs.[87] Vipers are invariably headless or decapitated. Human figures are omitted and, more often, mutilated. When the tomb owner's name is written simply Weni, the final determinative is omitted; but when it is written larger and more fully as Weni the elder, the *smsw*-hieroglyph is mutilated. This is a departure from the tradition in the capital, where the tomb owner's name tends to be left unmodified, and the mutilation of the *smsw*-sign, which in some sense represents Weni, is particularly disturbing.

Anubis is spelled out, and Osiris is written normally, though without its determinative. The name of Osiris occurs four times in the burial chamber inscriptions. The divine emblem of the goddess Bat, which occurs in one of Weni's titles, is not suppressed.

There are no clearly omitted fish, unless the writing of Weni's title, *ỉmỉ-ꜣ wḥꜥ*, "overseer of fishers and fowlers," with only a duck determinative constitutes an omission. (Unfortunately, the title is not present on his false door for comparison.) In the offering list, the wine offering in which the fishing-bird sign (, GSL G 51) appears is too damaged to determine whether the fish is present or omitted.

There was also a decorated burial chamber in the nearby tomb of Iuu, the father of Weni and a vizier of Pepi I.[88] There the epithet of Osiris, "Foremost of the Westerners," occurs alone twice, although Osiris is also named nine times. While this might be an indication of the periphrastic use of epithets, known from Saqqara and Heliopolis, Richards interprets it more plausibly as representing the gradual fusing of the local god Khentyimentiu with the increasingly ascendant Osiris.[89]

Because these two provincial officials are so well dated by Weni's autobiography, it is interesting to note that Iuu's burial chamber did not, apparently, contain mutilated vipers,[90] whereas the sign is always mutilated

[85] Jéquier 1929, fig. 90.

[86] Ibid., fig. 62.

[87] I am very grateful indeed to the rediscoverer of the tomb, Janet Richards, for sending me images of her team's unpublished drawings of the burial chamber, on which the following analysis is based.

[88] Richards 2010, pp. 73–81.

[89] Ibid., pp. 76–81.

[90] Ibid., fig. 4.13, p. 77.

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in the tomb of his son, only a generation later. Given the close connections these men had with the central government and the Memphite area, this period, between Pepi I and Merenre, probably marks the introduction of mutilated snake hieroglyphs.

Dendera

Another provincial tomb, that of Idu at Dendera, has a decorated burial chamber that was published by Petrie.[91] In Idu's burial chamber, vipers are mostly headless, although two of them were either decapitated or overlooked (the drawing is not clear). As in the tomb of Ankhmaahor at Saqqara, the suppression of offering bearers in the burial chamber is implied by the captions above the trussed bulls: *sḫpt stpt,* "bringing choice cuts." In addition, the standard representing the west sign is empty, and the name of the god Anubis is spelled out, all features that would be unsurprising in South Saqqara. As at Abydos, however, there is an unexpected modification of the tomb owner's name: the seated child hieroglyph (, GSL A 17) in Idu's name is mutilated, whereas in the Memphite cemeteries, the writing of the name of the deceased seems to have been sacrosanct.

Mendes

In the delta, at the site of Mendes, the tomb of Setnet-Pepi also seems to follow many of the customs of the contemporary South Saqqara cemetery, possibly because the owner bore the title "king's sole ornament," a popular title at South Saqqara. In her burial chamber, a viper is shown with a severed head and the falcon is omitted from the sign for west. The name of Hathor is spelled out, and the name Anubis probably was as well, although the only occurrence is in a destroyed area.[92] On the false door found in her chapel, by comparison, her name is always written with a human determinative and Hathor is written with a falcon, but Anubis is spelled out,[93] which may indicate an increasing influence of the writings of divine names in burial chambers on the decoration of the chapel.

Non-royal Burial Chambers: Discussion

Among the nonroyal tombs, the realization that the Giza tombs are probably prior to the examples known from Saqqara and elsewhere suggests that the differences are a matter of date rather than geographical distance, although as in other aspects of tomb decoration, features appear in some cemeteries before they do in others.

The fact that workers were shown in some of the first examples of decorated substructures (the nonroyal tombs of Kaiemankh and Rawer) suggests that the problem posed by representations was felt to be solved by suppressing the figures' identities. Kaiemankh obviously had no fear that *anonymous* human images would take form and compete with him for the food offerings. But he clearly felt that people with identities established by texts (and perhaps even anonymous figures, like cult functionaries, whose identity was obvious to him) might benefit from the rituals done for him, and perhaps interfere in some way with his own regeneration.[94]

Since the burial chamber represented the realm of the dead, the only people who could accompany the tomb owner were anonymous servants, analogous to the human sacrifices of the predynastic period, or the anonymous model servants or shabtis of later periods. To depict family members or other individuals there was essentially to consign them to the netherworld.

Ihy, as Unas's vizier, must have been aware of the more thorough suppression of human figures in the royal tomb, but, at least initially, he continued to use them in his own burial chamber, which was not viewed as similarly sacrosanct. The subsequent omission or mutilation of all human images was presumably a more extreme variant of this concern.

[91] Petrie 1900, pl. Va.

[92] Soghor 1967, figs. 7, 8.

[93] Ibid., fig. 9.

[94] This suppression of an *identity* is perhaps to be compared with the omission of the husband in most tombs of women of most periods, described in Roth 1999. The husband is neither named nor represented, presumably because his presence would interfere with the rebirth of his wife.

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A new concern begins to appear in the Saqqara tombs in the reign of Teti. Tomb owners begin to avoid the sacred animals associated with gods and goddesses, instead spelling their names phonetically, as was generally done when divine names occurred in nonroyal names. A similar spelling out was used of the *swt*-plant, the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt, either because it was viewed in some way as divine or because of its association with kingship. Another inanimate object, the carrying chair that usually determines the name of the goddess Reput,[95] is suppressed in the Heliopolitan tomb of Sebeky-Bia. There are also several instances at Heliopolis in which the wrapped staff used to write "god" was suppressed in this context.

In some cases the divine name was avoided altogether, and replaced with an epithet or a series of epithets. This seems to be most common and most extensive in the earlier Saqqara tombs. The two levels of suppression that appear in the Heliopolitan tombs of the high priests suggest that the more extreme use of epithets was intended to show more respect for gods who were particularly important to the tomb owner. The use of epithets alone dies out, however, in the later South Saqqara tombs.

The Heliopolitan tombs also mark the beginning of the suppression and (more often) mutilation of animals dangerous to humans, such as lions, vipers, and cobras. These mutilations continue, somewhat erratically, at South Saqqara and in the provinces, and continue to be practiced into the Middle Kingdom.

The rare decorated burial chambers from provincial cemeteries are essentially identical to the contemporary tombs at Heliopolis and South Saqqara, and the suppressions and mutilations must have served essentially the same purpose. In addition, of course, they served as markers of the tomb owners' close ties to the capital and its beliefs and customs, becoming a sort of status marker. A significant difference from the tombs in the Memphite area, however, is the extension of these patterns of mutilation to human figures that formed part of the name of the deceased.

While the general trend of development in private tombs thus seems to be chronological, there are probably regional variations as well, such as the occasional avoidance of the wrapped staff sign for "god" in the title "god's servant" at Heliopolis, and the preference for mutilation over suppression at Abydos and Dendera.

To summarize, then, there were four apparent motives for suppression or mutilation in non-royal burial chambers. Human figures, particularly identifiable ones, were avoided or mutilated lest they compete with the tomb owner and prevent his rebirth. Fish were omitted because they were believed to be unclean. Animal avatars, and by extension emblems and names of the gods, could be suppressed (never mutilated), as a show of respect, or perhaps because any offerings would automatically accrue to them. And finally, dangerous animals — cobras and vipers and lions — would be mutilated (never suppressed), to protect the mummy of the deceased.

The nonroyal examples also clarify a distinction between suppression and mutilation that is not obvious in the Pyramid Text examples. Mutilation was clearly seen as negative and perhaps hurtful, because it is never used with divine animals or emblems, and, at least initially, it was generally avoided with human figures when possible. Interestingly, it is also very rare with fish, where suppression is the rule. Suppression was presumably seen as more neutral and was avoided with dangerous animals, which were uniformly mutilated.

Conclusions

A few basic conclusions can be drawn from this survey, both from the commonalities and the distinctions between the royal Pyramid Texts and the texts in nonroyal burial chambers. In both royal and nonroyal contexts, fish are suppressed or replaced by a line in the case of the fishing-bird sign (, GSL G 51), and the pelican, as a potential bearer of fish, was similarly suppressed in the Pyramid Texts. This avoidance is presumably connected with the fact that fish are viewed as unclean and are particularly inimical to Osiris, with whose realm the burial chamber was identified. (The absence of mutilation is not surprising, given that a partial fish would also be unclean.) The suppression of fish is almost universal in the Pyramid Texts, with only a single mistake,[96] but it seems much more haphazard in nonroyal burial chambers, perhaps because the deceased was not yet fully identified with Osiris.

[95] Kaiser 1983.

[96] Lacau 1913, p. 42.

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The fact that fish and (individual) people were omitted from the very outset, and initially in the same way, suggests a parallel. The royal burial chamber was a sacred space, inhabited by the king who was to be the ruler of the gods there, and protected by the strongest spells known to Egyptian theologians. The Pyramid Texts would be forbidden to the sort of anonymous people depicted as hieroglyphic determinatives. Their suppression may have been meant initially to prevent these determinatives from invading the realm of the gods and profaning the sacred texts.

This fear of profaning the rites of the burial chamber may have been extended to officials' tombs as well. They had no Pyramid Texts, but they normally had offering lists which record the offerings associated with the Pyramid Texts offering ritual, which was probably enacted in the burial chamber, to judge from the exhortation to the lector priest in the Giza tomb of Kaiherptah. The omission of other named individuals, and eventually even anonymous determinatives, suggests that they might be competition, depriving the mummy of the plenty the tomb owner had provided for himself. Even in above-ground chapels, family members are rarely depicted near the offering table in the Sixth Dynasty; when they appear, they tend to be at a significantly smaller scale.

The same argument might explain the suppression of the gods in nonroyal burial chambers at the same period. Gunn suggested that divinities were suppressed to protect them from the corruption and impurity of the burial chamber, but if fish were suppressed because they made the space impure, it must have been pure, and hence suitable for gods. Their divine animals were not, after all, suppressed in the Pyramid Texts. But gods also need food offerings, and by depicting them in a nonroyal burial chamber, where they would clearly outrank the deceased, they would represent very dangerous competition.

This exclusion seems to have been most extreme in the early part of Teti's reign, when even the names of the gods are excluded, replaced by epithets. Later it was deemed unnecessary to do more than suppress the images of the gods, spelling out their names in the same way that they were spelled out in personal names. Osiris was the least suppressed, perhaps because he was increasingly equated with the tomb owner, or because his name did not contain anything that could be considered a representation of the god. Which gods were omitted and which were simply spelled out or written without their typical determinatives seems to have been a matter of personal taste or, in the Heliopolis tombs, professional religious affiliation. (Anubis and Osiris are named in those tombs, but not the principal gods of Heliopolis.) The gods from whose cults the tombs received reversion offerings might be felt to have a special claim on them, so that the provisioning of individual cults might have determined which gods were suppressed and how much.

This interpretation would explain why it was never thought necessary to suppress the gods in the pyramids of kings. The king, as both Osiris and the son of Re, outranked the other gods sufficiently to protect his offerings. And the king's cult was provisioned directly during this period, and thus was not dependent upon the cults of any gods.

Similarly, non-royal tombs would have no need to suppress the mammals that represented a challenge to *ma'at,* the natural order of Egypt. Maintaining this order and defeating chaos were the responsibility of the king, not of his officials, and therefore mammals were neither mutilated nor suppressed in private tombs.

This subtle cosmic view was not, however, passed to later generations. Instead, it was the fear of dangerous signs, which seems to have begun in the reign of Merenre and which became the rule in later periods, simplifying what had been a complex and subtle system of mutilation and suppression.

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Abbreviations

GSL	Gardiner Sign List. Alan H. Gardiner. *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. Pp. 438–548. Third edition revised. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1957.
PM III	Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*, III/1. Second edition, Revised and Augmented. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974–1981.

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An Embalmer's Bowl with Demotic Inscription (Oriental Institute Museum E9115)

*Foy Scalf, University of Chicago**

Several generations of prominent Demotists were trained under Janet Johnson during her time as professor at the University of Chicago.[1] Many young Demotists throughout the world can trace their academic lineage directly or indirectly back to her. Her warmth, kindness, and generosity with her students, while ushering them through the rigors of a graduate program and into the professional field, have cemented her legacy in the field of Demotic studies. The approaching final publication of the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* is icing on her career cake, and we all owe her a debt of gratitude for the sacrifices she made and commitment she maintained during the long and tedious project.[2] I remain impressed by her vision to continually adopt and adapt new technology such as photographic scans, digital hand copies, and now the *e*CDD. It is an honor and a privilege to offer this small study of a Demotic inscription in the Oriental Institute Museum as a meager token of my appreciation for all that Janet has done and accomplished, with the hope that she may be able to resolve some of the remaining difficulties.

An Embalmer's Bowl with Demotic Inscription (OIM E9115)

The Oriental Institute Museum (OIM) collection contains a medium-sized ceramic bowl with a Demotic inscription (no. 1 and fig. 19.1).[3] The semi-globular bowl is wheel-made from coarse buff Nile clay with a ring base and flat flaring rim, measuring 14.8 cm for the rim diameter, 7.3 cm for the ring base diameter, and 13.2 cm total height. It is 1.0 cm thick at the rim, and the height of the rim is 0.9 cm. The inside of the bowl contains a blackened substance, now dried, with many inclusions. It has not been subject to testing, and it is difficult to determine based on a visual inspection if the substance is a dried resin or some other material. According to the accession records, the bowl was accessioned on July 21, 1911, under accession 98, and derived from a share of finds made by the Egypt Exploration Fund during the 1910–1911 excavations at the site of Atfih on the east bank of the Nile opposite the northern Faiyum region.[4] The site has remained most famous for the burial of cows sacred to Isis-Hesat.[5] W. M. Flinders Petrie had begun to explore the area that year, but John de Monins Johnson challenged Petrie's presence citing his previous permission to excavate at Atfih.[6] The find was mentioned briefly in his original report:

* I would like to thank Robert Ritner for the invitation to contribute to this volume and for his help in deciphering the Demotic texts discussed below as noted in the commentary. All errors should be attributed solely to the author. Abbreviations in this article follow those of the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*.

[1] It is humbling to have had the opportunity to complete my graduate studies within this lineage. Janet Johnson was the second reader on my dissertation committee, and her first PhD student, Mark Smith (University of Chicago 1979), acted as the third reader.

[2] I would like to take this opportunity to thank Janet for the opportunity to spend two years working on the *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* during my graduate studies.

[3] I would like to thank Gil Stein and Jack Green for permission to publish OIM E9115, Helen McDonald and Susan Allison for their help in handling and accessing it, Anna Ressman for the accompanying photographs, and Miller Prosser and Edward Fernandez for preparing the Betterlight scans.

[4] Aphroditopolis, *Pr-nb-tp-iḥ*, see EG 627; CDD T 12.1, pp. 177–79; de Monins Johnson 1910–1911; Petrie and Mackay 1915.

[5] Grieshammer 1975, col. 519; Pestman 1980, pp. 188–94; Tait 2003, p. 185.

[6] See the comments in Petrie, Wainwright, and Gardiner 1913, p. 1: "After about a month of clearing the history of that site, a few days were spent at Atfieh, but it was found that the limits officially stated for our work were inexact, and we accordingly left the site, and settled on the opposite — or western bank."

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> Camp was pitched to the northward of the site and to the east of the plundered areas, where there were one or two indications in fragments of mummy cloth and coffins of an approximation to Ptolemaic conditions. Work was commenced at sunrise the following morning, and the first few minutes augured well by providing some decayed fragments of cloth cartonnage. Further excavation, however, mainly brought to light somewhat earlier graves — direct burials in shallow pits (wooden coffins were found, but were rare), the bodies finely resined and wrapped, and the paint struck directly on to the wrappings. Blue glaze spherical beads, both large and small, were found by the head, and in one case under the feet. The fingernails were sometimes gilded. There was no orientation; but, when on a slope, the grave was cut at right angles to the direction of the hill. In one of these a figure of Thoueris and two amulets of wood and glazed pottery were found, also a glazed lid with loop handle and pottery cups, one of these with demotic inscription. In general the pottery was much like that of the Ptolemaic cemeteries . . .[7]

J. de Monins Johnson's reference to a pottery cup with Demotic inscription may refer to the bowl now in the Oriental Institute Museum collection (E9115). The exact provenience beyond the brief description offered by J. de Monins Johnson is unknown. Atfih has a number of Late Period and Ptolemaic Period tombs to which this bowl may be associated. There is a note among the accession records in a letter from the Egypt Exploration Fund from July 12, 1911, mentioning the "Contents Grave 1 Atfieh: inscribed pot, blue glazed lid, 7 beads, amulet blue glaze statuette Ta-urt." A second document mentioning these items had the word "tomb" scratched out and replaced by "Contents of Atfieh Grave 1." However, the indication in the accession records of a "grave 1" cannot be corroborated by any published information.[8] As mentioned by Charlène Cassier, several other vessels with Demotic inscriptions had been found in excavations at Atfih in the early twentieth century, two of which are now in the British Museum (nos. 2–3, figs. 19.4–5).[9]

The original report implied a Ptolemaic date for these objects, but the accession records contain conflicting information regarding the date assigned to them. In the list where the word "tomb" was scratched out, there is a notation in the margin indicating that these items were "(XXVI Dyn.) Atfieh." A second, later annotation has been written with an arrow pointing to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty note, stating, "? see Dr. Reich's opinion on Demotic inscription." Reich must refer to Nathaniel Julius Reich, who spent time in 1922 at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago working on the Assyrian dictionary and the Egyptology collection prior to departing for the museum of the University of Pennsylvania.[10] His opinion from September 12, 1922, is recorded in the accession file as follows: "Dr. Reich made a cursory examination of this inscription; he states, chiefly on the basis of 1 masc. + 2 fem. Articles, that the writing is certainly Ptolemaic and probably late Ptolemaic. Also that what is written is not a proper name."[11] Similar cups with Demotic inscriptions from Atfih, now in the British Museum (BM EA 50665 and EA 50666), have been dated ca. Thirtieth Dynasty (nos. 2 and 3; figs. 19.4–5).[12] The paleography of the Demotic inscriptions on the British Museum cups is clearly earlier than the one found on OIM E9115 (figs. 19.1–3). The Oriental Institute bowl can be assigned a date in the Ptolemaic period based on paleography along with the excavator's remarks about the associated materials and context of the find spot. It bears remarkably similar texts to a group of embalming jars now in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (MFA 25.1515–1517, nos. 4–6, fig. 19.6), which derive from George Reisner's excavations at Giza and have also been dated to the Late Period (Saite-Persian).[13] Although the inscription on OIM E9115 is rather short, it poses a number of difficulties for decipherment, but examining the Demotic inscriptions from these groups of jars together helps to elucidate their readings.[14]

[7] De Monins Johnson 1910–1911, p. 7; Cassier 2011, pp. 275–77, especially n. 7.

[8] See the note of Cassier 2011, p. 277 n. 15, concerning the Oriental Institute accession records.

[9] BM EA 50665 and 50666: Cassier 2011, p. 277 n. 15.

[10] Concluded from the biographical outline complied by Robert Kraft in 1985 based on the Nathaniel Julius Reich Collection (ARC MS20) archives located in the Center for Judaic Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

[11] At first sight, I had originally believed that the bowl was labeled as "the prescription for the eye(?) of Patisobek," believing at the time the final groups  to be a writing of *Pȝ-ti-Sbk* (see *Demot.-Nb*. pp. 340–341), as suggested by the final horizontal flat stroke.

[12] Cassier 2011, p. 277 n. 15. The date is according to the British Museum's collection database.

[13] D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, pp. 227–28. The date is according to Janot 2000, p. 64 n. 441.

[14] The hand copies below were made from photographs and as such show distortion to the Demotic text from the curvature of the pots. Only OIM E9115 had been examined in person. I would like to thank the British Museum and Museum of Fine Arts Boston for granting permission to publish photographs of their objects in this article.

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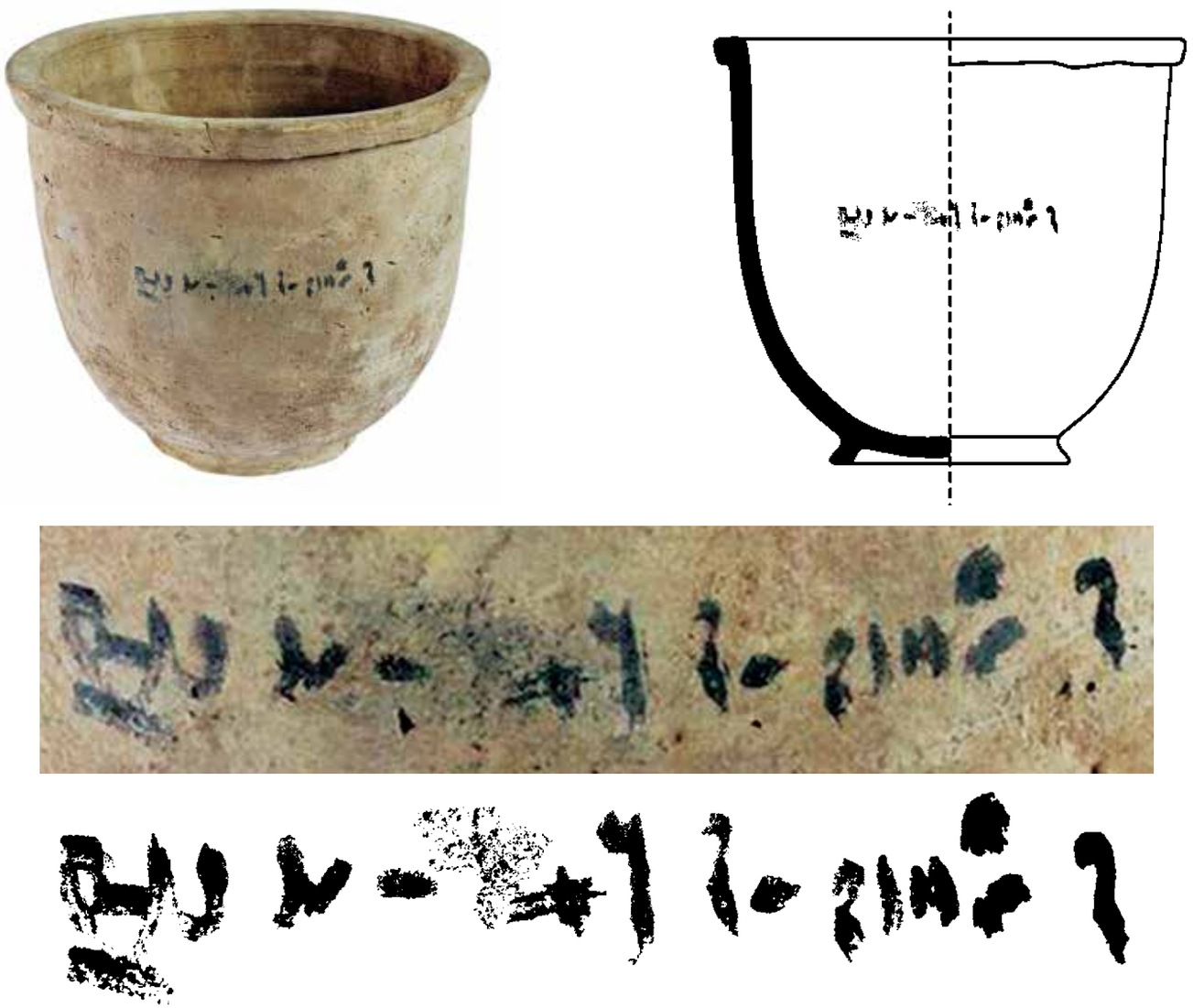


Figure 19.1. OIM E9115 (D. 27299): (top left) bowl; (top right) drawing; (middle) detail of inscription; (bottom) hand copy

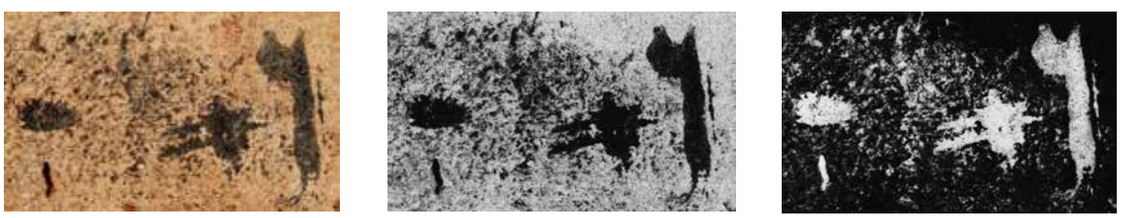


Figure 19.2. Color, infrared, and negative scans of damaged area of OIM E9115



Figure 19.3. Color, infrared, and negative scans of final word of OIM E9115

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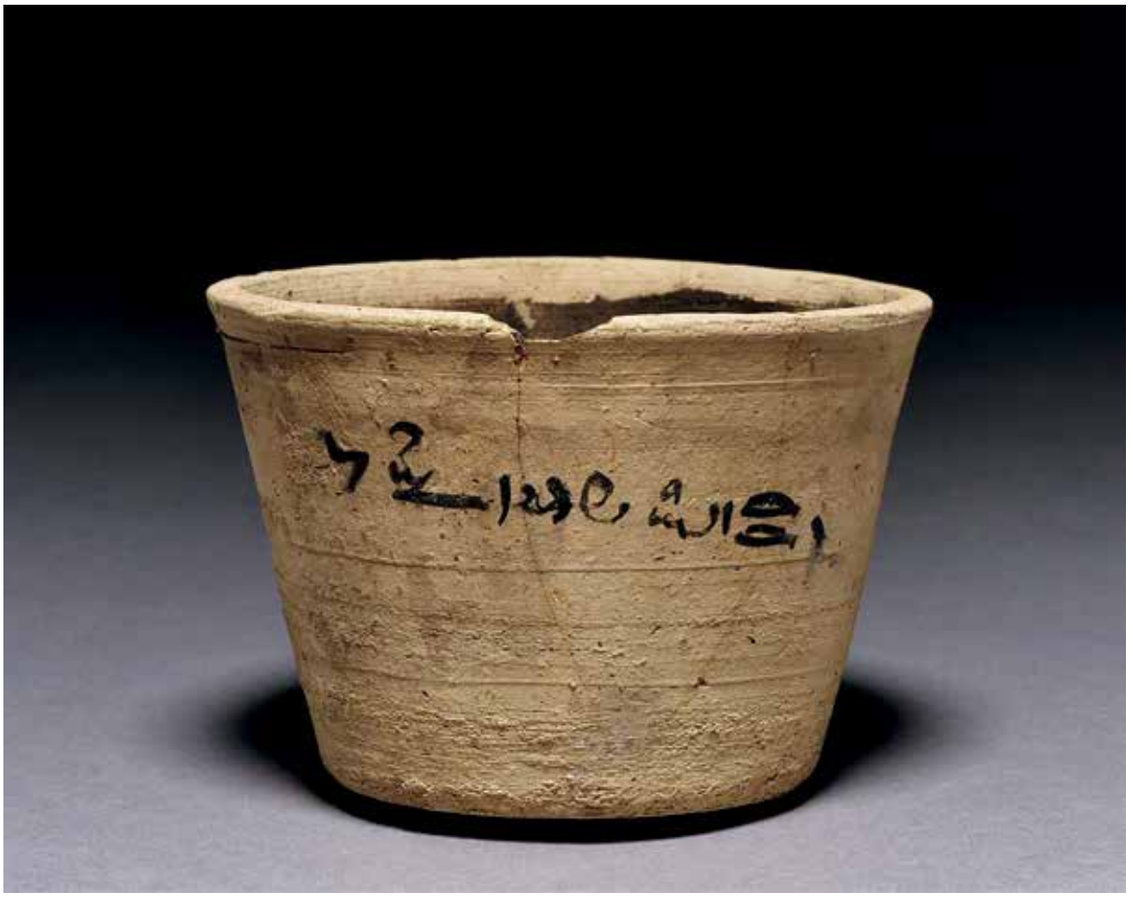


Figure 19.4. BM EA 50665 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

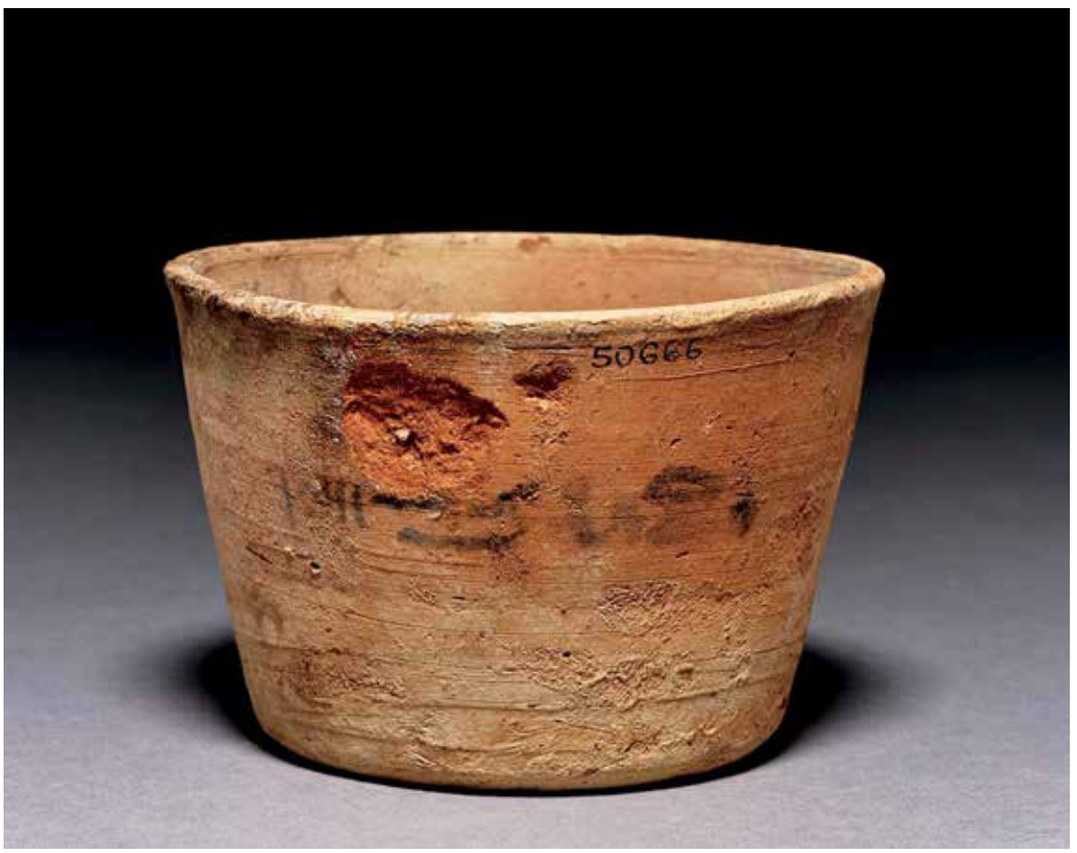


Figure 19.5. BM EA 50666 (© The Trustees of the British Museum)

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No. 1: OIM E9115 (see figs. 19.1–3)

*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] *n nȝ sr b*(*ȝ*)r[b] *n pȝ tp*[c]
"The treatment of the openings of the head"

No. 2: BM EA 50665 (see fig. 19.4)[15]

*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] *pȝ hrw mḥ-64*[d]
"The treatment of the 64th day"

No. 3: BM EA 50666 (see fig. 19.5)

*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] *wty*(?)[e]
"The treatment of embalming(?)"

No. 4: MFA 25.1515 (see fig. 19.6)

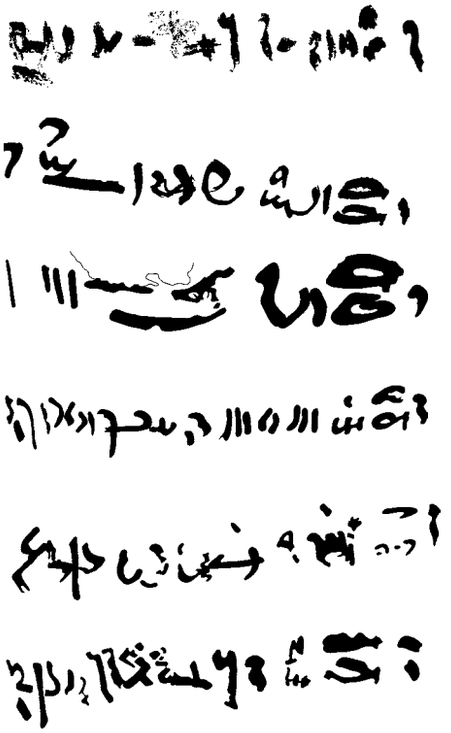
*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] y[c]y[f] *pȝ nty* ... (?)[g]
"The treatment of washing that which ... (?)"

No. 5: MFA 25.1516 (see fig. 19.6)

*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] *nȝ sbȝ*[h] *pȝ tp*[c]
"The treatment of the openings of the head"

No. 6: MFA 25.1517 (fig. 19.6)

*t*ȝ *pẖr*(*.t*)[a] *nȝ sbȝ*[h] *pȝ tp*[c]
"The treatment of the openings of the head"



Commentary to the Demotic Inscriptions

a. The term *pẖr*(*.t*) "treatment, prescription"[16] is a general term used for medical and magical recipes;[17] therefore, its usage was extended to corollary applications for preservation of the body within the funerary context of the embalmer.[18] Although the "lector priest" (*ḫry-ḥȝb.t,* lit. "he who carries the festival scroll") is well known for reciting incantations and supervising the funerary scrolls, the position also entailed work in the embalming chamber (*wʿb.t*). The Apis embalming ritual detailed their work in mummification and employing "treatments" (*pẖr.wt*) to the body under the general supervision of the "Master of Secrets" (*ḥry-sšt*ȝ) who supervises the procedure.[19] Many of these treatment applications must have been kept in bowls similar to those edited here and were labeled as such. Similar Demotic labels are found on two bowls from excavations at Saqqara and a series of bowls with hieratic inscriptions from Abusir.[20] For particularly important preparations, embalming materials could be kept in vessels made of gold or faience.[21] According to the famous wisdom text of Papyrus Insinger (19.9), the "treatments" are associated with oil, incense, natron, and salt: "Cedar oil, incense, natron, salt, and warm medicines are the prescriptions for his wounds" (*syf snṯr ḥsmn ḥmȝ pẖr.t ẖm.t pẖr.w*(*t*) *nȝy=f sḫy.w*).[22] The exact nature of the treatment once contained in these bowls depends on the interpretation of the remainder of the inscriptions.

b. The central word in this text is very abraded and difficult to interpret. In an attempt to discern any remaining ink, a series of images was taken including infrared and negative scans (fig. 19.2). Unfortunately,

[15] I would like to thank Robert Ritner for his help in deciphering this inscription and especially for suggesting the reading *mḥ-64*.

[16] *EG* p. 139; CDD P 10.1, pp. 157–59 (see translation "embalming materials"); *Wb.* I, p. 549; Töpfer 2015, pp. 341–43.

[17] Bahé 2014, p. 17, mentioned a Demotic text on an ostracon in which a man named Amenhotep, son of Tutu, sought a "remedy" (*pẖr.t*) via dream within the cult of Imhotep and Amenhotep, son of Hapu, at Deir el Bahri.

[18] Reymond 1976, pp. 58–60; Smith 1987, p. 70; Vos 1993, pp. 201 and 348–49; Janot 2000, p. 64; Ritner 2008, pp. 54–55.

[19] See the entries in the index of Vos 1993, pp. 315–16. For discussion of the personnel involved in the embalming, see now Töpfer 2015, pp. 323–25.

[20] Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 179; Landgráfová and Janák 2011, pp. 172 and 175; Vleeming 2015, pp. 424–45.

[21] See the reference in pVienna 3873, 5.20 and vs, IIa.6–7 (Vos 1993, pp. 183–84, 209).

[22] Boeser 1922, p. xxiv; Lichtheim 1980, volume III, p. 199; Hoffmann and Quack 2007, p. 258.

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Figure 19.6. BMFA 25.1515–25.1517 (Photograph © 2015 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

these scans did not immediately solve the problem as the damage has left decipherment of the signs uncertain. The chafed pattern may be accidental and the result of natural disturbance, but as it is relatively isolated to this spot, it is also possible that the scribe had purposefully rubbed the surface to remove some of the ink in an attempt to change what was written. The word consists of two signs and is clearly preceded by a definite article, either feminine singular (*t*) or neuter plural (*n*). The first sign is a clear vertical  (uniliteral *s*), and despite the similarity in shape, it seems unlikely to be a form of  (uniliteral *ḥ*).[23] The most obvious choice for the reading would be *sgn* "salve," and none of the other obvious choices for embalming materials fits the orthography.[24] The second sign is the most damaged. The remaining traces are difficult to interpret and suggest , a copy that is far from confident.[25] The lower sign looks vaguely similar to  *b*,[26] but surviving traces suggest a vertical stroke extending from the upper

[23] *ḥm* "salt" (CDD Ḥ 09.1, pp. 129–32) has a vaguely similar appearance to this group. Another possibility is *t pḫr.t n. t ḥnq.t* "the treatment of the beer," a known embalmer's recipe (Landgráfová and Janák 2011, p. 175).

[24] For n.m. *sgn* "salve," see CDD S 13.1, pp. 479–81; EG p. 469; *Wb.* IV, p. 322. Cf. also, n.m. *ḥsmn* "natron" (CDD Ḥ 09.1, pp. 274–75). I would like to thank Robert Ritner for discussing this inscription with me and making helpful suggestions.

[25] If the copy represents the second sign in any accurate way, it resembles *r* "mouth, opening," a word used in reference to the "seven openings of the head" (*7 r.w n. p tp*) in pLouvre 3229, 3.22 (Johnson 1977, pp. 61 and 69; CDD T 12.1, p. 168).

[26] Cf. the word originally read *sby*, but left untranslated, by Malinine on two bowl fragments from Saqqara (Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 178, pl. II, nos. 3 and 5).

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left.[27] A somewhat similar writing occurs at the beginning of the word *sḏ.t*, identified as a "mummy cloth" used in the Apis embalming ritual.[28] Although *pḫr.t* often identified liquid treatments, it is not exclusively used for such, and the cloths used during the embalming were frequently soaked in various resins, oils, and solutions.[29] A final possibility is the reading *iꜣb*(*.t*),[30] in reference to the "left"-side of the head,[31] the "left eye,"[32] or even to an illness related to pus and the smell of corpses.[33] The reading *sbꜣ* "door, opening" is confirmed by Sven Vleeming based on a hieratic text from a jar in Leiden.[34] For the "openings of the head," see note 25.

c. The orthography of the final group (*tp*) in the inscription of OIM E9115 is somewhat unusual. The first sign seems to be ligatured to the long curved stroke ending on the left. It looks as if the scribe then drew the horizontal sign inside this curve, followed by a thick, but short, horizontal stroke on the upper left, finishing with the horizontal stroke beneath. As a ligatured group, it shows the closest resemblance with the group *ṯp*, a typical writing for the word "first."[35] However, here the group must presumably be read as a writing of *tp* "head." This appears to be confirmed by a similar Demotic inscription on a bowl from Saqqara originally read by Malinine as *tꜣ pḫr.t n nꜣ sby n ḏꜣḏꜣ* "the treatment of the openings of the head," where the word read as *ḏꜣḏꜣ* "head" is written  with the more expected logogram.[36] It is possible that another bowl from Saqqara contains the same phrase, but published photographs are not clear enough to be conclusive.[37] The two bowls from Giza also seem to refer to *tꜣ pḫr.t n nꜣ sbꜣ pꜣ ṯp* "the treatment of the openings of the head" (nos. 5–6 and fig. 19.6).[38] The final group in these two bowls (MFA 25.1516  with flesh determinative and MFA 25.1517 ) had previously been read as *ḫr-ḥb* "lector priest."[39] The term "chief lector priest" (*ḫr*(*y*)*-ḥꜣb.t ḥry-tp*), also with the connotation "embalmer,"[40] gave way in the Greco-Roman Period to two spellings *ḫr-ḥb* and *ḥr-tb*.[41] If Janot's readings were applicable to OIM E9115, the scribe had ligatured the *ḫr* sign with the following group, using the large curve as an outline for the *ḥb*-basket. However, his readings are unlikely for several reasons. First, the writings from these bowls do not match any known, typical orthographies for *ḫr-ḥb*.[42] If one were to follow Janot's reading, a more likely suggestion would be to interpret the masculine definite article as a writing of *ḥr* in *ḥry-tp*. Problems for such an interpretation include the inappropriate space between the two groups, the unusual orthography, and the fact that the common spelling in Demotic is *ḥry-tb* rather than *ḥry-tp*.[43] Support for the reading adopted here can be found in similar references to the "treatment of the head for the 12th day" (*tꜣ pḫr.t pꜣ tp pꜣ hrw mḥ-12*) from the Demotic text of the Apis embalming ritual.[44] Therefore, the reading of

[27] Because of this vertical stroke, the word is unlikely to be identified as *sq*, perhaps related to *sky* "powder, flour" (*Wb*. IV, p. 314). A hieratic text on an embalming bowl refers to *snṯr sꜣq* "molded incense" (*Wb*. IV, p. 26), a phrase also found in several Demotic texts (*snṯr sq*), for which see CDD S 13.1, pp. 460–61; Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 178; Quack 1999b, p. 42; Meyrat 2014, p. 293.

[28] Vos 1993, p. 386; CDD S 13.1, p. 43. The word is also feminine, matching the preceding definite article.

[29] Vos 1993, pp. 200–01. Cf. de Cenival 1972, p. 128, n. 3, 1.

[30] It should be noted that Quack 2010–2011, pp. 73–80, has proposed that this Demotic word be read as *smḥ*.

[31] *Wb*. I, p. 30; CDD ʾI 11.1, pp. 11–12. Note that in references to the "left" (*iꜣb*) and "right" (*wnm*), the terms are typically masculine (see *pꜣ iꜣby r pꜣ wnm* from 3.20 in Vos 1993, p. 247); however, cf. pBerlin 3055, 4.1 *wnm.t m wnm.t iꜣb.t m iꜣb.t* "the right as the right eye, the left as the left eye" (Gugliemi and Buroh 1997, pp. 120–21).

[32] *Wb*. I, p. 30; CDD ʾI 11.1, p. 13; Smith 1977, p. 143.

[33] *Wb*. I, p. 29; Coptic ⲉⲓⲁⲃⲉ (Crum 1939, p. 76; Černý 1976, p. 46).

[34] This information was kindly supplied to me by Sven Vleeming. I want to thank him for sharing his work with me. His work on these texts appeared in Vleeming 2015 after this article had been submitted for publication. The hieratic inscription on the Leiden jar (Leiden AT 37) was edited as no. 2156 in Vleeming 2015, p. 427. The inscriptions from the MFA jars were edited as nos. 2159–60 in Vleeming 2015, p. 428.

[35] E*G p.* 626; CDD T 12.1, pp. 170–74; Vleeming 2011, p. 828.

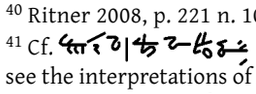
[36] Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 178, pl. II, no. 5.

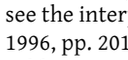
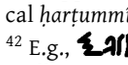
[37] Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 178, pl. II, no. 3, line 1.

[38] See D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, p. 227, as well as the MFA online collection database.

[39] Janot 2000, p. 64 n. 441.

[40] Ritner 2008, p. 221 n. 1025.

[41] Cf.  *ḫr-ḥb ḥr-tp* in pKrall 8.14, for which see the interpretations of Ritner 2008, 221 n. 1025, and Hoffmann 1996, pp. 201–02, with n. 1024, *ḥr-tb* being the origin of the biblical *ḥarṭummîm* (see Quaegebeur 1985).

[42] E.g.,  or , see E*G* p. 388; CDD Ḫ 01:1, pp. 55–58; Möller 1913, pp. 48*–49*.

[43] For *ḥry-tp* written in Late Hieratic, see pVandier 1.1, and the list of further occurrences in the index of Posener 1985, p. 103. For Demotic orthographies of *ḥry-tb*, see E*G* pp. 321–22; CDD Ḥ 09.1, pp. 211–13; Spiegelberg 1910, pp. 70*–71*; Spiegelberg 1925, p. 25.

[44] Verso 1.14 and 1.17, translated "throat" based on the hieratic parallels by Vos 1993, pp. 59, 204, 255–56.

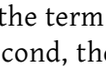
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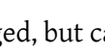
the MFA bowls (25.1516 and 25.1517), OIM E9115, and the bowl from Saqqara, should all be read as *t3 pḫr.t n n3 sb3 n p3 tp* "the treatment of the openings of the head."[45] The Demotic signs in the word *tp* must then consist of the logogram for the head (D1), rather than the sign for *ṯ*, with phonetic complement *p* (no. 5 includes the flesh classifier F51), as confirmed by the hieratic inscription on the previously mentioned jar in Leiden.[46] The form of the Demotic logogram is surprisingly divergent from its hieratic predecessors[47] and rather has affinity with the sign typically transliterated as *ḥr*.[48] This may suggest a substitution of signs (D2 carrying the logographic value of D1 through similarity) as is common in so-called "Ptolemaic hieroglyphs,"[49] although previous readings of these individual signs should be reconsidered in this light.[50]

d. The Demotic text on BM EA 50665 parallels the hieratic inscriptions from the Abusir embalmer's deposit, where more specific materials for the embalming process are enumerated along with the day on which they were to be used (e.g., *sfy ʿnty.w hrw mḥ-63* "resin and myrrh, 63rd day").[51] However, the Abusir archive does not reference any day above sixty-three, and a recent study of the embalming process based on papyri preserving a version of the ritual suggests that the last seven days (days 64–70) were reserved for final preparations and ceremonies.[52] The reading of the last Demotic sign as "4" rather than "3" seems more likely,[53] making this the highest referenced day among the embalming archives.

e. If the interpretation of this is correct, this inscription parallels a hieratic docket *t3 pḫr.t wty* "the treatment of embalming" discovered on a bowl from Saqqara.[54] An alternative understanding as "the treatment of embalmers" is also possible.[55]

f. CDD Y 01.1, p. 2, has an entry for the verb *yʿ* "to wash" (EG p. 40) and a noun *yʿy* "washerman." The implication is that the orthography is distinct for the two lexemes. The orthography of the text on MFA 25.1515 is clearly *yʿy*, with determinative matching the spellings in CDD. If the implication of the CDD is correct, it should be interpreted as "washerman." See Janot 2000, p. 64 n. 441, for the translation "la préparation pour nettoyer (purifier) le"

g. Left unedited in Janot 2000, p. 64 n. 441. For a possible reading *3st* "ground," see EG p. 11 and cf. the "wash vessels" mentioned in the Apis embalming ritual (Vos 1993, pp. 179–80, 188–89, 332). However, two characteristics argue against this reading. First, the term *3st* is usually grouped differently () and is accompanied by a different determinative. Second, the long down stroke at the end of the first sign suggests reading instead *p3 nty ...* (), with a final group () that resembles the *wʿb* group (). This text has now been read *p3 nty wʿb ḥr ḫ.t*(?) "the treatment for washing what is pure on the body(?)" by Sven Vleeming.[56]

h. The central word in MFA 25.1516  is quite damaged, but can possibly be restored from the inscription on MFA 25.1517 . The orthography of the latter strongly suggests a reading of *smnḫ* (cf. writings of *mnḫ* in EG pp. 163–64; CDD M 10.1, pp. 111–17), not attested in EG and attested in CDD S 13.1, p. 238, only as a verb "to make excellent." There is an entry in *Wb*. IV, p. 138.4, for *smnḫ.t* "eine Flüßigkeit," but this turns out to be a ghost word and has been reinterpreted as *sgnn* "oil."[57] Like the central word in OIM E9115,

[45] See note 34 above. Cf. a text found in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb that states "the oil for binding the head and binding the face to the backbone(?)" (Raven et al. 2011, pp. 120–21, no. 194).

[46] Vleeming 2015, p. 427, no. 2156.

[47] el-Aguizy 1998, pp. 59, 298–99.

[48] EG p. 317; CDD Ḥ 09.1, pp. 191–99.

[49] Kurth 2007, p. 167.

[50] For discussion, see Breasted 1930, pp. 84–86; Cruz-Uribe 1985, p. 65.

[51] Landgráfová and Janák 2011, pp. 164–78. References to the rites performed on the thirty-fifth day of embalming are attested on a number of Late Period and Ptolemaic stelae (Panov 2014, pp. 186–88).

[52] Töpfer 2015, p. 349.

[53] The numbers 3 and 4 can look deceptively similar in Demotic. See the Ptolemaic entries in EG pp. 695–96 and CDD Numbers: 14.1, pp. 22–32.

[54] Aston and Aston 2010, p. 59; Martin et al. 1988, p. 9.

[55] Cf. Töpfer 2015, p. 341, "das Heilmittel des Balsmierers."

[56] See no. 2160 in Vleeming 2015, p. 428, where he cites J. F. Quack for the reading.

[57] The entry derives from ostracon BM EA 5630, line 11, published in facsimile by Birch 1868, pl. XIX. The reinterpretation can be found in Černý and Gardiner 1957, pl. LXXXVII. Wilson 1997, p. 847, retains the older reading based on *Wb*.

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one expects here a type of substance used to anoint the head, as myrrh is used in the embalming ritual of pBoulaq 3.[58] For the reading *sbꜣ* "door," see notes b, c, and 34 above.

Embalming Caches

The precise archaeological context of OIM E9115 is uncertain, but it appears to have been discovered in close connection with a grave. Presumably, the bowl would have been used in the embalming of the occupant; however, it could have also been a stray from a larger deposit since lost or even simply discarded. Deposits of embalming materials were commonly left in tombs or made nearby tombs in the necropolis.[59] A number of important embalming caches have been discovered or published in recent years,[60] including the sensational New Kingdom find of KV 63,[61] and the less publicized, but no less amazing, Persian Period deposit from the funerary complex of Menekhibnekau.[62] The latter contained hundreds of vessels, fifty-five of which were inscribed in hieratic or Demotic and contained important references to the various "days" on which treatments were used during embalming.[63] Despite these finds, there are relatively few publications on the Demotic inscriptions from such embalming vessels, with material from Saqqara being the most prominent. M. Malinine provided a fragmentary edition of a group of vessels discovered at Saqqara.[64] Mention was made of seven further fragmentary Demotic inscriptions on the shoulders of bowls also from Saqqara.[65] Mahmoud Ebeid republished three inscriptions on jars from the Saqqara necropolis.[66] A recently published ostracon from the excavations at the sacred animal necropolis at Saqqara has an interesting reference to "the remedy" (*tꜣ pḫr.t*).[67] Stephen Quirke had briefly described the three vessels from the embalming cache discovered in the Giza excavations of George Reisner (G 7510Z), which he dated between 575 and 400 BCE, treated above (nos. 4–6, fig. 19.6).[68] Both groups were described and briefly treated by Francis Janot.[69] Spiegelberg mentioned a possible embalmer's deposit in the Northampton Theban explorations.[70] There has been some further attempt to catalog the vessels associated with Late Period embalming caches.[71] Similar embalming bowls are also depicted in funerary scenes, such as on a Roman period shroud in Berlin where Anubis holds such a cup as he attends to the deceased's mummy on a funerary bier.[72] Unfortunately, OIM E9115 is not associated with any larger known deposit, including other embalming bowls inscribed in Demotic from Atfih, which are from an earlier period.[73] Hopefully, future scholarship will confirm the reading of the problematic words in these inscriptions and connect the Oriental Institute bowl with a more precise archaeological context.

[58] pBoulaq 3, x+2.1, Töpfer 2015, pp. 67, 216, pls. 4–5.

[59] Two large Middle Kingdom deposits were found at Deir el Bahari, one in the tomb of Meket-Re and the other in the tomb of Ipy. Portions of the latter are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Winlock 1942, pp. 55–56; Hayes 1953, p. 166.

[60] Myśliwiec 1987; Bickerstaffe 2007, pp. 46–53; Arnold 2010. For an overview of embalming deposits, see Budka 2006, pp. 85–103; Smolárikova 2009, pp. 58–63; Aston 2011, pp. 45–79; Töpfer 2015, pp. 336–51.

[61] Eaton-Krauss 2008, pp. 288–93.

[62] Smolárikova 2006, pp. 261–70; Smolárikova 2009, pp. 79–88; Landgráfová and Janák 2011, pp. 164–78; Smolárikova 2011, pp. 81–163; Janák and Landgráfová 2011, pp. 30–45.

[63] Landgráfová and Janák 2011, p. 164.

[64] Lauer and Iskander 1955, p. 179.

[65] French and Ghaly 1991, p. 97.

[66] Ebeid 2015, pp. 121–31.

[67] Ray 2013, pp. 291–92, no. 298.

[68] D'Auria, Lacovara, and Roehrig 1988, pp. 227–28; listed in Farid 1995, p. 224. The MFA inventory numbers of these bowls are 25.1515, 25.1516, and 25.1517. Inaccurate translations of these texts appeared in the MFA online collection database, all beginning with "the prayer of …" and identifying personal names in 25.1516 ("Pamenekh, son of Harsiese") and 25.1517 ("Horsematawy, son of Pakhas").

[69] Janot 2000, p. 64 and n. 441.

[70] Northampton, Spiegelberg, and Newberry 1908, p. 25.

[71] French and Ghaly 1991, pp. 93–123; Budka 2006, pp. 85–103; Aston 2011, pp. 45–79; Vleeming 2015, pp. 424–45. Cf. the reconstruction of vessels used in the Apis embalming ritual (Vos 1993, pp. 174–78).

[72] Shroud Berlin Ägyptisches Museum 11563: Riggs 2005, p. 169. Cf. also the coffin footboard MFA 1979.37.

[73] Cassier 2011, p. 277 n. 15. See nos. 1–2 and figs. 19.5–6, this article (BM EA 50665 and 50666).

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Abbreviations

CDD	Janet H. Johnson, editor. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001–2014. http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago (accessed December 29, 2016)
*e*CDD	Janet H. Johnson, editor. *The Electronic Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, in preparation.
Demot.-Nb.	Erich von Lüddeckens et al. (eds.). *Demotisches Namenbuch*. 3 Volumes = Lieferung 1–18. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980–2000.
EG	Wolja Erichsen. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1954.
LÄ	Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (eds.). *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1972–1992.

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Stela of Tamiw Naming a King Takelot (Liverpool 24.11.81.7)

*Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, Cairo, Egypt**

One category of round-topped wooden funerary stelae from the Third Intermediate Period is characterized by a figure of the goddess Nut poised on her fingertips and toes with her arched body following the curve of the stela.[1] This type of stela has been categorized by Munro as Theben 1B, which he dates to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as do Aston and Jansen-Winklen.[2] Leithy gives a range of dates from the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[3] Among the stelae of this type is the double-sided stela of Tamiw now in the World Museum, Liverpool (N.24.11.81.7; fig. 20.1a–b). Only the obverse of the stela has hitherto been published;[4] it is not included by Munro or Jansen-Winkeln. Both sides of the Liverpool stela are discussed here, along with the previously unpublished text on the thickness of the stela, which includes the cartouche of a king Takelot.[5]

The Liverpool stela of Tamiw is of interest for two main reasons: (1) the cartouche of Takelot; (2) the stela's unusual iconography, one feature of which is paralleled on the similar stela of Taperet in the Louvre, perhaps indicating they were made in the same workshop.[6] These two features help to provide a more precise dating for the corpus of nine stelae on which the figure of Nut appears arched under the curved top of the stela.[7] Five of these nine stelae belong to women whose only title is "house mistress." Three of the group are double sided (Tamiw, Taperet, and Ankhefenkhonsu I). Two belong to a husband and wife (Ankhefenkhonsu I and Neskhonsu I).

Description

The round-topped stela of Tamiw is made of wood (unidentified, but presumably sycomore fig wood), plastered and painted on both sides and on the thickness. It is 31 cm high, 26.3 cm wide, and 2.5 cm thick. The provenance is unknown, but it is certainly from Thebes. It has been dated to the reign of Takelot I (Twenty-second Dynasty), but as we shall see below, this dating is incorrect.

* It is a pleasure to dedicate this paper to Professor Janet Johnson, whose interest in the first millennium BC and the role of women in this period is well known. I hope Jan will find this study of the stela of Tamiw and the corpus of Nut stelae a worthy tribute and reminder of our many years of friendship, beginning from our student days together at the Oriental Institute.

[1] See Appendix.

[2] Munro 1973, pp. 187–88; Aston 2009, pp. 351, 354; Jansen-Winklen 2009.

[3] Leithy 2007.

[4] Ibid., p. 89, pl. I.1.

[5] I would like to thank Ashley Cooke, head of antiquities and curator of Egyptology, National Museums, Liverpool, for permission to publish the stela of Tamiw in the World Museum collection, and for providing information about its acquisition history.

[6] As suggested by Taylor 2012.

[7] Cairo Egyptian Museum A9916 (TR 27.1.25.18) Neskhonsu II; Cairo Egyptian Museum A9422 (TR 25.12.24.11) Ankhefenkhonsu I; Cairo Egyptian Museum A9449 (TR 28.12.24.15) Neskhonsu I; Cairo Egyptian Museum A9448 (JE 365757) Iuefaa; Copenhagen National Museum AAd 16 Iru; Linköping (Sweden) Stads Museum 3 (formerly Sabatier 88) Khonsumes; Liverpool World Museum N 24.11.81.7 Tamiw; Paris, Louvre E52 (N3663) Taperet; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 96.4.4 Tabakenkhonsu. The bibliography for the stelae in the corpus is given in the appendix. Since this paper was written, an unpublished graywacke Nut stela fragment with Osiris, Boston Museum of Fine Arts 04.1850, dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, has come to my attention.

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a *b*

Figure 20.1. (*a*) Obverse and (*b*) reverse of the stela of Tamiw, Liverpool, World Museum 24.11.81.17. ©National Museums, Liverpool; reproduced with permission

The stela is inscribed for the house mistress Tamiw, daughter of the superintendent of the temple of Amun Ankhkhonsu, son of the like-titled[8] (*mỉ nn*) Nespernub (see fig. 20.2a–b). It has not been possible to trace any other monuments belonging to the persons named on the stela. The names are common in Thebes during the Twenty-second–Twenty-fifth Dynasties, but the titles with the genealogy given on the stela are otherwise unknown among published monuments.[9]

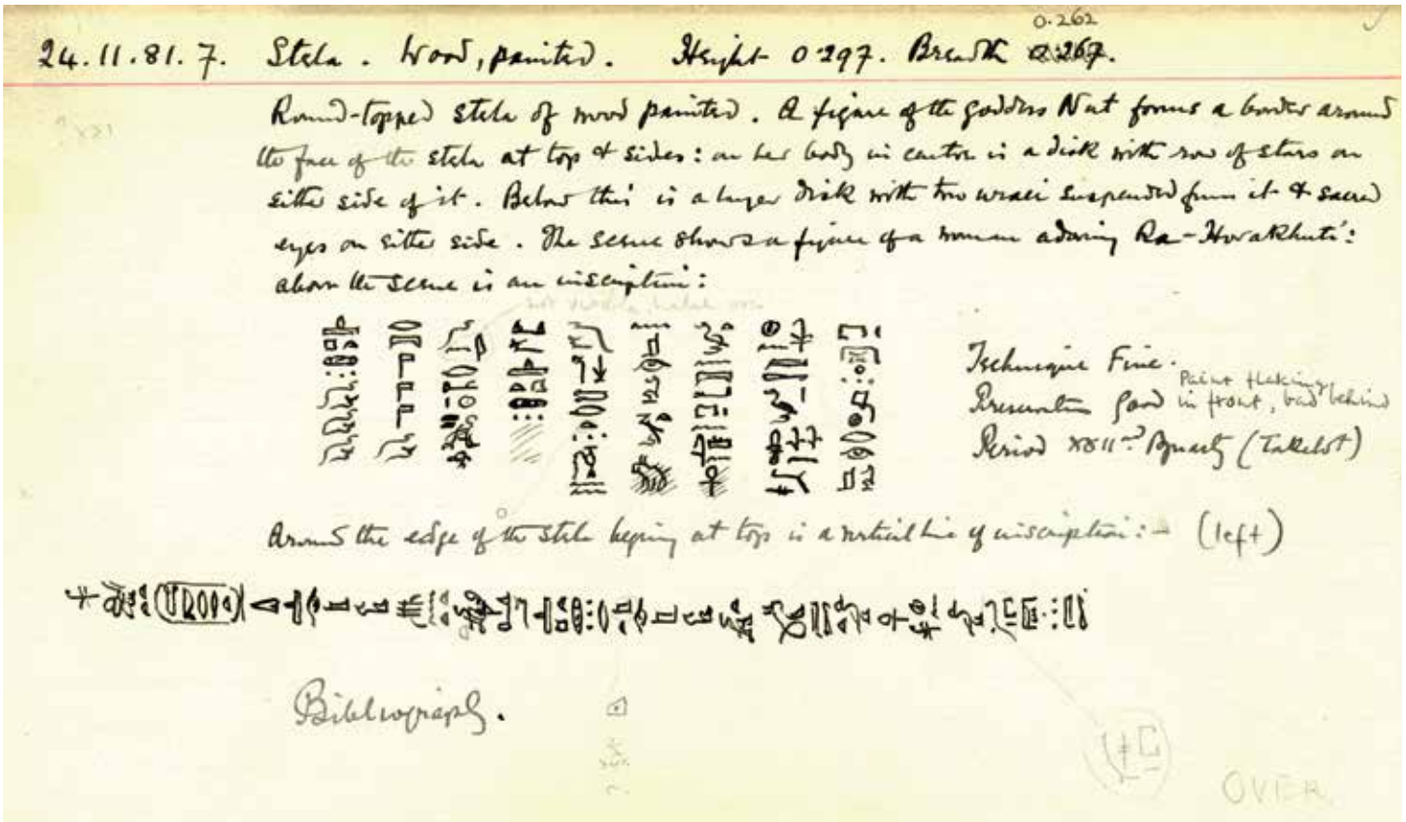
The obverse (fig. 20.1a) shows the deceased Tamiw on the right side adoring a striding figure of the blue-skinned god Rahorakhty on the left side; between them is an offering stand with a single blue-stemmed lotus blossom laid over it and a yellow libation vase standing on it, from which a ripple of water falls before the feet of the god. The god wears a short white kilt with a yellow pleated flap and a green corselet with yellow straps, and holds a *was*-scepter and an *ankh* in his hands; a blue-rimmed yellow sun disk with yellow uraeus tops his falcon head. Pale-skinned Tamiw wears a loose pleated ankle-length shawl-like white garment with one bordered end crossing over her body and hanging below her right elbow and the other fringed end hanging across her chest behind her left arm, with a green broad collar around her neck and shoulders. On her head she wears a heavy black wig with short black strokes of feathery hair on the edges that hangs in front of and behind her shoulder, on top of which is a yellow funerary cone set in greenery with a single green lotus bud with a red stem passing across the base.[10] The background is white; parts of the figures of Rahorakhty and Tamiw seem to have been covered with a yellowish varnish. A dark blue figure of the goddess Nut forms a border around the stela, painted on a yellow background, with her legs and feet behind the god on the left and her head and arms behind Tamiw on the right. Her long black hair hangs down between her arms, and a small yellow disk appears both at her lips and at her black triangular pudendum; in the center of her

[8] Or like-ranked; see discussion in Gee 2004.

[9] It is tempting to suggest that the Tamiw named as the mother of the butcher Iru on his limestone stela in Copenhagen, the latest in the corpus of Nut stelae, might be the same Tamiw as on the Liverpool stela, but there is nothing other than the stela typology to connect the two.

[10] A combination of the types in Taylor 2003, p. 101, figs. 2.1 and 2.2.

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a

Figure 20.2. (*a*) Obverse of Liverpool, World Museum registration card for the stela of Tamiw. Ink text written by Percy E. Newberry, with pencil notations added by T. E. Peet, both one time curators of the collection.
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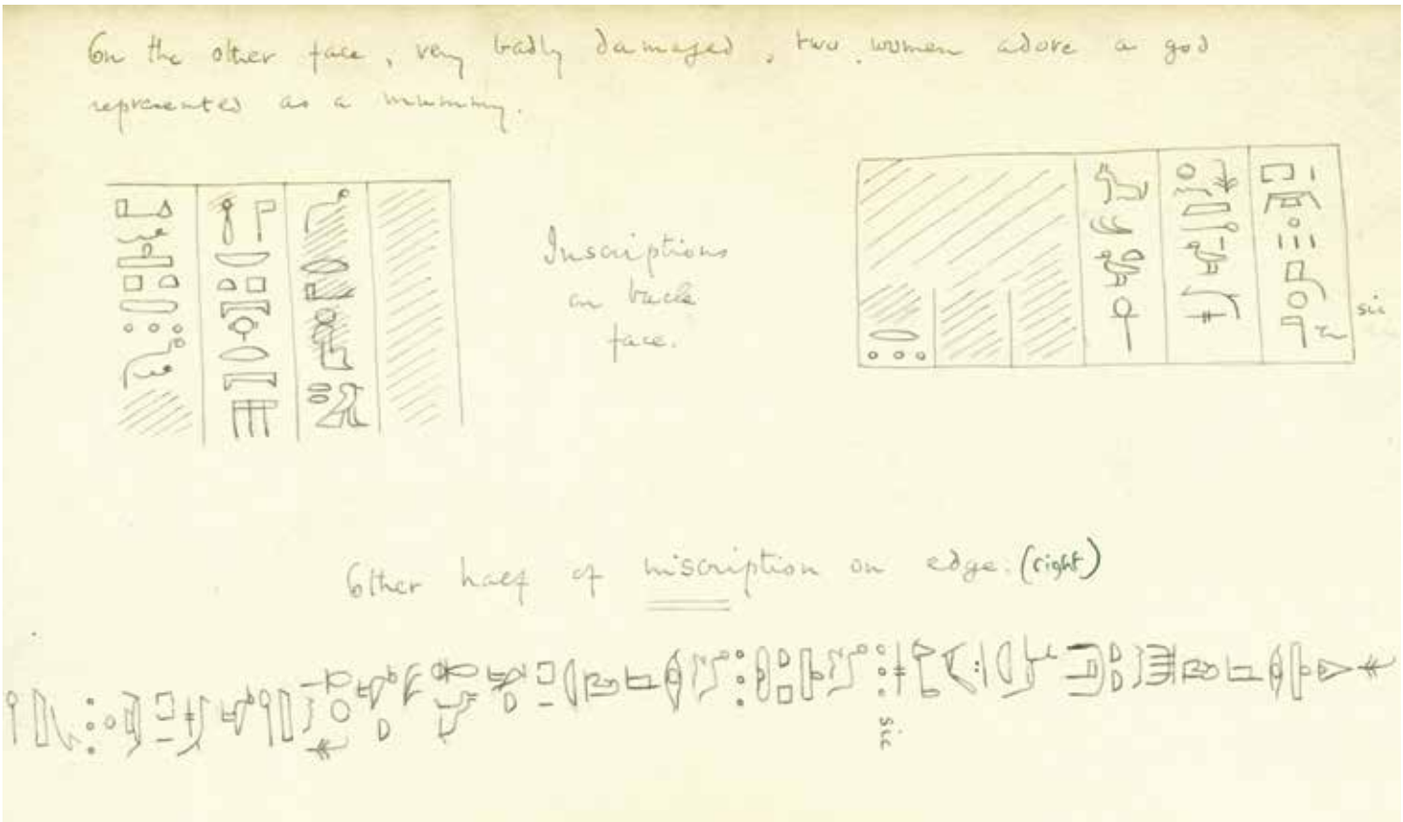
body at the top of the stela is a small yellow disk flanked by seven stars (white with yellow centers) on each side. Below this is a larger blue-rimmed disk with yellow pendant uraei and *wedjat*-eyes with *weskhet*-jars on either side. Below the larger disk and extending above the figure of Tamiw is an inscription in nine columns of hieroglyphic text (fig. 20.2a) in black on a yellow background; the six columns above the deceased with an offering formula followed by her name and genealogy face left, as she does; the three remaining columns naming the god but also including part of the text of offering given by the god are oriented to the right, like the god himself.[11] Three horizontal blue lines on a yellow ground form the bottom border of the stela, the uppermost also serving as the ground line for the figures in the scene.

The reverse (fig. 20.1b) of the stela (difficult to see in places due to what seem to be spots from water that fell on the surface when it was dusty and areas where the paint has flaked off) shows on the right side Imentet, the goddess of the west (on the left), leading the deceased Tamiw (on the right) by the hand toward a mummiform figure of Rahorakhty. The goddess wears a white sheath, and her skin is painted green; the hieroglyphic emblem of the west is inserted in the white fillet tied around the top of her black tripartite wig. Tamiw is once more wearing an ankle-length loose pleated shawl-like garment with one end over her right shoulder and the fringed end across her chest appearing behind her left elbow; a green broad collar encircles her neck and shoulders. An unusual feature is the representation of her breast as long and drooping like that of an older woman, with a prominent nipple, instead of rounded as on the obverse. Short feathery lines appear at the outer edges of her heavy black wig, topped with a white band and a funerary cone set into greenery with a red-stemmed lotus bud passing through the base.[12] The god's body is wrapped in a red shroud covered by a blue

[11] I would like to thank Hisham El-Leithy for sharing his explanation for the orientation of the hieroglyphs in such label texts with me.

[12] A combination of the types in Taylor 2003, p. 101, figs. 2.1 and 2.2.

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b

Figure 20.2. (*b*) Reverse of Liverpool, World Museum registration card for the stela of Tamiw. Ink text written by Percy E. Newberry, with pencil notations added by T. E. Peet, both one time curators of the collection.
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bead net with crossed white braces, and he wears the *atef*-crown on his falcon head and grasps the *was* and *heqa* scepters and a flail in his hands, which protrude from the shroud. Behind the legs and feet of the god is an area of pinkish-red paint, much of which has flaked off, from what appears to be a kneeling shrouded figure (the feet of the mummiform god have been painted over the thighs of the kneeling figure); at the knee level of the god, the head of the figure resembles the head of a horse, reminiscent of the representation of the hippocampus on the shoulders of the lid of the coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 1953.72), although the ears seem more like those of a bovid than those of a horse. Between Imentet and Rahorakhty is an offering stand with a mat laid across it on which rest a central conical loaf of bread (forming the *ḥtp*-sign) flanked by round loaves, a plucked fowl, a lettuce, and a bunch of onions across the top. Across the top of the reverse of the stela is curved a blue sky sign, the ends of which are supported by a green papyrus clump emerging from the top of a human head with short black hair with upturned ends and a short black beard; atop the papyrus umbels on the right is the hieroglyphic emblem of the east, and on the left side the hieroglyphic emblem of the west. Below the sky sign is a winged disk, with the label *bḥdt* preserved below the left side. The scene has two groups of label text (fig. 20.2b) in black on a yellow ground: above Tamiw are six columns of hieroglyphic text oriented to the left, of which most of the first three has flaked off; the remaining three have the name and genealogy of the deceased. Above Rahorakhty are a further four columns facing right; much of the first has flaked off, and the remaining three name the god and have the beginning of the text describing the offerings he gives (continued, as the preserved signs show, at the beginning of the label text above Tamiw with opposite orientation). Three horizontal blue lines on the bottom of the stela form the base line for the figures and the border below the scene. The thickness of the stela has *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* texts in black on a yellow ground, beginning at the center top with symmetrical *ny-sw.t*-signs and continuing down each side to the base of the stela (figs. 20.2a–b, 20.3).

According to the Liverpool World Museum's registration information, the Tamiw stela was given to the Liverpool Museum (now the World Museum, Liverpool) on November 24, 1881, by Rudolph William Basil

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Feilding, the 8th Earl of Denbigh, 7th Earl of Desmond (1823–1892), its fourth known owner. The Earl of Denbigh's first wife, Louisa Pennant (1821–1853), whom he married in 1846, was the third known owner, and the only surviving child of the second known owner of the stela, David Pennant, Jr. (1796–1835), by his second marriage to Lady Emma Brudenell in 1827. Louisa Pennant owned the stela from the time of her father's death in 1835 until her own death in 1853, when her husband inherited it from her. In 1822, David Pennant, Jr., had married Lady Caroline Spencer-Churchill (1798–1824), daughter of George Spencer-Churchill, 5th Duke of Marlborough (1766–1840); their daughter Caroline (1823–1832) predeceased her father. The first known owner of the stela was Lady Caroline's older brother, Lord Henry John Spencer-Churchill, the fourth son of the 5th Duke of Marlborough, who died unmarried in 1840, and who seems to have given it either to his sister sometime before 1824 (perhaps because a woman is depicted on it) or to his brother-in-law sometime before 1835 (perhaps to commemorate Lady Caroline's death in 1824, or that of her daughter in 1832), but there is no known record of the gift. When or how Lord Henry John Churchill acquired the stela of Tamiw is unknown.

Chronological Considerations

Several items should be considered in order to accurately date the Liverpool stela of Tamiw. The first is to identify which of the three pharaohs named Takelot is referred to by the cartouche on the thickness of the stela. The second is to discuss paleographical considerations. Finally, the stylistic features of the stela should be compared to others in the corpus of Nut stelae and other stelae of the period.

The most important chronological information offered by the stela of Tamiw is the presence of the cartouche of a Takelot in one of the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* texts on the thickness. Heretofore, this has apparently been identified as the cartouche of Takelot I, so the stela has been dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.[13] If we compare the known writings of the names of the three pharaohs called Takelot,[14] we can see that this is a mis-attribution, although none of the kings has a standardized orthography for his name.

According to Bonhême's lists of orthographies, reduplicated *r* (*tkrrti*) occurs on the donation stela Cairo JE 36159[15] of Karoma, daughter of Takelot II, but with an initial loaf-*t* rather than the more commonly written initial *ṯ*, and the ending of *ti*. A written reduplicated *r* (two *r* signs) seems not to be attested for Takelot III in Bonhême's corpus. However, Bonhême does not include the writing *tkrrt* on the now lost Berlin coffin fragment of the prince Osorkon H, who must be a son of Takelot III,[16] showing that a writing with reduplicated *r* + simple *t* ending could be found on a coffin dated near or just after the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty.[17]



Figure 20.3. Thickness of the stela of Tamiw with the cartouche of a king Takelot in the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* formula. Photographs by Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, edited by Alain Dautant

[13] According to the information in the World Museum database, kindly provided by Ashley Cooke.

[14] Bonhême 1987, pp. 180–92.

[15] Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 161 (20.6).

[16] Anthes 1943, pp. 33–34; Aston and Taylor 1990, pp. 132–33; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 393 (44.23); Payreaudeau 2014a, p. 129.

[17] Aston and Taylor (1990, p. 133) date the parallels to the coffin of Osorkon H to ca. end of the eighth century BC, although the closest parallel, Leiden M.26, dated by Taylor (1984, p. 229) to ca. 710–680 BC, should probably be dated to the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, ca. 725–700 BC (Sheikholeslami 2014a, pp. 456–65).

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Three Theban wooden stelae have cartouches of a Takelot on them.[18] One is Turin C 1468 + Vatican 329,[19] belonging to Namlot F, a son of a Takelot who, according to the typology of the stela[20] must be Takelot II, even though the writing of the name in the cartouche (but without the stroke under the final sign) is attested for both Takelot II and Takelot III.[21]

Two stelae in the Nut corpus also have cartouches of a Takelot. One is the stela of Iuefaa, whose mother was the daughter of a Takelot who must be Takelot III (although the damaged writing seems not to be attested in Bonhême[22]). The stela of Iuefaa was discovered along with the stela of his father Wedjahor (Cairo A 9406/JE65756) in the debris in an intrusive shaft of TT 367, Paser.[23]

The other is the Liverpool stela of Tamiw, where the cartouche of a "lord of the two lands Takelot" is clearly written on the thickness of the stela (see figs. 20.2a, 20.3). Although this writing is not given by Bonhême,[24] it is paralleled on the right side and the central plank of the lid of the *qrsw* sarcophagus of a daughter of Takelot III, Irbastetwedjanefu A (Louvre E.3872; Jansen-Winkeln, dated to late Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasties, without a complete copy of the texts[25]), and on a faience statuette of Mut-Sakhmet-Bastet probably dedicated for the king's daughter and prophetess of Mut Irti-Bastet (B) at the Theban Mut temple in connection with the Festival of Drunkenness celebrating the return of the Distant Goddess.[26] Since Takelot III served as High Priest of Amun[27] before coming to the throne as an older man, Irbastetudjanefu A may already have died (or at least her sarcophagus had already been decorated and inscribed) in the late Twenty-third to early Twenty-fifth Dynasty if she had been one of his earlier daughters.

Since there is no evidence that either Tamiw or her father were members of the royal family, the reference to the king on her stela could be taken as an indication that he was still alive when the stela was dedicated, and that Takelot III may even have still been alive when the burial equipment of his daughter Irbastetudjanefu A was inscribed, since it is not known at what point in a person's life his/her burial equipment was prepared,[28] or the ages at death of any of the persons commemorated on the Nut stelae. However, the reference to the *ny-sw.t-bỉt* + (cartouche) + *wsir* with the singular pronoun in *dỉ=f* (see figs. 20.2a, 20.3) in the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* formula on the thickness of Tamiw's stela might indicate that Takelot III was already dead and had become an Osiris with a funerary cult of his own. This variation of the *ḥtp-dỉ-ny-sw.t* formula seems to be unparalleled, so it is difficult to know how to interpret it, and to understand why Tamiw invoked Takelot III on her stela, since she does not specify a kinship relation to him. It is not known where the king is buried, but probably not in Thebes, despite his policy of marrying his daughters into prominent Theban families and the burials of at least two of his children at Thebes. It would seem more likely there is a specific attempt by Tamiw to link the source of the expected offerings to the favor of the living Takelot III, who was recognized in Thebes at least in dating formulae for the Nile flood levels on the Karnak quay. This is an indication that Takelot III had the support of the Karnak temple administration, of which Tamiw's father was a part, and hence perhaps a reason why her stela text indicates an association with this ruler.

[18] The limestone stela British Museum EA 74892 also has a cartouche of Takelot III, grandfather of the mother of Ankhefenmut, for whom the stela was dedicated in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in the reign of Psamtik I (Jansen-Winkeln 2014, p. 216 [53.358]).

[19] Saleh 2007, p. 250, no. 96; Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 229 (25.21); Payraudeau 2014a, II, p. 492, no. 133.

[20] Aston Type IIc: Aston 2009, p. 354.

[21] Bonhême 1987, pp. 187, 191.

[22] Ibid., pp. 191–92.

[23] Fakhry 1943, pp. 410–11, pls. xxvi–xxvii; Munro 1973, p. 187, Taf. 1, Abb. 3; Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 352 (52.16, with number given wrongly as Cairo A 9448/JE 65757); Aston 2009, p. 236, TGs 927, 928. There is no reason to associate the linen fragments naming Taharqa (Fakhry 1943, p. 412; Cairo JE 65758–65760) found in the very disturbed fill of this plundered tomb with either stela, as Aston (2009, p. 236) has (see also Aston and Taylor 1990, pp. 131–43; and — as from any of the five plundered intrusive tombs in TT 367 — Aston 2014, pp. 28–29, 33, Chart 2-2).

[24] Bonhême 1987, pp. 191–92.

[25] Jansen-Winkeln 2007, p. 393 (44.24).

[26] Photographs of the lid and the proper right side of the lid and the proper right side of the box of Louvre E.3872 are available at http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=29226&langue=fr. For the writing on the faience statuette, alongside the cartouche of the king's consort Betjat, see Brandl 2013, p. 69, fig. 4; p. 71, fig. 10; p. 78, fig. 17; pp. 78–84, §§3.3–4. Following discussion with Sheikholeslami (personal correspondence July 2016), Brandl agreed with the interpretation given here, revising his published suggestion that the statuette representing Bastet was dedicated on the occasion of the New Year.

[27] Payraudeau 2014a, p. 346.

[28] See Sheikholeslami 2014a, pp. 454–55.

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The children of Takelot III (ca. 768–755, here and below following the dates used by Payraudeau and Perdu[29]) were perhaps born before their father ascended the throne, when he was still High Priest of Amun. If one accepts the premise that Takelot III's father Osorkon III (ca. 791–763 or ca. 784–756 BC) was the same person as the High Priest of Amun Osorkon B,[30] son of Takelot II (ca. 835–810 BC), then both Osorkon III and Takelot III were perhaps elderly, as likely would have been Takelot III's brother and successor Rudamun (ca. 755–750 or ca. 748–744 BC), when they ascended the throne, and the children of Takelot III well into adulthood; some may even have predeceased their father. Therefore, the writing of the nomen of Takelot III on the stela of Tamiw should probably be included among the attestations of orthographic variants contemporary with his reign.

The study of the palaeography of Third Intermediate Period texts is still in its infancy.[31] Taking into consideration the caveats in considering palaeography discussed in Sheikholeslami,[32] since we are here considering stelae of which all but one are inscribed with painted text on a smooth gesso surface, produced in the same area (Thebes) and with similar texts in the same or similar locations on the objects, we may comment on some features of the hieroglyphic signs that are similar or different on the stelae. However, the chronological import of the palaeography of the stelae is somewhat ambiguous, as the time periods in which certain writings were in use on Theban stelae are not very precisely defined. Nevertheless, the palaeography is consistent with a date for the corpus of wooden Nut stelae ranging from the late Twenty-third into the early to mid-Twenty-fifth Dynasties (with the exception of the limestone stela of Iru, which may date to the late Twenty-fifth or early Twenty-sixth Dynasty).

The stela of the overseer of praisers of Amun Wedjahor (Cairo JE 65756/A 9406), father of Iuefaa, has , twisted flax (Gardiner V28), written in an archaizing style dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[33] The name of the god Ra is written with the sun disk determinative — here provided with the head and tail of the uraeus — appearing above the phonetic writing, attested at least in year 15 of Shabaqo (707 BC[34]) on the statue of Iti (London, British Museum EA 24429[35]).  (Gardiner C1) has the sun disk with head and tail of the uraeus for the seated god Ra (the standard New Kingdom form) in the papyrus of Tashepenkhonsu dated to ca. 700–670 BC,[36] further indication of this Twenty-fifth Dynasty scribal fashion. As on the Nut stelae, on Wedjahor's stela, the god Rahorakhty is shown striding; the door leaves supporting the sky sign are characteristic of Aston stela type IV, dated to ca. 720–700 BC.[37]

The parents of Iuefaa are named on his stela, and his mother [....]ankh is a daughter of a king T[akelot],[38] doubtless Takelot III, who probably came to the throne as an older man.[39] Iuefaa's stela employs the archaizing determinative of a man of rank without a flail seated on a chair  (Gardiner A50), which seems to have been favored during the earlier Twenty-fifth Dynasty, especially during the reign of Shabaqo.[40] Thus his father's stela (Cairo A9406/JE 65756) may date to the early Kushite period (ca. 760–722 BC or 750/744–714 BC, with year 21 of Piye in 723 BC[41]) or even slightly earlier, since the pennant writing of the name of Osiris (which is

[29] Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, pp. 14–15. For a proposed revised chronology, accepting the reversal of the traditional order of the reigns of Shabaqo and Shabataqo, see Payraudeau (2014c, p. 127): Osorkon III, ca. 784–756 BC; Takelot III, ca. 761–748 BC; Rudamun, ca. 748–744 BC; Shabaqo year 15, 690 BC.

[30] Payraudeau 2014a, p. 346.

[31] See for example Leclant 1954; Payraudeau 2007; Perdu 1996; Sheikholeslami 2010; Taylor 2006; Taylor 2009.

[32] Sheikholeslami 2010, pp. 406–08.

[33] Taylor 2006, p. 364; Taylor 2009.

[34] Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; Shabaqo's year 15 is 690 BC in the proposed revised chronology (Payraudeau 2014c, p. 127).

[35] Leclant 1954, pp. 16, 18–19.

[36] Taylor 2009, p. 8.

[37] Aston 2009, pp. 348–55.

[38] The apparent writing of the name of Takelot in the damaged cartouche is not attested for either Takelot II or Takelot III (Bonhême 1987, pp. 187–88, 192), but presumably Takelot III was meant (Aston 2014, p. 33, Chart 2-2). Takelot III reigned ca. 768–755 BC (Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; ca. 761–748 BC, Payraudeau 2014c, p. 127).

[39] Takelot III had served as High Priest of Amun until year 23 (ca. 768 BC, Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; ca. 761 BC, Payraudeau 2014c, p. 127) of his father, Osorkon III (ca. 791–763 BC, Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; ca. 784–756 BC, Payraudeau 2014c, p. 127), when he was appointed co-regent with his father (Payraudeau 2014a, p. 346). Takelot III's daughters may thus have been born before he became king during the Theban Twenty-second Dynasty, and lived on into the early Kushite period (ca. 760–722 BC, Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; ca. 750–715 BC, Payraudeau 2014b, pp. 1610–11) or somewhat later.

[40] Sheikholeslami 2010, pp. 410–11.

[41] Payraudeau and Perdu 2012, p. 14; Payraudeau 2014b, pp.1610–11 and Payraudeau 2014c, p. 127.

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not securely attested between the New Kingdom and the reign of Piye, but is not written exclusively until the late Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties[42]) is not used.[43]

Several other Nut stelae in the corpus employ , man of rank seated on a chair without a flail (Gardiner A50), as a determinative, and sometimes also in the writing of the word *šps.w/šps.wt* "noble man/woman," an archaizing use of the Middle Kingdom form of the sign. These include the stelae of Ankhefenkhonsu I and his wife Neskhonsu I, Neskhonsu II, and Tabakenkhonsu.

Writings of the name of the god Osiris may also have chronological import. The stelae of Khonsumes and Taperet employ the writing typical of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties, which had largely been abandoned by the end of the Theban Twenty-second Dynasty: , an eye (Gardiner D4), written above , a portable seat (Gardiner Q2). Other stelae make use of the later Twenty-second/Twenty-third/Twenty-fifth Dynasty writings with , seat (Gardiner Q1), with the eye above or below it with or without , a seated god determinative (usually Gardiner A40): Ankhefenkhonsu I, Wedjahor (father of Iuefaa), Iuefaa (damaged), Neskhonsu I, Neskhonsu II, Tabakenkhonsu, and Tamiw. The stela of Taperet uses both of these orthographies. As noted above, the writing with the eye, seat, and seated god is gradually replaced by the pennant writing of the god's name (using , pennant on a pole [Gardiner R8], in place of the , seated god [usually Gardiner A40]). The later (pennant) and earlier (seated god determinative) writings appear together on the stelae of Ankhefenkhonsu I and Tabakenkhonsu. The stela of Iru uses only the pennant writing.

The details of hairstyle and dress and typology of funerary cones do not fall neatly into the chronological categories established by Taylor.[44] The women's hairstyles are mostly like Taylor[45] Twenty-second Dynasty, with the exception of the stelae of Neskhonsu II, where the hair is all back behind shoulder (but not a tripartite wig) and Tabakenkhonsu, a long wavy wig falling over the shoulder (which is most like Taylor,[46] Twenty-second Dynasty). The ears are exposed (like Taylor,[47] Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties, with tresses separated over shoulder) on the stelae of Neskhonsu I, Neskhonsu II, and Tabakenkhonsu, but the ears are covered by the wig (as in Taylor,[48] Twenty-second Dynasty) on the stelae of Taperet and Tamiw.

The garments worn by the women also do not fall neatly into the categories established by Taylor. The earlier examples in Taylor's classification[49] with the loose shawl-like garment having fringed edges and sometimes a dark border are dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty. This style of garment is worn by most of the women in the Nut stelae corpus (Tamiw, Taperet, Neskhonsu I, and Neskhonsu II). However, their shapely bodies seen through the garment are slimmer than those of the Twenty-second Dynasty women. In the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasty examples shown by Taylor,[50] the same garment is mid-calf length, similar to the one that Tabakenkhonsu wears, but without the dark borders shown on her dress.

On the reverse of Tamiw's stela, a long drooping breast with a prominent nipple is visible through her garment. The closest parallel is the representation of Takhenemet on her funerary stela (Brooklyn 08.480.201, dated 775–663 BC, probably Twenty-fifth Dynasty),[51] which combines characteristics of Aston's[52] stela Types IIc (ca. 825–725 BC), IIIb (ca. 850–775 BC), and IV (ca. 750–675 BC); however, Takhenemet's garment is tied around her body below her bared breast. A similar representation may be seen in a vignette in the Twenty-first Dynasty Book of the Dead papyrus of Gautsoshen (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 25.3.32).[53] The bared drooping breast is usually interpreted as being characteristic of groups of mourning women (as in TT 55, Ramose), but in the Takhenemet and Gautsoshen examples, the deceased is shown before a god, and so perhaps as an *akh*, as appears to be the case for such representations in the decoration of Twenty-first Dynasty "yellow" coffins from Thebes. Since Tamiw is shown being led by the goddess of the west to

[42] Leahy 1979.

[43] The author is unaware of any earlier examples of the pennant-writing of Osiris from Third Intermediate Period objects that are dated stylistically before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Editor's note: However, see the criticism of Ritner (1999, p. 354) that the Leahy study does not prove that the many undated examples of the pennant writing of Osiris cannot be earlier than Piye.

[44] Taylor 2003, p. 100, fig. 1, and p. 101, fig. 2.

[45] Ibid., p. 100, fig. 1.5.

[46] Ibid., fig. 1.4.

[47] Ibid., fig. 1.10.

[48] Ibid., fig. 1.5.

[49] Taylor 2003, p. 100, fig. 1.4–5.

[50] Ibid., fig. 1.10–11.

[51] I am grateful to Aleksandra Hallmann for drawing this stela to my attention. The stela is illustrated online in the Brooklyn Museum's collections database.

[52] Aston 2009, pp. 349–54.

[53] The papyrus with this vignette is illustrated in the MMA's online collections database.

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the mummiform Rahorakhty, it seems likely she is shown as a "justified" deceased, following the weighing of her heart in the judgment. This interpretation may be reinforced by noting that Tabakenkhonsu actually holds her "justified" heart in her hand as Thoth, who has recorded the judgement, leads her towards Osiris and Isis in the scene on her stela.

The men's garments in the Nut stelae corpus are not well represented in Taylor's typology.[54] Iuefaa wears a calf-length skirt with a fringed edge on the flap and a sash over his shoulder like Taylor's figure 1.7 (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties). Taylor does not include any examples of men wearing the pelt garment, but the garment worn by Ankhefenkhonsu I under his priestly pelt garment (with a sash fastened at the waist with a panther head from which descends a beaded panel similar to that worn by Montuemhat in the vignette of the Saite oracle papyrus and the relief from his tomb in Kansas City) seems most like Taylor's figure 1.8 (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties); Iru wears a similar long skirt (over a short kilt) with a sash over his shoulder. The calf-length skirt without fringed edges on the flap worn by Khonsumes is not included by Taylor.

Taylor also provides a typology of unguent cones for the Third Intermediate Period.[55] Type 1 is a tall cone resting directly on the wig with a lotus bud projecting forward from the base is dated from the reign of Amunhotep III to the late ninth century BC.[56] In Type 2, dating from the second half of the ninth century to the early seventh century BC, a squatter unguent cone is set on a nest of greenery atop the wig.[57] In the seventh to sixth centuries BC, this gives way to Type 3, a tall narrow cone with a sort of halo — perhaps a simplification of the greenery nest — around the base.[58] Neither of the latter two types has a lotus bud depicted with the unguent cone. In the Nut stelae corpus, Tamiw's unguent cone combines Type I with the lotus bud and Type 2 with the greenery nest; Type 2 is worn by Taperet, Neskhonsu I, and Neskhonsu II; Ankhefenkhonsu I has a cone that seems to be transitional between Types 2 and 3; and Type 3 is worn by Khonsumes, Tabakenkhonsu, and Iru.

Insofar as the costumes of the figures on the Nut stelae parallel typologies of costume established by Taylor,[59] a dating for the corpus to the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasty can be suggested, but Taylor's typologies are not precise enough to further refine the dating. Furthermore, characteristics of the costumes worn by figures on the Nut stelae show features not included in Taylor's typologies, perhaps an indication they come from transitional periods when Theban workshop traditions were in a state of flux, and/or a caveat not to date stelae strictly according to such typologies.

Aston includes the deity and his posture in his typology.[60] Aside from the Nut stelae (Aston's Type V), in Types II–IV (ca. 950–675 BC), the deity is always Rahorakhty, and the god is shown in a striding pose in Types IIc (ca. 850–775 BC), IIIc (ca. 825–725 BC), and IV (ca. 750–675 BC). In the Nut corpus (Aston's Type V, ca. 725–675 BC), the deity is a striding figure of Rahorakhty on the obverse of the stela of Tamiw, the reverse of the stela of Taperet, and the stelae of Khonsumes, Neskhonsu I, and Neskhonsu II. The obverse of the stela of Taperet has a striding figure of Atum (not otherwise shown on stelae in Aston's corpus), whereas the reverse of the stela of Tamiw has a mummiform representation of Rahorakhty (also not otherwise shown on stelae in Aston's corpus). The stela of Ankhefenkhonsu I shows Rahorakhty seated holding a *was*-scepter and an *ankh* (as in Aston's Types IIb and IIIb, both ca. 850–775 BC). Mummiform images of Osiris, included only in Aston Type IV stelae (ca. 750–675 BC), appear on the stelae of Khonsumes, Tabakenkhonsu, and Iru in the Nut stelae corpus. Considering the prominence of striding figures of deities in stelae from the Nut corpus, it may be worth considering that the dating suggested by Aston,[61] including the Theban Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasty and into the earlier Twenty-fifth Dynasties, is suitable for the corpus of Nut stelae as well. The appearance of other deities besides Rahorakhty is a further indication of the transitional nature of the decoration of these stelae, overlapping the later Twenty-second/Twenty-third and early to mid-Twenty-fifth Dynasties.[62]

[54] Taylor 2003, p. 100, fig. 1.
[55] Ibid., p. 101, figs. 2.1–3.
[56] Ibid., fig. 2.1.
[57] Ibid., fig. 2.2.
[58] Ibid., fig. 2.3.
[59] Ibid., pp. 100–01.
[60] Aston 2009, pp. 351–54.
[61] Following Munro 1973.
[62] See also the discussion by Aston 2009, pp. 353–54.

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a *b*

Figure 20.4. (*a*) Obverse and (*b*) reverse of the stela of Taperet, Paris, Louvre E.52 (N.3663). Photographs by Alain Dautant; reproduced with his permission

One feature not discussed by either Taylor or Aston in their stela typologies is the form of offering table before the gods on the stelae, although Aston follows Munro in noting a gradual simplification in the form of the offering table during the Third Intermediate Period.[63] However, the offering tables shown in the Nut stelae do not parallel this trend. The obverse of the stela of Taperet has an elaborate offering table with a T-shaped mat on which are heaped round and oblong loaves of bread between two tall libation vases, with some pieces of meat and an elaborate lotus blossom bouquet with the stems bound together in a loop. A convolvulus vine in bloom is suspended from the T-shaped mat, and a beer jar on a stand with a lotus bud wrapped around it sits on a jar stand alongside the offering stand. Similarly elaborate offering tables appear on the Aston Type IV stelae of Nestjerenmaat (British Museum EA 8450) and Deniuenkhonsu (British Museum EA 27332).[64] Some of the Nut stelae have a seemingly old-fashioned type of offering table (and offering lists), commensurate with the archaizing fashions attested for the later Third Intermediate Period (later Twenty-second/Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties) in Thebes. This Old Kingdom type with a flat tray on a tall stand with thin slices of bread laid over it, here with detailed hieroglyphs of the invocation offerings shown below it, is depicted on the stelae of Iuefaa and Ankhefenkhonsu I. The detailed hieroglyphs for invocation offerings alone are arranged around the figure of the deceased on the reverse of the stela of Taperet. This archaic stela type appears on Aston Type IIIc stelae such as British Museum EA 8449 (Horakhbit), and also on some contemporary late Twenty-third to early Twenty-fifth Dynasty *qrsw* sarcophagi, including those of Irbastetwedjanefu A (Louvre E.3872), Tashepenkhonsu (Louvre E.3913), Hor (British Museum EA 15655), Titenese (Cairo CG 41020), and Ankhefenkhonsu I (Cairo CG 41001). The simpler form with a single jar on top of the offering stand with a single lotus blossom

[63] Aston 2009, p. 353; Munro 1973, pp. 11–13.

[64] See the British Museum online collections database for color photographs of these stelae.

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a *b*

Figure 20.5. Thickness of the stela of Taperet referencing (a) Isis and Nephthys and (b) Hathor and Sokar. Photographs by Alain Dautant; reproduced with his permission

laid over it appears on the obverse of the stela of Tamiw, and on the stelae of Khonsumes, Neskhonsu I, Neskhonsu II, and Tabakenkhonsu.

The arched figure of Nut on the stelae of Tamiw and Khonsumes has the solar disk represented just below the center of the elongated torso of the goddess. The solar disk also appears within the elongated torso of Nut, flanked by stars, at the top of the stelae of Tamiw and Taperet. On the stelae of Ankhefenkhonsu I, Neskhonsu I, Neskhonsu II, and Tabakenkhonsu, a winged solar disk (labeled Behedet) appears below the elongated torso of Nut curved along the rounded top of the stelae. The solar disk is absent altogether from the stela of Iru. The placement and presence of the solar disk with respect to the body of Nut reinforces the suggested chronological grouping of the Nut stela corpus set out below.

The scene framed by the figure of Nut on the limestone stela of Iru, showing the deceased adoring a mummiform figure of Osiris with three of the four sons of Horus behind him, is similar to the scenes in Munro's Thebes I unclassified category, for example Louvre T V 4[65] (end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty) and Vienna 5070[66] (ca. 660–650 BC), which would seem to make it the latest in the Nut stela corpus, dating to the end of the Twenty-fifth or early Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

The only two Theban wooden stelae of this period with a text on the thickness of the stela known to me are those of Tamiw (discussed above, see figs. 20.2a and 20.3) and Taperet. The text on the thickness of the stela of Taperet differs from that of Tamiw, however. Starting from the summit of the stela and running down each side are texts honoring Taperet in the presence of different deities who will grant her invocation offerings (fig. 20.5): Isis the great, mother of the god (Osiris) and Nephthys, sister of the god (Osiris) on one side, and Hathor and Sokar on the other.

Taking all the points discussed above into consideration, a chronological sequencing of the Nut stelae may be suggested as follows:

	Late Theban 22nd–23rd Dynasty: Takelot III		*Early to Mid-25th Dynasty*[67]			*Late 25th–early 26th Dynasty*
Women	Tamiw	Taperet	Neskhonsu I	Neskhonsu II	Tabakenkhonsu	
Men	Khonsumes	Iuefaa	Ankhefenkhonsu I			Iru

[65] Munro 1973, p. 193, and Taf. 3, Abb. 12.

[66] Munro 1973, p. 194, and Taf. 3, Abb. 11.

[67] For a recent discussion of the dating of the coffins of Ankhefenkhonsu I and Tabakenkhonsu, see Sheikholeslami 2014a, pp. 461, 463.

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However, as Aston has pointed out, a more detailed study of the Third Intermediate Period wooden funerary stelae is needed.[68]

The Iconography of the Stela

One side of the round-topped stela of Tamiw is framed by a figure of the goddess Nut arched over the ground supported by her fingers and toes. This means of representing Nut seems to be first attested in the New Kingdom, specifically in a funerary context in the so-called sarcophagus chamber of the cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos. As is frequently the case with iconography on Third Intermediate Period funerary equipment, the imagery of Nut appears on other items in burial ensembles besides the Nut stelae. Dautant described the image of Nut on the footpiece of the anthropoid coffin of the *ḥry ʿ.t n pr ʾImn* Irethorrou (Musée d'Aquitaine RIDA 4297-Védère 521-Mesuret 859).[69] Her back is horizontal along the toe end of the footpiece, with her legs to the right and her head and arms to the left touching the earth across the ankles; Wepwawet on a standard faces each pair of appendages; the central scene under her body is too damaged to be recognizable. The closest parallel is the image of Nut in a similar position on the top of the footpiece of the inner anthropoid coffin of the priest of Montu Hor (British Museum EA 27735), where the central scene below the goddess's body consists of the winged disk with arms extending *ankh*-signs over a lion-headed bier on which a mummy lies; in addition to standards with a couchant jackal facing away from the upper arms (left) and thighs (right) of Nut, a pair of kneeling goddesses with the cropped hairstyle typical of the Kushite period face the bier on each side; below the bier is a set of canopic jars accompanied by a double crown. The more traditional coffin image of Nut (legs to the left, head to the right) arched over recumbent Geb supported by Shu appears on the proper right side lid of the *qrsw* of the same Hor (British Museum EA 15655).[70] As in the case of Hor, the *qrsw* of Tabakenkhonsu (New York, MMA 96.4.1), whose stela is included in the Nut corpus, has on the proper right side of the lid an image of arched Nut (legs to left, head to right) upheld by a god (Shu?) flanked by ram-with-sun-disk-and-plumes and jackal-headed mummiform deities, but the expected image of Geb recumbent beneath her is absent.[71] The interior of the head end of the coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 1953.72[72]) has the figure of Nut with her long hair hanging down her back arched over representative images of the hours of the day (on the right by the arms of Nut) and the night (on the left beside the legs of Nut) from the *Stundenritual*.

A detail that appears in the framing on the sides of the stelae of Tamiw and Taperet is, so far as is known, unique to these two stelae, leading Taylor to suggest they were made in the same workshop.[73] The ends of the sky sign across the top of the reverse of the stela of Tamiw are supported at either side by a green papyrus clump emerging from the top of a human head with short black hair with upturned ends and a short black beard resting on a blue line; atop the papyrus umbels on the right is the hieroglyphic emblem of the east, and on the left side the hieroglyphic emblem of the west. On the obverse of the stela of Taperet two heads of the same type rest on a black line across the base of the stela. Each head supports a plant group frame at the sides of the stela on which the ends of the sky sign across the top of the stela rest. On the right side, behind Taperet, is a bundle of three stems ending in lotuses, and on the left side behind Rahorakhty are three papyrus stalks. The pairing recalls the heraldic pillars of Thutmose III at Karnak, with the papyrus group on the northern pillar and the lotus group on the southern pillar. In Egyptian iconography, the north can be equated with the east, and the south with the west,[74] so it seems clear that the plant groups on the left and

[68] Aston 2009, p. 354; See now Saleh (2007) for Twenty-first to Twenty-third Dynasty stelae. Leithy (2012) has a comprehensive corpus of Twenty-first to Twenty-sixth Dynasty stelae, still unpublished. I am grateful to el-Leithy for sharing photographs and descriptions of the complete Nut stelae corpus from his thesis with me, and I look forward to the publication of his discussion of these stelae in his thesis (although he was unaware of the reverse of Tamiw's double-sided stela and the texts on the thicknesses of Tamiw's and Taperet's stelae).

[69] Dautant 2012, pp. 195, 196–97, figs. 5–6, 199.

[70] For color photographs of the burial ensemble of Hor, see the British Museum online collections database.

[71] I would like to thank Marsha Hill from the Egyptian department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Anders Bettum, who is preparing a publication of the burial equipment of Tabakenkhonsu, for providing me with photographs of the unpublished *qrsw*.

[72] Dautant et al. 2017, pl. 37.1.

[73] Taylor 2012.

[74] Roberson 2013, p. 129 with fig. 4.3.1; see fig. 20.6b.

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right sides of Taperet's stela are equivalent to the papyrus umbels topped with the emblems of the east and the west framing the sides of Tamiw's stela. The reverse of Taperet's stela shows Rahorakhty with the light of the rising sun shining on the reborn deceased in the form of five parallel rays formed of lotus blossoms colored alternately red, yellow, white, green, and blue emanating from the solar disk on the god's head (the rays are also highlighted with daubs of yellow varnish). Thus it is appropriate that the plant emblem associated with the east, from which the sun rises, is shown behind him, while Taperet has emerged from her night journey through the underworld, represented by the plant emblem associated with the west behind her. The obverse of Tamiw's stela, on the other hand, shows the deceased being led into the underworld by the goddess of the west, and no doubt the mummiform Rahorakhty is located there. Thus it is appropriate that the emblem of the west is behind him, and the emblem of the east behind Tamiw.

If we seek to interpret these emblems framing the sides of the two stelae, we must turn to the scene of the transit of the solar barques studied by Roberson.[75] This scene, part of a bipartite composition (see fig. 20.6a–b), always occurs above the scene of Osiris awakening, depicted in the subterranean chambers of cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos known as the Osirieon, in the tombs of Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX in the Valley of the Kings, in the tomb of Sheshonq III at Tanis, and in the tomb of Mutirdis (TT 410) in the Theban Assasif.[76] Roberson considers the composition to be a concise representation of the cosmological compositions usually referred to as the Books of the Underworld and the Sky.[77] The composition was clearly available in the iconographic repertoire of the Third Intermediate Period.

The form and decoration of the *qrsw* sarcophagus introduced in Thebes in the late Twenty-third/early Twenty-fifth Dynasties closely resemble the shrine in which Osiris awakens, and the scene of the awakening of Osiris also appears on the *qrsw* sarcophagus of Ankhefenkhonsu I (Cairo CG 41001 bis), in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Theban tombs of Ramose (TT 132) and Padiamunope (TT 33), and in the tombs of Qalhata and her son Tanutamani, the last ruler of the Kushite dynasty in Thebes, at el-Kurru in Nubia.[78] It is thus clear that the cosmological conceptions of the late New Kingdom were still operative in the Third Intermediate Period.

In the earliest version of the transit of the solar barques in the Nineteenth Dynasty Osirieon of Seti I at Abydos,[79] the scene is framed by figures kneeling on their heels and holding clumps of papyrus; they wear wigs with long lappets falling in front of and behind the shoulders, and support clumps of papyrus stalks on their heads (the one on the left preserving the emblem of the west on top and the one on the right bearing the emblem of the east).[80] The frame appears only on the right-hand side in the version of the scene in the tomb of Ramesses V;[81] here the head and arms of a figure with a bag wig holding three papyrus stalks emerges from ripples of water, once more supporting papyrus stalks on its head, but in an apparent reversal with the emblem of the west on top of the umbels.[82] In the tomb of Mutiridis, the images of a figure kneeling on its heels in ripples of water holding three papyrus stalks, wearing a wig with the tail hanging down its back and supporting lotus stalks on its head frame the scene of the transit of the barques.[83] On the left side the emblem of the west sits on top of the lotus flowers, and on the right the emblem of the east occupies the same position. Although Roberson interprets the figures framing the Seti I and Mutiridis compositions as female, this might be questioned, since the figures framing the composition in the tomb of Ramesses VI seem to be male, and the wigs in the other two tombs could also be worn by males. In any case, Roberson identifies all of these figures as fecundity figures.[84]

The heads emerging from a blue ground line (representing waters of Nun) on the stela of Tamiw and from a black ground line (representing the fecund earth) on the stela of Taperet must certainly be derived from the frame of the transit of the solar barques composition,[85] and perhaps more directly from the version in the tomb of Ramesses VI, since the fecundity figure shown there is clearly male.

[75] Roberson 2013.

[76] See ibid., pp. 1, 171–75, pls. 1–5.

[77] Ibid., p. 2.

[78] Ibid., p. 2 n. 5; Sheikholeslami 2014b, p. 114.

[79] Roberson 2013, p. 171, pl. 1.

[80] Ibid., pp. 9, 171, pl. 1.

[81] Ibid., pp. 9, 172, pl. 2.

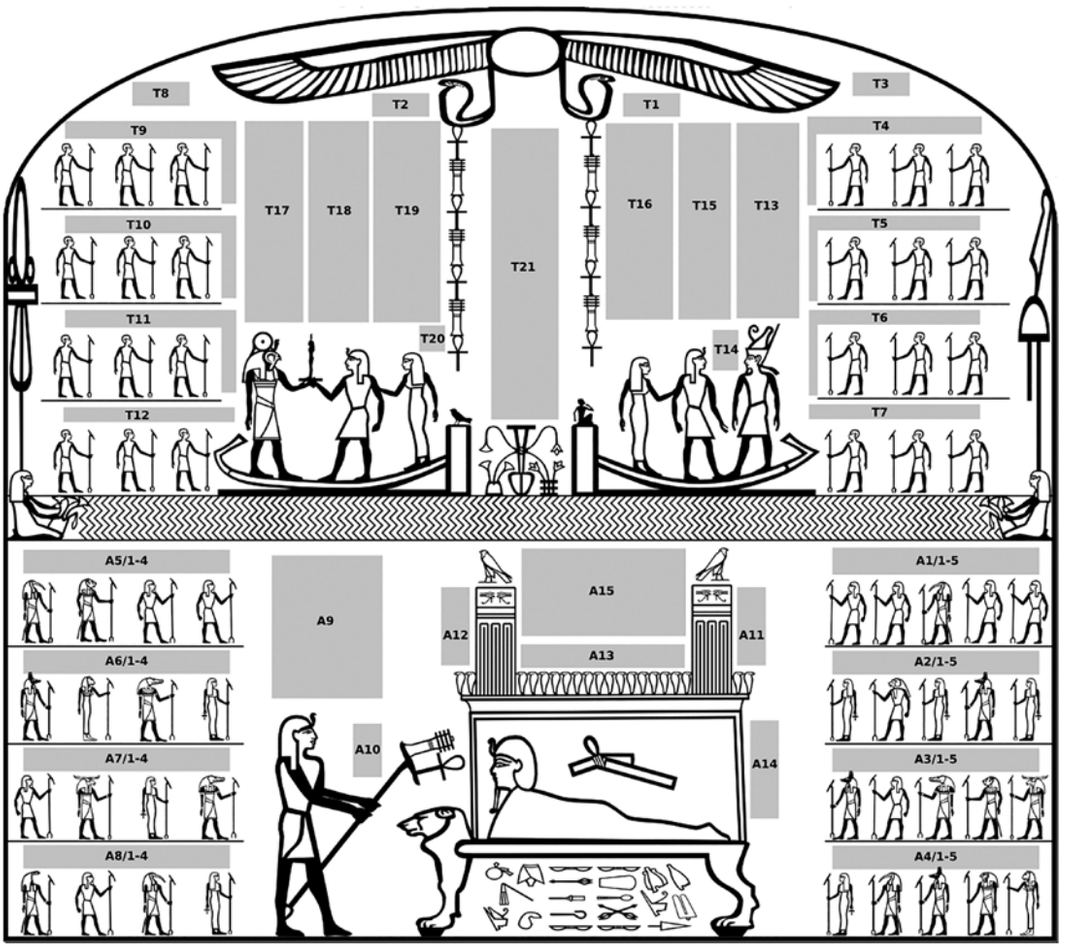
[82] Ibid., p. 9.

[83] Ibid., pp. 9, 175, pl. 5.

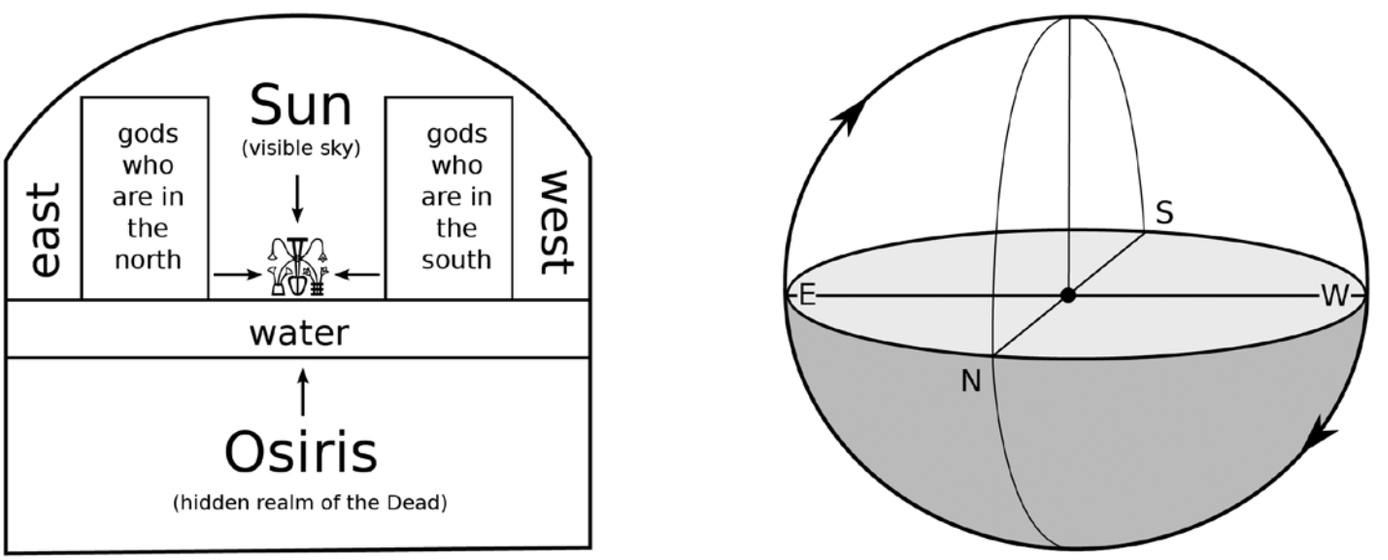
[84] Roberson 2013, p. 9.

[85] I would like to thank Joshua Roberson for confirming this interpretation in email discussions with me, and allowing me to incorporate elements of our discussion in this paper, as well as for granting me permission to use his schematic drawings reproduced in fig. 20.6a–b.

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a



b

Figure 20.6. (*a*) Schematic diagram showing approximate relative positions of figures and texts from the Transit of the Solar Barques (above) and Awakening of Osiris (below). After Roberson 2013, p. 2, fig. 1. Reproduced with the permission of the author; (*b*) the bipartite tableau of the Transit of the Solar Barques (above) and the Awakening of Osiris (below) as a cosmograph and its three-dimensional analog (arrows indicate direction of solar travel). After Roberson 2013, p. 129, fig. 4.3.1. Reproduced with the permission of the author

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Roberson also discusses outward-facing male heads connected to a strip of land as a determinative of the name of the god Aker in the texts in the Fifth Dynasty pyramid of Unas.[86] In the late New Kingdom, the so-called Book of Aker details the journey of the sun god through the body of the earth god Aker, which seems to be a focus of the composition designated the Book of the Earth, whose scenes are most extensively compiled in the tomb of Ramesses VI.[87] The Book of Aker is perhaps an expanded version of the eleventh scene of the Book of Gates.[88]

In the scenes of Aker beneath the solar barque, the god is shown as a bearded male double sphinx, with the heads facing away from the conjoined bodies of two sphinxes, a personification of the eastern and western mountains of the horizon. Each evening, the sun god sinks into the western horizon, the gateway to the waters of Nun that he passes through during the middle of the night, emerging each morning from the eastern horizon.[89] This image appears inside the Twenty-first Dynasty coffin of Nespawershefyt (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1822) beneath a depiction of the arched goddess Nut supported by the deity Heka adored by *ba*-birds with the barque of the sun god sailing across her back.[90] The association of images prefigures the iconography of the stelae of Tamiw and Taperet. Male heads facing inward appear with the funerary boat of Osiris in another Aker scene from the tomb of Ramesses VI.[91] The iconography of the Aker scenes seems to have influenced the images from the transit of the solar barques supporting the sky sign framing the obverse and reverse (respectively) of the Nut stelae of Tamiw and Taperet, and thus the male heads on the stelae may double as fecundity figures and representations of Aker.

The composition of the transit of the solar barques and the awakening of Osiris is at the eastern end of the so-called sarcophagus chamber in the Osirieon of Seti I at Abydos adjoining a large composition showing the goddess Nut arched over the earth while the sun passes through her body after she swallows it in the evening, to be reborn between her legs at dawn. This association seems to be preserved in the iconography of the two Nut stelae of Tamiw and Taperet, and no doubt accounts for the representations of the arched figures of Nut on the lids of contemporary *qrsw* coffins noted above. The figure of Nut arched over hours of the day and night inside the head end of the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin of Padiamun (Liverpool 1953.72) also recalls the belief, attested since the Old Kingdom, that the dismembered body of Osiris is reassembled in the body of the goddess, his mother (which is symbolized by the coffin itself), during the twelve hours of the night.[92]

The main scenes on the two sides of each of the stelae of Tamiw and Taperet refer to the beginning and end of the nocturnal underworld journey of the deceased with the sun god, culminating in her rebirth at sunrise. In Roberson's opinion (personal communication), the

> symmetrical imagery on the borders of Egyptian art is probably always meant to evoke the limits of the cosmos/created world, as circumscribed by the sun's transit. On the Louvre stela, . . . the heads emerge from a ground line, which in this case is colored black — there can be little doubt that this represents the black "earth" in explicit pairing with the blue "sky" at the top of the stela. Since the heads emerge from the horizontal limits of this "earth," then by definition, they delimit what we could call a "horizon." Furthermore, the sun disc sits at its zenith, near the top of the stela, beneath the center of the sky and above the center of the earth — if that does not describe an Egyptian *akhet*, then I don't know what does! … In fact, the very first thing that springs to my mind when I see heads with plants (esp. lotus) growing out of them is the primordial solar child, Nefertem. From that perspective, the ground line, heads, and plants are evocative of the original moment of creation. Furthermore, the fact that the papyrus and lotus plants are water flora implies the presence of the primordial waters at the edge of creation and/or the Nile running through its center, neither of which are indicated explicitly on the stela.

Roberson (personal communication) also agreed that I am correct to compare the heads on the stelae to the fertility figures in the transit of the solar barques composition, since

> they serve a similar cosmographic function, although in the [Louvre stela], their heraldic motifs do not delimit east and west but rather north (papyrus) and south (lotus). This raises an interesting question for the *akhet* interpretation: What direction are we looking "through" when we view the stela? The explicit north/south dichotomy of the plants suggests that the viewer is looking down the east/west axis … . However, if we understand the heads

[86] Roberson 2012, p. 163 n. 239.

[87] Ibid., pp. 7, 11 with n. 90, and the extensive discussion of the Aker group of vignettes in ibid., ch. 5, §5.3–10.

[88] Ibid., pp. 11–12.

[89] Roberson 2012, pp. 133–39 with fig. 5.2.

[90] A color photograph is available in the online collections database of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Editor's note: For the identity of the god as Heka, see Ritner 2008, p. 18 n. 75.

[91] Roberson 2012, p. 163, fig. 5.9.

[92] Sheikholeslami 2014b, p. 115.

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> and earth as an *akhet*, then the explicit north/south dichotomy must also be paired implicitly with east/west. The appearance of papyrus/north on the left (*ỉ3by* = "east") and lotus/south on the right (*imnty* = "west") suggests that a similar pairing and orientation to the (original) [transit of the solar barques] template is being exploited, although I would hesitate to draw a direct connection between the cosmographic book and the stela. Rather, they both reflect a convention for encoding the three dimensional cosmos on a flat, two-dimensional surface. [see fig. 20.6b] Thus, the heads do exercise a similar function to the fertility figures . . . , the major difference being which axis — north/south or east/west — is being conveyed explicitly by their heraldic motifs. . . . (I)n fact I do think that the frame of the stela should be read as both N/S and E/W.

The clearly cosmological stelae of Tamiw and Taperet were presumably in some way complementary to other parts of their now-lost burial equipment, which all worked together within the same cosmic framework. Since generally burials during the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties were not in decorated tombs and did not include papyri, the burial equipment was meant to be a self-sufficient cosmic unit, providing everything the deceased needed to make the transition from this world to the afterworld. Presumably the form and decoration of the (probably anthropoid or "Osiriform") coffin sets (probably enclosing the mummy in a cartonnage case) of Tamiw and Taperet would have referenced the awakening of Osiris, the complementary scene to the transit of the solar barques (see fig. 20.6a–b).

The subtle iconography of the stela of Tamiw, with the closely similar stela of Taperet, is a sophisticated multi-layered embodiment of Egyptian cosmological thought at the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty, during the reign of Takelot III. Thus, as humble an object as the stela of Tamiw may seem at first glance, it provides important insights into Egyptian funerary religion at a period largely devoid of texts describing it. Furthermore, the dating of the stela of Tamiw and its companion, the stela of Taperet, to the late Twenty-third Dynasty has enabled us to mostly confirm Leithy's chronology of the Nut stelae, a more nuanced sequence than allowed by others who have studied them.[93] Finally, the stela of Tamiw confirms a variant writing of the nomen of Takelot III. It is to be hoped that in the near future this interesting stela will be targeted for cleaning and conservation so that all who are fortunate enough to see it first-hand in Liverpool can better appreciate it.

[93] Leithy 2007.

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Appendix: Corpus of Nut Stelae

Museum Number and Recent Bibliography (citing earlier references)	*Double-sided*	*Owner*
Boston Museum of fine Arts 04.1850 unpublished; a photograph of the graywacke stela fragment with Osiris is available in the MFA's online collections database		Fragment, owner unknown
Cairo A9422/TN 25.12.24.11 Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 416 [52.143]; Leithy 2007, pp. 590–91, pl. I.3–4		Ankhefenkhonsu I *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Montu lord of Thebes, opener of the doors to the sky in Karnak, etc., son of the same Besenmut and Taneshat, daughter of the god's father beloved of the god Hahat, etc. (husband of Neskhonsu I)
Cairo A9448/JE 65757 (intrusive burial in TT 367, Paser, Fakhry, 1943, p. 411, pl. 26) Leithy 2007, pp. 589–90, pl. I.2; Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 208 [48.150]	✓	Iuefaa *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Amun in Karnak (grandson of Takelot III, son of the overseer of praisers of Amun Wedjahor, stela Cairo A 9406/JE 65756, Jansen-Winkeln 2009, 355 [52.16, wrongly as A9448/JE65756]; Munro 1973, p. 187, pl. 1, fig. 3; Fakhry 1943, pp. 411–13, pl. 27, fig. 55)
Cairo A9449/TN 28.12.24.15 Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 417 [52.144]; Leithy 2007, p. 592, pl. II.2		Neskhonsu I house mistress (wife of Ankhefenkhonsu I)
Cairo A9916/TN 27.1.25.18 Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 428 [52.153]; Leithy 2007, pp. 591–92, pl. II.1		Neskhonsu II house mistress (wife of Neseramun II, daughter of 4th *ḥm-nṯr*-priest of Amun Djedkhonsuiuefankh)
Copenhagen National Museum AAd 16 Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 536 [52.340]; Munro 1973, p. 188 [wood]; Mogensen 1918, p. 51, pl. 20, fig. 33 [painted limestone]		Iru butcher of the domain of Amun (son of the butcher of the domain of Amun Djedkhonsuiuefankh and Tamiw)
Linköping Stads Museum 3 (formerly Sabatier 88) Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 546 [52.362]; Munro 1973, p. 188; Björkman 1971, pp. 48–49 (3), pl. 15.3; Legrain 1893, p. 61 (88)		Khonsumes beloved of the god, king's acquaintance (son of the beloved of the god Djedasetiuefankh)
Liverpool N.24.11.81.17 Leithy 2007, p. 589, pl. I.1	✓	Tamiw house mistress (daughter of Ankhkhonsu, supervisor of the chamber of Amun, son of like-titled/ranked Nespernub)
Louvre E.52 (N.3663) Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 552 [52.387] (not including text on thickness); Étienne 2009, p. 67 [33]; Leithy 2007, p. 593, pl. II.4 [reverse]	✓	Taperet house mistress
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 96.4.4 Jansen-Winkeln 2009, p. 442 [52.172]; Leithy 2007, pp. 592–93, pl. II.3		Tabakenkhonsu house mistress (daughter of Hor and Tamiw)

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Pectorals, Seals, and Seal Cases(?)

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Janet Johnson, a preeminent scholar of Egyptology, has had a long and distinguished career at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and I offer this study, which begins with pectorals, a sub-category of the larger group of pendant jewelry, in her honor.[1] Attested in ancient Egyptian burials from at least the early Naqada period,[2] they seem to occur during later eras as well. Both men and women wore various types of these items, which are often referred to in modern times as jewelry; some had decorative purposes, some had religious significance, some had official functions, and some had a combination of these underlying reasons for production and wear. Royal and private burials represent a significant source of such articles, which could be placed on the mummy itself or deposited elsewhere in the tomb, along with other equipment that was stored separately for the afterlife. Carved representations of these items occasionally appear on a statue, and artists can also represent them on a figure, or figures in a scene on a tomb wall, or on the outer or inner surfaces of a coffin. Images of jewelry are often included in a frieze of objects, and they can also appear in scenes depicting their production. The context of such imagery and any accompanying text can often provide information as to their function in rituals, their daily use, their purpose in the afterlife, and their composition.

Among the most versatile of such items were pendants, popular during almost all periods of ancient Egyptian history.[3] The specific form of pendant that we associate with pectorals today, however, may actually have come into use later. While no actual pectorals have survived from times prior to the Old Kingdom, limited representational evidence of two such items may exist from the early Dynastic period and might imply usage prior to the Old Kingdom.[4] Both are reliefs; one depicts a female, the other a male. The former, a fragment of raised relief, portrays a non-royal female dwarf of the Second Dynasty who wears a pendant suspended from two converging straps.[5] The other depicts the sandal bearer who follows the king on the Narmer Palette, and this court official wears some type of pendant suspended from straps at his neck (see fig. 21.1a–b).[6]

The pectoral the dwarf wears is trapezoidal in shape, likely fashioned of beads, and it represents a type and material similar to what became common in representations in the Old Kingdom and later.[7] Its interpretation seems certain. What Narmer's sandal bearer wears around his neck, however, is quite different from what the small female figure wears/has and does not appear similar to later neckwear. The bearer wears the same type of attire and neck decoration (see fig. 21.2a–b) on the obverse and reverse of the palette, and he appears in similar activity and stance on each side. Scholars' opinions vary as to the type of pendant he wears and whether the two versions are the same. Petrie, the palette's discoverer, describes it as "an amulet hung

[1] Among the articles in her long list of publications is "Private Name Seals of the Middle Kingdom" (1977), a topic the present study also addresses. An early version of this study, "Pendants, Pectorals, and Seals on a Chain," was presented at the 2014 ARCE Annual Meeting in Portland, Oregon.

[2] Some examples are in Teeter 2011, pp. 70, 80, and 104; as well as in Patch 2012, pp. 39, 50, 52–55, and 132–35. See also T. Wilkinson 2003, pp. 100–01.

[3] See, for example, the surveys of jewelry by A. Wilkinson 1971, pp. 20–22, 47–48, 83–96, 139–46, 159–63, and 178–83; Andrews 1991, chs. 4, 5, and 7; and Aldred 1971; cf. the more specific studies of Feucht 1967, pp. 7–78; 1971, pp. 1–32; 1982 cols. 922–23.

[4] A. Wilkinson 1971, p. 22, refers to the two examples, while Feucht 1967, pp. 18–19 and 1971, p. 1, refers only to one; Andrews 1991, p. 127, discusses only the later representations from the Old Kingdom. See also Feucht 1982, cols. 922–23.

[5] See the photograph in Kaplony 1964, pl. V (fig. 1067), and p. 33.

[6] A. Wilkinson 1971, p. 22, who discusses both, refers to Kaplony 1964, pl. V (fig. 1067), for the former. Feucht, in her publications (1967, pp. 17–18; 1971, p. 1) refers, however, only to the latter.

[7] A. Wilkinson 1971, p. 22; Feucht 1967, pp. 18–20; 1971, p. 1.

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at the neck."[8] Feucht, who noted the presence of the "*Täfelchen*" on each side, has suggested that the object on his neck was perhaps a shrine-shaped pectoral with two sides and a roof, and she also noted that its central section was undecorated.[9] She further wrote that the sandal bearer following the king wore "a pectoral necklace in the shape of a naos (shrine) hanging from a string."[10] A. Wilkinson identified the items on both sides as pectorals. Although this last scholar noted that they differed in shape, she pointed out that both were trapezoidal in form and had a top bar and side supports that framed a central area.[11] In fact, most descriptions use the term pectoral, allude to an architectonic shape, and note that the central section contained no interior decoration. Although Feucht observed that the pendant was missing a base line,[12] neither she nor others who have described these items thus far have concluded that this omission or the absence of interior decoration might be problematic for interpreting the item as an architectonic pendant.

Interestingly, the overall condition of the palette is quite good, and many of the details of the bearer's costume and the sandals he holds still retain their original intricate details on both sides of the artifact, indicating perhaps that the simplified undecorated central area of the neckwear reflects its original appearance closely. If so, the authors' observations referred to above seem a less appropriate description of the sandal bearer's pendant and a more suitable one for the architectonic pectorals of the Middle Kingdom and subsequent periods. During those later times, pectorals of varying shapes and material were in fashion, depictions of these items appear in representations, and some actual examples have survived. Major forms at that time included both a beaded trapezoidal and a metal architectural type with inlays containing symbolic iconography. Only the former, however, can be well documented in Old Kingdom iconography.[13]

Close examination of the figures on both sides of the palette seems to indicate that some type of pendant object is attached to two flat straps, which descend in a "V" shape and then converge at the top support of the item that rests on his upper chest. This horizontal element could be part of an outer frame with three distinct borders: a horizontal bar at top and two vertical ones on either side, with the upper bar extending beyond the verticals on each side (see fig. 21.2a–b). The upright support on the left and right does not seem to have the same thickness. The incised horizontal line that defines the base of the upper bar has a parallel line also, which extends across the distance from the inner sides of each vertical support. At a distance about three-quarters down from the top, this lower border defines the base of a blank rectangular area within the three-sided outer structural framework. The lower horizontal line does not seem to have been incised on the obverse. Since ambiguity exists in the literature about what type of pendant the sandal bearer actually wears, some questions arise regarding the varying discussion. Is the item depicted really an architectonic pectoral as described in numerous studies; did jewelry of such a type even exist in the Early Dynastic Period;[14] or did this particular item represent something else entirely?

Feucht had suggested, however, that a statue of a royal figure of the Old Kingdom might also have a rectangular pendant on its neck,[15] thus positing a possible later parallel to the sandal bearer's pendant. The carved item she mentioned appears on a seated calcite statue of Pepi I wearing a *heb-sed*-garment.[16] Not far from the chin, a small rectangular raised area is visible just below the top edge of the king's robe, and Feucht tentatively suggested that this feature might represent a pendant that originally had some carving on it. Although noting that it had no straps for suspension, she suggested that perhaps these details had been painted on.[17] However, the combination of sculpted and painted elements occurring on the pendant seems unlikely. In a later study on sculpture of the Sixth Dynasty, Romano described that same section of the Pepi I statue quite differently. He determined that the area in question represented rather the attachment for the ruler's false

[8] W. M. F. Petrie 1953, p. 16. Fairservis (1991, p. 8) had referred to it as "a pendant," and he suggested that it represented a ribbon or cord that went around the figure's neck and was attached to a bar, forming the shape of an early ankh.

[9] Feucht 1967, pp. 17–18; 1971, p. 1; 1982, col. 922.

[10] Feucht 1999, p. 386.

[11] A. Wilkinson 1971, p. 22.

[12] Feucht 1967, p. 18.

[13] A. Wilkinson (1971, pp. 47–48) notes the different shapes that occur, and she also indicates the likelihood that some contained inlays. See also Andrews 1991, pp. 127–31; and Aldred 1971, pp. 183, 185, 189, 213. See also Silverman forthcoming.

[14] For a discussion of architectonic pectorals, see also Silverman forthcoming.

[15] Feucht 1967, p. 18; 1971, p. 1.

[16] Cooney 1952, pls. 12–21; see also the illustration in Robins 1997, p. 65, fig. 60.

[17] Feucht 1967, p. 18; 1971, p. 1.

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beard.[18] His conclusion, which seems correct, would remove this Sixth Dynasty statue from consideration as an example of a rectangular pendant. Therefore, it seems that the Narmer palette sandal bearer and the statue of Pepi I do not depict individuals wearing architectonic pendants in either the early Dynastic Period or the Old Kingdom. One should not consider them as evidence for the early existence of such items. Since no other representational evidence has yet come to light, and no actual examples of such pectorals have survived in the remains of the material culture, the early existence of such items would appear to be in question.

Slightly more than a decade ago, Davis suggested another interpretation of the sandal bearer's neckwear when he examined the representations of the action that occurred on both sides of the Narmer palette in detail,[19] but his solution presents its own difficulties. He described the item around the neck of the sandal bearer on the reverse side as a "case (?), possibly a square box with a lid, suspended by a strap around the neck of [the] sandal bearer,"[20] and he refers to the neckwear on the same figure on the obverse as "carrying the seal's case(?) around his neck."[21] Although it appears that the items on both sides are similar,[22] some slight differences exist, as already mentioned above (see fig. 21.2a–b). Davis also hypothesized that the seal was not in either carrying case, but that it was in the left hand of the ruler who smites the enemy kneeling before him, a conclusion that Fairservis had also made.[23] This suggestion does not conform to traditional interpretations of what is in the hand of the smiting king, that is, the hair of the enemy.[24] Davis theorized that this individual was Narmer's intended successor on the basis of the sandal bearer's positioning on the obverse and reverse of the palette.[25]

Although Davis placed importance on the pendant in the composition on Narmer's palette in regard to his proposed relationship between the king and the supposed heir, his suggestion may not be justified. A similar scene occurs on the Narmer mace-head,[26] and it too includes a sandal bearer. On this item, the figure wears the same long kilt, also holds a pair of sandals in one hand, and grasps a small vessel in the other. Petrie, however, did not mention that the sandal bearer on either the mace-head or the palette was an heir to the throne, but he assigned the title "king's son" to the figure on the mace-head who stood before the ruler and had the label *ṯt*.[27] None of the representations of the sandal bearer on either item depict the figure wearing a wig. On the mace-head, the bearer stands behind the king (who sits in a separate area), but like the figure on the palette's obverse, two hieroglyphic signs are before his face. In contrast, this figure on the palette's reverse has the two signs behind his head. Other variations exist as well; for example, the two hieroglyphs on the mace-head are arranged one after the other, with the rosette closest to the bearer. On both sides of the palette, however, the signs are presented vertically, with the rosette above.[28] Another difference is that the bearer on the ritual weapon steps forward with his left foot, while raising the heel of his right foot above the register, a gesture perhaps suggesting motion.[29] On the palette, the bearer on each side places both feet firmly on the register,

[18] Romano 1998, pp. 235–304. See also the entry for the artifact in Ziegler 2002, p. 387. Note that A. Wilkinson (1971) does not include this statue in her discussion of pectorals.

[19] Davis 1992, pp. 194–97.

[20] Ibid., p. 194.

[21] Ibid., p. 167. In his study, Davis does not refer to the description and photograph of a supposed fragment of a seal case in W. M. F. Petrie 1901, p. 25, pl. VII:12. The remains of the item and the inscription as shown in the plate do not support Petrie's conclusions on p. 25.

[22] As can be seen in Davis 1992, figs. 38, 57.

[23] Davis 1992, pp. 192–94; Fairservis 1991, p. 10.

[24] See, for example, Robins 1997, p. 32; Smith 1978, p. 113; and O'Connor 2011, p. 148.

[25] Davis 1992, pp. 195–96.

[26] See Quibell and Petrie 1900, pp. 8–9 and pl. XXVI: b–c; see also Millet 1990, pp. 53–59.

[27] W. M. F. Petrie 1953, p. 17, makes this conclusion on the basis of the leopard garment that the figure wears. This individual may imply even more prominence because of his position in front of the king on the palette and in the upper register on the Narmer mace-head. See a similar conclusion in Millet 1990, p. 55. See a totally different interpretation in Fairservis 1991, p. 14. For a recent examination of the palette, see the article and references in O'Connor 2011, pp. 145–52.

[28] Quibell and Petrie 1900, pp. 8–10, pls. XXVI:B–C, XXIX. Note the different numbers of "leaves" on the rosette, seven on the obverse of the mace-head and the palette and six on the reverse of the palette.

[29] All the standing figures on the palette have both heels on the ground, including the image of Narmer smiting the enemy. In contrast, both the sandal bearer and the figure behind him on the mace-head appear to have raised heels (Quibell 1898, pls. XXVI:B–C, XXIX). On the ebony label from the tomb of Hemaka, King Den, who plays an active role in the jubilee, has a raised heel, as do a smiting King Den and his enemy on an ivory label (see the respective illustrations in Spencer 1993, pp. 66, 87). In regard to the placement of feet in scenes, see, however, Schäfer 1974, p. 294, who stated, "In pictures of men normal standing cannot be distinguished from measured walking, as the soles of the feet are flat on the ground in both cases. Whether the figure is standing and walking, in emphatically forward-moving action the back heel is raised, while the front is quite flat. This does not occur in running poses."

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possibly implying stasis. Unlike his counterparts on the palette, the bearer on the mace-head appears to have the sandals on the far side of his arm and hand, obscuring different parts of the footwear. For our investigation, however, the diverging detail most significant is the lack of any neckwear on the bearer on Narmer's mace-head. Given the seeming importance of the seal and its case(?) on Narmer's palette according to Davis, one might have expected that the sandal bearer on the mace-head would wear such an item at that event as well.

Davis did not investigate the possibility that the item on the palette might have related more to a cylinder seal than to either its case or container. Indeed, it is clear that cylinder seals were quite important in the developing stages of Egyptian civilization, and archaeologists have discovered both seals and their impressions from the early periods of its history.[30] In addition, titles relating to seals and sealing are also known from these times.[31] James referred to the neckwear of Narmer's sandal bearer in an article on seals, but he did not note Davis' previous work. He apparently saw no difference in the representation of this detail on the two sides of the palette and stated that "it looks like a small frame containing a cylinder seal, a pectoral ornament which is at the same time a piece of sealing equipment." James also described the item as a "supposed cylinder seal mounted in a frame shown as a pectoral."[32] Like Davis, James did not point out the fact that the same figure on Narmer's mace-head did not wear such a pendant, nor did he provide any supporting documentation or parallels (either actual or representational examples) for his conclusions.

Despite the lack of any real evidence for the conclusions that James proposed, some later authors seem to have accepted without discussion his description of the sandal bearer's neckwear as a mounted seal.[33] Interestingly, other earlier authors also had proposed the existence of mounted cylinder seals in ancient Egypt. In the section on Egypt in his publication on cylinder seals in 1939, Frankfort, for example, included a photograph of a horizontally oriented seal found in a Naqada tomb dating to the "latter part of the Gerzean or to the Late Predynastic Period."[34] This piece, probably imported from Mesopotamia, was unusual in that it still was attached to its original short beaded chain.[35] In the Old Kingdom, a representation from Abusir depicts such an item in the hand of an official who holds a horizontally oriented seal (or perhaps a horizontal bead, as no indication of any carving exists) with a cord strung through it.[36] Later, in the Middle Kingdom, a scene from the Theban tomb of Dagi shows what appears to be either a horizontal cylinder seal or a long bead strung on a cord that hung around this official's neck, and it may well be one of the very few clear examples of a seal being worn.[37]

[30] For several recent studies on this subject, see Teeter 2011. For a discussion of early inscriptions where the hieroglyph for the cylinder seal appears, see below. See also the discussion of the rosette and other issues including the "cylinder seal" on the neck of the sandal bearer in: E. Winter, "Wer Steht Hinter Narmer?," in M. Bietak, J. Holaubek, H. Mukarovsky, and H. Satzinger (ed.) Zwischen den Beiden.

[31] See, for example, the sources cited in notes 62–67, below.

[32] See James 1997, pp. 32, 36.

[33] See, for example, the more recent remarks of Merrillees 2006, p. 222. A few years later, Regulski 2010, p. 181, refers to Merrillees' article above, when describing a frame into which a horizontal seal was placed.

[34] Frankfort 1939, p. 293, pl. XLVI.

[35] For sources supporting the Mesopotamian origin of Egyptian cylinder seals, see, for example, Frankfort 1939, pp. 292–300; James 1997, p. 31; Honoré 2007, pp. 31–45.

[36] See the illustration in Müller 1999, fig. 138. See also the representation of a seal that Brovarski illustrates and discusses (2008, fig. 3 and p. 150), where a seal appears within a scene, not as a hieroglyph. See also Borchardt 1913, Blatt 32. Millet lists contemporaneous examples (1959, p. 9, n. 1, and p. 10); he concludes that the seal was worn vertically first, and then by the Fifth Dynasty, it was strung horizontally, like a bead, a conclusion that conflicts with the beaded Naqada seal and all of the early inscriptions with depictions of seals oriented both vertically and horizontally. See also the discussion below.

[37] See Davies 1913, p. 32, pls. xxxii and xxxiv, who refers to the item as "the chancellor's blue seal-cylinder, hung round his neck by a white cord which passes through it." The deteriorated condition of the wall does not indicate any interior details on the cylinder, thus allowing it to be interpreted also as an elongated bead. For the manner in which cylinder seals in other parts of the ancient Near East were worn, see, for example, Frankfort 1939, p. 7; and Pittman 1995, pp. 1597–99; the latter points out that they were used on loops around the neck or from the wrist or suspended from pins. At the end of Egypt's Twenty-sixth Dynasty, the figure of Psamtik, who stands under the protection of Hathor (CG 784), wears a pendant suspended from a cord (?) around his neck. Although Russmann (1989, pp. 185–88) did not mention this adornment when describing the sculpture, she does refer to this item as "a seal hung from a cord around his (Psamtik's) neck in a later article" (2010, p. 960). In discussing the same figure, Saleh and Sourouzian 1987, no. 251, noted that the "cylinder seal hanging at his breast is the insignia of his profession." Interestingly, Psamtik had a long string of titles, the last of which was *ỉmy-rꜣ ḫtmw*, and it might seem odd to highlight only this office with an emblem. Moreover, the width of the plaque and the broad attachment for the cord suggest rather that the item likely was a pectoral. Terrace and Fischer 1970, no. 39, p. 168, note that an "undecorated amulet or pectoral in relief hangs around his neck." de Meulenaere and Vanlathem (2010, p. 60, D 1) list the pendant in the category: "plaquettes non décorées."

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In 1959, Millet reviewed information about Egyptian cylinder seals in his unpublished M.A. thesis at the University of Chicago, Oriental Institute, and concluded that the Egyptians likely did not develop a metal carrying case.[38] He did, however, note that a single example — a gold foil seal from a tomb at Naga ed Deir had an accompanying case formed from a strip of soft gold.[39]

A few publications over the years have included illustrations of a mounted cylinder seal suspended from a beaded chain,[40] but interestingly, the sources of the original item were often omitted or obscured. Frankfort incorporated the representation of such an example on the cover and title page of his book on cylinder seals, but he did not provide a photograph of it.[41] In his listing of the plates and illustrations, he indicated that the source of the drawing of this elaborately mounted seal was an early article in which Borchardt discussed three hieroglyphs and pointed out different details about each.[42] The sign in question was a drawing of a seal (*ḫtm*) that Frankfort described as a "Hieroglyph from the tomb of Henmen [*sic*]."[43] He noted further that seals in Old Kingdom Egypt could be mounted in frames and suspended on neck chains, but he supplied no other supporting data.[44] Well before Frankfort's conclusion, Newberry suggested the same idea in his 1901 study on scarabs; he also based his drawing on the Borchardt's illustration and comments.[45]

The model for the specific image that Frankfort used to depict a "framed" seal suspended from a chain was not part of a vignette in a tomb scene, nor was it carved on a statue. Rather, it was a hieroglyph used in an official title that appears in an inscription on an Old Kingdom false door now in the Cairo Museum (CG 1417, see fig. 21.3a). Marriette had discovered the tomb from which this architectural element had originally come at Saqqara.[46] Prepared by the official Tepemankh, the tomb dates to the Fifth Dynasty.[47] This false door has a dedicatory text by the father to his son Hem-Min (not "Henmen"), and the inscriptions include the hieroglyphic sign of a cylinder seal (see Gardiner 1957 and Hannig 2003 [S19] and [S20]) signifying the word *ḫtmw* "sealer"[48] in a title that occurs six times. It appears five times in the shorter version *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr* "Sealer of the divine documents" and once in a longer variant, *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr pr ʿ3* "Sealer of the divine documents of the *pr ʿ3*."[49] This last phrase is part of the inscription that begins at the top of the right jamb and refers to the father, Tepemankh. It states, "the sealer of the divine documents of the *pr ʿ3*, Tepemankh, was the one who made this (the false door) for his (lit. my) oldest son, the sealer of the divine documents Hem-Min, while he was a child."[50] In the five instances where the shorter title appears on the false door, the individual to whom it refers is the son Hem-Min, but the appearance of the sign in each is not always consistent. For example, the suspension chains can be either erect or drooping to one or another side.[51] With an erect chain, the seal itself is usually somewhat square, higher than wide, while the seal with a drooping chain, as a rule, is more rectangular, wider than high. The cylinder in the father's longer title on the outer right jamb also has a chain that droops to one side, and that seal is a rectangle, wider than high.[52]

[38] Millet 1959, p. 8.

[39] Ibid., pp. 4–5.

[40] See Borchardt 1897, p. 106; Frankfort 1939, title and cover page; and Hayes 1953, fig. 27, for sources that appeared prior to Millet's. Note, however, Millet's comments in 1959, pp. 7–8. See more recently the publication of Hill 2004, title, cover page, and the figure (without attribution), and the discussion in Merrillees 2006, fig. 4, as well as further references in note 33, above.

[41] Frankfort 1939, p. 293, pl. XLVI.

[42] Ibid., p. 7 n. 4, pl. XLIII; See Borchardt 1890, p. 91 n. 2. See also the opinion to the contrary in Millet 1959, pp. 7–8, and the apparent contradiction on p. 4.

[43] Frankfort based his rendering of the name on the transliteration that L. Borchardt used in his article (1897, p. 106).

[44] Frankfort 1939, p. 7 n. 4, pl. XLIII.

[45] Newberry 1905, pp. 44–45, fig. 19.

[46] See Mariette 1889, p. 200; *Urk I*, p. 33.

[47] PM III/2: 483–484; Borchardt 1937, pp. 89–91, pl. 20. See also Smith 1942, pp. 515–17. Note that James still referred to the incorrect tomb owner, Hem-Min (1997, p. 36).

[48] See also Hannig 2003, pp. 986–94, for a variety of the forms of the seal sign. Unfortunately, the font is generalized and does not depict some forms as they appear in inscriptions.

[49] For some holders of these two titles, see Jones 2000, p. 765: 2783, 2784. Note that for the simpler version, Jones does not include the references to Tepemankh and his son from either reliefs in situ or from material in museums.

[50] See also the translation Strudwick 2005, 173 A, p. 248. Note that in Mariette 1889, p. 200 (D 11), the last part of the father's name (*ʿnḫ*) is omitted, and in the transcription of the text in Sethe, *Urk*. I, 33: 12, the sign of the seal, which should be erect, is drawn incorrectly. Compare the transcription in Borchardt 1937, p. 91 and pl. 20.

[51] The direction of the droop follows the orientation of the text. If the inscription reads right to left, the chain will droop to the left and vice versa.

[52] For the different forms of the sign in a generic sense, see the sign lists in Gardiner 1957, p. 506, S 19–20, where Gardiner suggests that the latter depicts the seal from the front. See also Hannig 1995, p. 1078, S 19–20, and 2003, p. 988.

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One of the seal signs within the text on this false door was the model for the drawing of the seal that Borchardt (1897) used for his article: the *ḫtm* sign with an upright chain that appears in the lower part of the right outer jamb of Hem-min's false door (CG 1417, fig. 21.3a).[53] He suggested that it represented a seal set within in a frame and that it had a tab at the bottom that functioned as an aid in rolling out the impression in clay.[54] As noted above, Frankfort pointed out thirty-three years later (1939) that a cylinder seal mounted in a swivel had not yet been found in Mesopotamia. Apparently based entirely on Borchardt's earlier comments, Frankfort noted, however, that such an implement did exist in Egypt and that it served as the hieroglyphic sign meaning "treasurer" in the Old Kingdom.[55]

Fourteen years after the publication of this drawing and Frankfort's (1939) discussion of it, an illustration of a similar item appeared in a new, invaluable study of ancient Egypt by Hayes (1953), based on the collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In his description of cylinder seals, the author notes, "at an early period such seals were also mounted in metal frames . . . which greatly facilitated their use, reduced the risk of loss, and, when worn on a necklace or bracelet . . . made a handsome pendant ornament."[56] Unfortunately, Hayes did not provide a photograph of such an item, an image of it in relief or depicted on a statue in the Metropolitan Museum collection or elsewhere on which it occurred, or references to a source to support his statement. Although he supplied no documentary evidence, he noted that a wire or cord running through a longitudinal hole in the cylinder would secure the seal to its metal casing. Hayes did not comment on the wide variety of sizes, shapes, and interior details that representations of the *ḫtm*-sign could have or what they could mean. In the first few pages of his Chapter III, entitled "The Early Dynastic Period," however, he accompanied his description quoted above with an illustration of a mounted seal on a beaded chain and referred to its illustration in his fig. 27 as "Cylinder seal in mounting," with the implication that the image in the figure would have dated to the same time period which that particular chapter covered. Other than its drooping beaded chain, this image is quite similar to the ones that Borchardt and Frankfort had used earlier, both of which, as noted above, had derived from a hieroglyph in an inscription from the Fifth Dynasty.

In 1959, Millet rejected the idea of mountings for cylinder seals, since no actual examples had yet come to light, and he suggested that the representations depicting them did not support interpreting them as a framed or mounted seals.[57] Unfortunately, he did not explain all of the differences in size, inner and outer details, and orientation that the *ḫtm*-sign could have. Although he proposed the theory that the early seals had vertical orientation, it is clear that a few from that time period also are more square.[58] It is also noteworthy that several early examples of the *ḫtm*-sign with a chain have no tab/finial at all and that relatively few of the associated chains have clear indications of beading. It is unfortunate that only a few depictions of seals exist outside those used in texts. Moreover, those few representations that have come to light date only to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and those cylinders tend to have horizontal orientation.[59]

Millet suggested that horizontally oriented seals were introduced later, when artists representing the seals widened them. According to him, they continued the practice of placing a finial at the bottom,[60] thereby rendering the implement useless. Such a conclusion seems odd in light of the form of one of the earliest examples found in Egypt. Frankfort included it in his publication — a horizontally oriented seal (likely a Mesopotamian import) with a short beaded chain on either side (the only one that has yet survived); it had no finial bead at all.[61] Interestingly, the early examples from Mesopotamia that Frankfort also included in his publication were vertical in orientation, but had no finial bead.[62]

[53] See Borchardt 1937, p. 90, n. 2. The shape of the seals depicted in the titles and the length and positioning of the chains vary on this false door, as it does elsewhere in this tomb, and, in fact, throughout the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom.

[54] Borchardt 1897, p. 106. See also Hayes 1953, p. 38 and fig. 27, who discusses the mountings and provides a drawing that illustrates their appearance (including the tab), but he does not mention the function of the tab.

[55] Frankfort 1939, p. 7.

[56] Hayes 1953, pp. xiii and 38.

[57] See Millet 1959, p. 7, where the author notes the studies of both L. Borchardt and H. Frankfort as sources of the idea of the outer frame. He does not, however, cite W. Hayes' work that appeared six years earlier.

[58] See the table of Regulski 2010, pp. 612–13, where she lists several seals dating to the Early Dynastic period that appear to depict a square seal.

[59] See Millet 1959, pp. 8–10; and the examples illustrated in Merrillees 2006, figs. 1, 2, 3.

[60] Millet 1959, pp. 9–10.

[61] Frankfort 1939, p. 293, pl. XLVI.

[62] Ibid., pp. 6–7, pls. I–II.

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Several decades had passed by the time T. G. H. James wrote his summary article in 1997, in which he referred to the use of a frame for cylinder seals in early Egypt. He cited only L. Borchardt's earlier study that referred to the prototype of the sign in the tomb of Hem-Min.[63] Seven years later, J. Hill published a monograph on Egypt's predynastic glyptic. Although she did not discuss seals in mountings, Hill included an illustration of one on both the title and cover pages that had similarities to the depictions that Borchardt, Frankfort, and Hayes published, but no source appears in her monograph.[64] Then, in an article in 2006, R. Merrillees noted that a figure in a scene from the tomb of Ti held a suspension loop and a cylinder seal, two of the elements of *ḫtm*, in one hand. The third part of the seal hieroglyph, which Merrillees referred to as "the metal frame in which the cylinder is held,"[65] was not in the depiction. He further states: "the collar terminated in a square or rectangular frame, into which the cylinder was set," and he includes an illustration that is based on the drawing in Hayes' earlier publication.[66] Later, in 2010, Regulski, in her paleographic study, cited Merilees' article as her source when she referred to the interpretation of the square or rectangular part of the *ḫtm*-sign as "a frame to which the collar was attached."[67]

This last citation is one more in the long list of writers whose reference to a framed cylinder seal ultimately leads back to Borchardt's original observation and illustration of the details of a particular seal sign that appeared once in a Fifth Dynasty inscription from Saqqara. Never mentioned is the fact that this hieroglyph takes a variety of forms on the walls of the tomb of Tepemankh in situ, on the false doors from it now in the Cairo Museum, and a relief in the Louvre.[68] While most of this material was available to him at the time, Borchardt apparently chose to focus on a single image for his description of the sign, the one that occurred one time on the false door (CG 1417) that Tepemankh had dedicated to his son Hem-Min. The *ḫtm*-sign in that inscription is fairly clear (see fig. 21.3a), as are its two horizontal sections at each border, but its interpretation, as a frame, seems far from certain. Additional examples of the same hieroglyph appear elsewhere on this false door, as well as on reliefs and other false doors in the tomb. They all seem distinct and do not appear to be open to an interpretation as a framed seal.

Parallel examples of seals exist in the Old Kingdom, such as the well-preserved *ḫtm*-sign in the earlier tomb of Rahotep at Medum, where the cylinder is also rectangular, higher than wide. An incised line near the upper and lower edge is quite clear (see fig. 21.3b). That fact and the extant color indicate that there were no linear details on the side to support interpreting the image as a four-sided metal frame with an enclosed cylinder seal.[69] In these two tombs and elsewhere, this horizontal linear detail on the vertically oriented seal likely indicated an upper and lower border carved in the stone that marked off the area with inscriptional or iconographic material, or even an edge protector.[70]

The collection of the Cairo Museum also has two other false doors from Tepemankh's tomb, one of which was for his wife, Nubhotep (CG 1415).[71] Beginning on the top part of its right jamb, an inscription records the longer form of the tomb owner's title; it states, "It was the sealer of the divine documents of the *pr ꜥ*ꜣ, Tepemankh, who made this (the false door) for his wife Nubhotep."[72] The hieroglyph that depicts a seal is somewhat square, higher than wide, and suspended on a vertical chain (see fig. 21.3c). On the left jamb, several children appear in a vertical file, and the second one from the top is her son Hem-Min. What remains of his title seems to indicate an original text of *ḫtmw mḏꜣt nṯr*, the shorter form, as is the case elsewhere, when

[63] James 1997, p. 36.

[64] Hill 2004, front cover and title page.

[65] Merrillees 2006, p. 218, figs. 1, 2 (rt. side).

[66] Ibid., p. 222, fig. 4.

[67] Regulski 2010, p. 181.

[68] Ziegler 1990, pp. 262–64.

[69] See W. M. F. Petrie 1892, frontispiece, pls. XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XX. Petrie (1892, p. 33) concluded that the hieroglyphs in the tomb that best depicted the seal had a chain (sometimes erect and sometimes drooping) that was beaded and that the cylinder itself had yellow ends suggesting that the edges were covered in gold. In his detailed description, he mentioned nothing about a frame or a mounting. A similar form of the seal with incised upper and lower design occurs also in a Fourth Dynasty tomb in Simpson 1978, fig. 33. See also the depiction that appears in a text on the base of an incomplete statue of Djoser of the Third Dynasty (Hawass 2003, p. 89), where the seal also appears to have upper and lower incised borders; the beaded chain droops to the left as well, but the seal itself is more square in shape.

[70] For the use of various type of metal caps in Mesopotamia, see Frankfort 1939, p. 7

[71] PM III/2: 483–84; Borchardt 1937, pp. 84–87, pl. 19; Mariette 1889, p. 201; and *Urk* I, 33. For a full list of the false doors and summary of the sources, see also Der Manuelian in Arnold and Ziegler 1999, pp. 404 n. 4, 407.

[72] See also the translation in Strudwick 2005, pp. 298, 398.

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his designations are listed. The seal hieroglyph appears more horizontal and is attached to a chain drooping to the left.

The other false door of Tepemankh in the collection of the Cairo Museum (CG 1564) refers only to the tomb owner.[73] Although he listed only the longer variation of his title on the false doors that he prepared for his son and wife, he incorporated other versions on his own monument. *Ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr pr ʿ3* appears twice, once on an architrave with a *ḥtp di nswt* formula. Damage prevents a clear view of the form of the seal, but an erect chain is evident.[74] This hieroglyph also heads the list of titles in the first of six columns above the tomb owner on the right side, and the sign there depicts a rectangular seal, wider than high, with a chain drooping to the right (see fig. 21.4a).[75] A variation on this designation stands at the head of the third of the six columns of titles on the right, *sḫḏ ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr* "Inspector of sealers of the house of divine documents."[76] The *ḫtm*-sign is a slightly horizontal seal, wider than high, and has an attached chain drooping to the right (see fig. 21.4b). The simpler designation, *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr,* is part of a vertical *ḥtp di nswt* inscription in the niche, where the more square seal hangs from an erect chain (see fig. 21.4c).

For investigating the titles on the walls of the chapel still in situ, we have A. Mariette's drawings, and he records other individuals depicted in the reliefs who also held the longer form of the sealer title. A figure labeled as the brother of the deceased has the designation *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr pr ʿ3.* In this case, the seal hieroglyph appears somewhat square, higher than wide, with an erect chain.[77] In a different scene, another figure has the same name, and the seal sign in his longer title, *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr pr ʿ3*, takes the same form. Although no label here designates him specifically as the brother of Tepemankh, he likely is the same sibling.

The collection of Old Kingdom art in the Louvre includes a large section of relief from this tomb, and it depicts the upper part of the tomb owner, Tepemankh, with accompanying inscriptions. Because the uppermost part of the relief is broken at the inscription, it is not clear whether the phrase *pr ʿ3* preceded the title *ḫtmw mḏ3t nṯr*. Given the preference for the longer form of the title elsewhere in the tomb, it is likely that it originally was present here as well.[78] This *ḫtm*-sign is square with an incised line near the edge of both the top and bottom, similar to that on the false door he dedicated to Hem-Min. Its chain, however, droops toward the left (see fig. 21.4d).

A study of the iconography of the seal hieroglyph in Tepemankh's inscriptions reveals a few variations. For reliable information, however, one cannot rely on A. Mariette's drawings, since the renderings of all of the hieroglyphic signs in that publication are generic.[79] For example, the seals in the title usually have a horizontal orientation with few other details. In contrast, L. Borchardt's photographs and transcriptions of the three false doors in his *Catalogue Général* volumes are more detailed. His transcriptions in type form, however, also appear more generic, and, therefore, are less reliable. Occasionally, he does include a note to indicate a feature not apparent in the printed font.[80] Based on Borchardt's publications (for the Cairo Museum pieces) and that of C. Ziegler (for the Louvre relief of the additional relief from the tomb of Tepemankh),[81] it seems that the seals on the false doors could take the form of a broader rectangle, rarely with slight interior detail, or a more square type, sometimes with interior detail. Suspension chains could droop to either the left or right, or stand erect. The type of chains, a few of which may have been beaded, however, is not a dependable predictor of the type of seal (or vice versa).[82] That said, more chains that are erect have a squarer seal, while

[73] Mariette 1889, pp. 198–99; Borchardt 1964, pp. 28–30, pl. 64. Strudwick 2005, p. 248, no. 173 A and B, translates the titles in two sections of columns.

[74] The details in this area of the photograph are slightly blurred here, but the text seems readable. The drawings in Mariette 1889, p. 198, and Borchardt 1964, p. 29, record all the signs.

[75] Mariette 1889, p. 198; Borchardt 1964, p. 30, pl. 64.

[76] Jones 2000, nos. 951, 3509. Note that Strudwick (2005, p. 248) apparently does not read *pr* separately.

[77] Mariette 1889, p. 197.

[78] Ziegler 1990, pp. 262–64; note her translation on p. 262, "le chancelier des écrits divins [au Grand Palais]," indicates that she understood that *pr ʿ3* had originally been at the head of the title.

[79] Actually, one has to be cautious in analyzing the appearance of the signs in any publication, as they often are either simplified or rendered in a generalized form for a particular font typeface.

[80] Compare, for example, the *ḫtm*-sign in Hem-Min's title on the right outer jamb of his false door (Borchardt 1937, pl. 20), the printed font of the text, and Borchardt's comment (Borchardt 1937, p. 90, n. 2).

[81] Ziegler 1990, p. 263, also has a clear photograph of the sign.

[82] Millet has also included seals with a horizontal and diagonal chain (the latter apparently limited to the pendant around the neck of the goat) in the Old Kingdom (1959, p. 5). Of these two types, Jones 2000, nos. 2768, 2771, 2780, 2788, 2809, and 2819, has included only examples with a horizontal chain.

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those that droop seem more likely to have a broader rectangular shaped seal.[83] Occasionally, seals have inner details in the form of incised lines. In a wider seal, a single horizontal line may occur midway within the seal, while the more square form will have two, one near the top edge and the other near the bottom. No vertical incised lines seem to occur on the left or right sides of any of the seals to indicate a frame. All examples include a rounded tab at the bottom.

From these data, it would seem that the artisans who were responsible for recording the titles with *ḫtm* in Tepemankh's tomb used several variations in the size, shape, orientation, and internal decoration of the seal, as well as a few different types of chains from which the seals were suspended. None of the examples, however, support interpreting this item as a cylinder seal within a metal frame.

In Tepemankh's tomb the *ḫtm*-sign displays a variety of shapes, details, and chains: (1) on the Louvre relief, the square seal with drooping chains has interior incised details at the top and the bottom (fig. 21.4d); (2) on the false door of Hem-Min (CG 1417, fig. 21.5a), three seals have drooping chains. In the outer left jamb, the seal is moderately horizontal and appears to have two incised lines close to the top and bottom edge (fig. 21.5a); in the outer right jamb, the seal seems a bit more square and has an incised line only in the middle (fig. 5b); and in the left innermost jamb, the seal is even more square, and it has two incised lines, one close to the top edge and one close to the bottom (fig. 21.5c); (3) on the false door of Nubhotep (CG 1415), the only depiction of a seal with a drooping chain occurs on the left outer jamb and accompanies the figure of her son Hem-Min. The image in the photograph is not clear, but no inner detail is apparent. The seal is more horizontal than elsewhere in the tomb; and (4) on Tepemankh's false door (CG 1564), the drooping chain and seal appear in the first and third line of inscription on the right side (figs. 21.4a–b). The sign in the first line is hard to see, but it appears only slightly wider than high, with no discernible interior detail; that in the third line is a bit wider, but it too has no apparent inner detail.

As for the seals with erect chains, most appear to be square or higher than wide. The example in the niche of Tepemankh's false door (CG 1564) follows this form and may have incised lines at the top and base (fig. 21.4c). A sign with a similar appearance occurs in the dedicatory inscription to Hem-Min on the right outer jamb of another of the tomb's false doors (CG 1417, fig. 21.3a).[84] Examination of the plate reveals what appears to be simply an incised line not far from the upper and lower edge of the almost square seal. The space between this line and the edges is of a lighter color than that of the darker central area, ostensibly representing the cylinder seal, and is smaller at the top than that at the bottom.

Even within the two broad categories (horizontal or vertical orientation), variations in size, shape, and interior details occur. Despite these differences, three elements seem consistent in all the seals that appear in the reliefs: (1) the seal can have a square shape or one that is a horizontally or vertically oriented rectangle; (2) the seals have a defining outline on all four sides, with none of the lines extending beyond meeting points at right angles; (3) in all cases a tab, almost always with rounded edges, projects downward from the center of the base; and (4) the means of suspension (sometimes clearly beaded) can be either erect or drooping. None of these details provide conclusive evidence from the iconographic record of the seal hieroglyph to support the existence of a case, a mounting, or a frame for cylinder seals during this period of Egyptian history.[85] It would also appear unlikely that Borchardt's original drawing represented accurately what appeared on the false door of Hem-Min in the tomb of his father Tepemankh; it should, therefore, not be referred to as

[83] This observation is limited to the Tepemankh reliefs, but a quick survey of the sign in many other contemporary tombs seems to result in a similar conclusion. It is possible that the forms became more standardized later in the Old Kingdom. See, for example, the seals with drooping chains, all of which appear narrow and horizontally oriented in the drawing of the text, on the false door published by Kuraszkiewicz 2006, fig. 2. The author refers to several earlier publications focusing on this title in n. 14. Note also two Old Kingdom examples of the sign in the title *ḫtm ḏ3w* that contain more detail in Fischer 1972, pp. 58–60, figs. 19–20. In that publication, each seal has a drooping chain with some inner detail. In fig. 19, the seal is oriented horizontally, and its only inner detail is a short line that does not reach either the left or right the sides. In his fig. 20, the seal is somewhat square; it has prongs on the sides that may suggest some type of mounting. See further discussion below.

[84] It was the model for Borchardt's (1897) drawing of a framed cylinder seal. See also Borchardt 1937, p. 90 n. 2.

[85] The collection of the Louvre includes a bronze cylinder seal with the royal name, *Sm3-T3wy Nb-ḥpt-Rʿ*. One of three related seals, this one has metal caps on the ends into which a tubular mounting was inserted that forms a handle, and would allow it to be rolled to make a sealing. It was found within its calcite container (E-25688, E-25687, and E-25686). The shallow relief of the inscription and associated decorative relief would seem to preclude actual use.

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verification of such a device which otherwise has no support. A review of all of this information results in a conclusion that sealing equipment as it occurs in representations from this tomb of the Fifth Dynasty does not indicate a seal mounting, nor does it relate to the item that Narmer's sandal bearer wears around his neck.[86] A link between sealers and sandal bearers, however, seems to exist in certain periods of Egyptian history. For example, scenes in several tombs depict individuals who are identified as sealers, and occasionally these figures hold sandals, stand near sandal bearers, or are close to sandal making; both men and women can be involved. Although such scenes appear more frequently in the Old Kingdom,[87] a few instances also occur in the Middle Kingdom.[88]

It is also important to stress that the relationship between actual examples of cylinder seals and the surviving depictions of the image of the seal in scenes and in texts is somewhat complicated. It differs from the fairly straightforward relationship between representations of scribal palettes in texts and scenes and the corpus of examples of such palettes that have survived into modern times. From the early periods, Egyptian artists generally represented the tools of the scribe in a consistent manner in texts and scenes. From examples of actual palettes that have survived into modern times, however, it is clear that this scribal tool had not remained unchanged over time, but had evolved.[89]

Whether such a disjoint existed between the seal itself and its representations is not so easy to determine, given the paucity of seal imagery in the repertoire of iconography.[90] Excavators in Egypt, however, have discovered large numbers of cylinder seals throughout the country and from different time periods, and the resulting corpus exhibits both variability and evolution over time. Indeed, cylinder seals were popular from pre-dynastic times well into the Old Kingdom, at a time when other forms of seals (e.g., button, stamp seal, amulet), had already come into use and would become the dominant form. When that change

[86] It may be of interest that a later connection between a sealer and a sandal bearer appears in a relief from the Twelfth Dynasty, where an individual labeled a sealer carries a sandal. See Russmann 2001, p. 94 n. 4. Several similarly labeled individuals occur in the scene and carry other items. See also below, n. 88.

[87] Cherpion collected many examples of individuals related to sandals and sandal bearers for her article "Sandales et Porte-sandales à la Ancien Empire" (1999, pp. 227–80). See also the examples of individuals and titles associated with *ḫtmw* that Vasiljevic points out (1995, pp. 23–41). The publications of the original sources cited by Cherpion, above, as well as those in Siebels 1996, pp. 75–88, are also important sources. One finds that a few of the participants in these reliefs bear the title *ḫtmw*, "sealer." Examples can be found in Davies 1901, pl. VIII, where a figure named *Sšm-nfr*, labeled both a *ḫtmw* and *ḥm-kꜣ* holds a pair of sandals; in the tomb of Ti (Wild 1953, pl. XVII), where a male bearer labeled *ḫtmw* carries sandals in his left hand; and in Wild 1966, pls. CXLVII and CLXXIV, where a sandal-making scene is adjacent to a seal-making scene; in Harpur and Scremin 2006, p. 328, where a figure labeled *ḫtmw* carries a sandal; in Blackman 1953, pl. XXXI, a man designated *ḫtmw* holds a sandal; in Kanawati and Abder-Raziq (2003, pl. 69), a female attendant who holds sandals bears the title the title *sḫḏt ḫtmt.* In the case of Hayes (1953, fig. 51), the sandal bearer stands behind an individual labeled *sḫḏ ḫtmw.* In Moussa and Altenmüller (1977, pls. 42–43), a sandal-bearing individual who also wears sandals is in the register immediately above a trio of individuals bearing the title *ḫtmw*. For two later examples from the Middle Kingdom, see the note immediately below.

[88] For an example from the Middle Kingdom site of Beni Hasan, see Newberry (1893, pl. XVI), where a sandal bearer standing behind the tomb owner and his sun-shade bearer has the title *ḫtmw*. For another source, this one from Djehutihetep's tomb at Bersheh, see Russmann 2001, p. 94, n. 4. The scene depicts a few individuals supporting a carrying chair with several other bearers following behind (EA 1147). At least three (and probably four) have the designation *ḫtmw kfꜣ-ib* (for a recent discussion of this phrase, see Darnell and Manassa 2013, pp. 75ff.). The third individual so designated holds sandals in his left hand and a long staff in his right. E. Russmann refers to the first of these individuals as, "a 'trusty seal bearer' carrying Djehutihotep's seal and a long staff." What he carries in his right hand is in fact a large "pail-shaped" object with a handle. The item is not of the size or shape of a seal. Similarly shaped articles appear in other scenes as early as the Old Kingdom and seem to represent a general type of container. See, for example, H. Petrie 1952, pl. XV, and Simpson 1978, fig. 33. See also the vessels with handles in H. Petrie 1952, pl. XV. In two abbreviated registers, one above the other, a pair of bearers carries offerings. The one on the top supports a large chest on his shoulder and holds a small rectangular "pail-shaped" object with a handle in his right hand. Below stands a sandal bearer, followed by a servant who also carries a handled container in his right hand.

[89] See Parkinson and Quirke 1995, pp. 31–37.

[90] See above, n. 36. In Brovarski 2008, fig. 3, a group of items, including a carrying chair, bags, a basket with lid and a box appear together in a separate area behind the wife of the tomb owner. Among these objects is a vertically oriented seal with a suspension chain that loops to the left. Seal making scenes, which are limited to the tombs of Ti and Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, do not actually depict enough of the seal to make any judgment on its appearance at the time. See also James 1997, p. 36; and Merrillees 2006, pp. 218–19; and also the references in Regulski 2010, p. 181, n. 1901. Another source of information on seals is Boochs 1982. A highly restored example of the Eleventh Dynasty may occur in the tomb of Dagi (Davies 1913, p. 32). See also the sources from Bersheh and Beni Hasan, mentioned above, n. 88.

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occurred,[91] actual cylinders saw more limited use, and their surfaces tended to include mainly inscriptions with royal names; they may have functioned primarily in ceremonies and rituals.[92]

Interestingly, the form of the seal hieroglyph that was first seen in texts of the Early Dynastic Period retains its appearance in the Middle and New Kingdoms.[93] The favored form in these later times is a horizontal cylinder suspended from an erect or, more usually, a drooping chain, already the dominant type in the Sixth Dynasty. Earlier, both the hieroglyphs as well as actual examples of the seal have more varieties of cylinders, from vertically oriented rectangles and square shapes to horizontally oriented ones. While no cylinder seal has survived with a chain of any type, the hieroglyph of the seal that appears in texts almost always has some form of suspension, and it can be erect or drooping, plain, or beaded.[94] The fact that fewer and fewer examples of actual cylinders have been recovered from the later Old Kingdom at approximately the same time that new types begin to appear indicates a change in preference and/or in utilization. The image of the seal in hieroglyphic texts, however, maintains its earlier form during this period of transition in the Old Kingdom and remains popular throughout the country for some time.

The earliest examples of the seal hieroglyph that still survive today occur on either actual cylinders or their impressions. That variations existed even then is clear in the table that I. Regulski included in her recent study of the paleography of early hieroglyphs.[95] What is noticeable immediately on her chart is that some of the seals have a tab at the base, but more of them omit this detail. Both types occur already in the First Dynasty. About half of her examples contain inner linear detail, and all but one seal is rectangular, higher than wide. Kaplony's volumes on early inscriptions and the work of Kahl[96] provide many illustrations of this hieroglyph from the early periods and extending into the Old Kingdom. Our examination of these sources indicates that the number of examples that have a flat bottom (23) is similar to that with a rounded tab (23), and, when one includes the number of seals with a triangular (7) and a more squared (5) tab, the total number of seals with a tab easily outnumbers those without it. The dominant orientation of the seals indeed is vertical, but, as indicated above, a few appear to be squarer. Among Kaplony's drawings, only a small number seem to indicate a cylinder with more horizontal orientation,[97] but these particular seals date from the reign of Djoser through the late Old Kingdom.

Slightly less than half of the examples of seal hieroglyphs on the cylinder or its impression have an undecorated surface. Although the remainder has some type of design, it can be difficult to determine for certain its purpose.[98] In a very few cases, lines are on all four sides and form a smaller perimeter within the outer borders of the seal itself, and these could represent incised borders framing the text and any intended

[91] During this time period, the late Fifth to the Sixth Dynasty, one can detect a variety of changes in various aspects of Egyptian culture. For example, there is the emergence of a new style of art in both relief and statuary and the introduction of distinctive sets of funerary texts, one for royalty and a separate one for private individuals. There seems also to be a modification of decorum in regard to restrictions on certain iconography and terminology for private citizenry, adjustments in some administrative procedures, shifting of socio-political ideology, and the development of new grammatical structures.

[92] See the useful summaries in James 1997, pp. 35–39; Shubert 2001, pp. 252–58; Hill 2004, pp. 11–71; Kaplony 1983, pp. 294–95, and others in n. 88, above. See, for example, 44.123.32 in the Brooklyn Museum, a Sixth Dynasty cylinder seal with the royal title and name, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Mery-Re, as well as the titles of an unnamed lector priest.

[93] See for example, the Middle Kingdom titles with the seal sign (under *sḏꜣwty) in* Ward 1983, pp. 169–73, Fischer 1997. For information on *ḫtmw nṯr* in the Old and Middle Kingdom, see Kaplony 1977, p. 820. For examples of the Middle and New Kingdom, see *Wb*. III: 351–53, and for a discussion of all periods, see Kaplony 1984: and for the New Kingdom, see Lesko 1984, p. 190, for several entries with the seal sign. For the reading *ḫtm,* see Fischer 1996, pp. 52–55.

[94] An atypical representation of a seal occurs in the tomb of a Sixth Dynasty official Dedu-Hekenu; it appears in his title - *imy-rꜣ ḫtm*(*t*) "Master/Overseer of the Treasury/Sealers." Here, the cylinder has a vertical orientation but no suspension chain. However, a small semi-circular tab was placed midpoint on the top and bottom, which may have represented a means to aid in the rolling out the impression (cf. Jørgensen 1996, pp. 86–87 and Fischer 1979, p. 180).

[95] For the different forms of the seal, see Regulski 2010, pp. 612–13. Note her division of proto- and Early Dynastic into periods of eleven successive phases from the U-j inscriptions through the reign of Djoser (p. 273).

[96] Kaplony 1963a, b, c (pls. 1–154); Kaplony 1964, pls. 1–31 and I–XII; Kaplony 1966, pls. 1–21 and I–XXVIII. See also Kahle 2004, pp. 365–67.

[97] Four examples appear in Kaplony 1963c, figs. 292, 348, 634, 635; fig. 292 has the name *Nṯrỉ-ḫt*; fig. 348 dates to the Old Kingdom; fig. 634 (Petrie collection 11090) dates to the late Old Kingdom (here, Kaplony's drawing is incorrect); and fig. 635 also appears to be from the Old Kingdom (see Kaplony 1963b, p. 34).

[98] Of the twenty-seven examples that Regulski 2010, pp. 612–613, shows in her table, fourteen have interior linear detail, and at least forty of Kaplony's seventy examples have such decoration.

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interior imagery.[99] The majority of seals that have incised lines, however, divide the surface into two or three horizontal sections.[100] The first of these two types could represent the fairly rare use of three defined registers,[101] while the second design would account for the majority of decorated seals — those that have a large central area for text and imagery and a defined upper and lower border. What is more difficult to account for, however, is the rather complicated rectilinear design on a few seals.[102] The patterns here, with a variety of lines, some diagonal, and geometric shapes, do not appear to indicate the areas of text, imagery, border, or register, nor do they resemble the features of a frame or mount. Similar problems arise with the layout on a few seals that date later, in the Old Kingdom. In two,[103] their complex details do not conform to a pattern that could represent either register(s) and borders on the surface of a cylinder seal or a frame and its mounted cylinder. Based on the facts that (1) no surviving seal has retained either an actual frame or some physical evidence that one had originally existed and (2) no representation of a seal clearly depicts a frame or holder, the likely conclusion is that none existed.

[99] Regulski 2010, p. 181, lists the earlier interpretation that the lines represent a frame, with the seal set in horizontally. As noted above in this study, however, the detailed lines on the surface do not support such an interpretation.

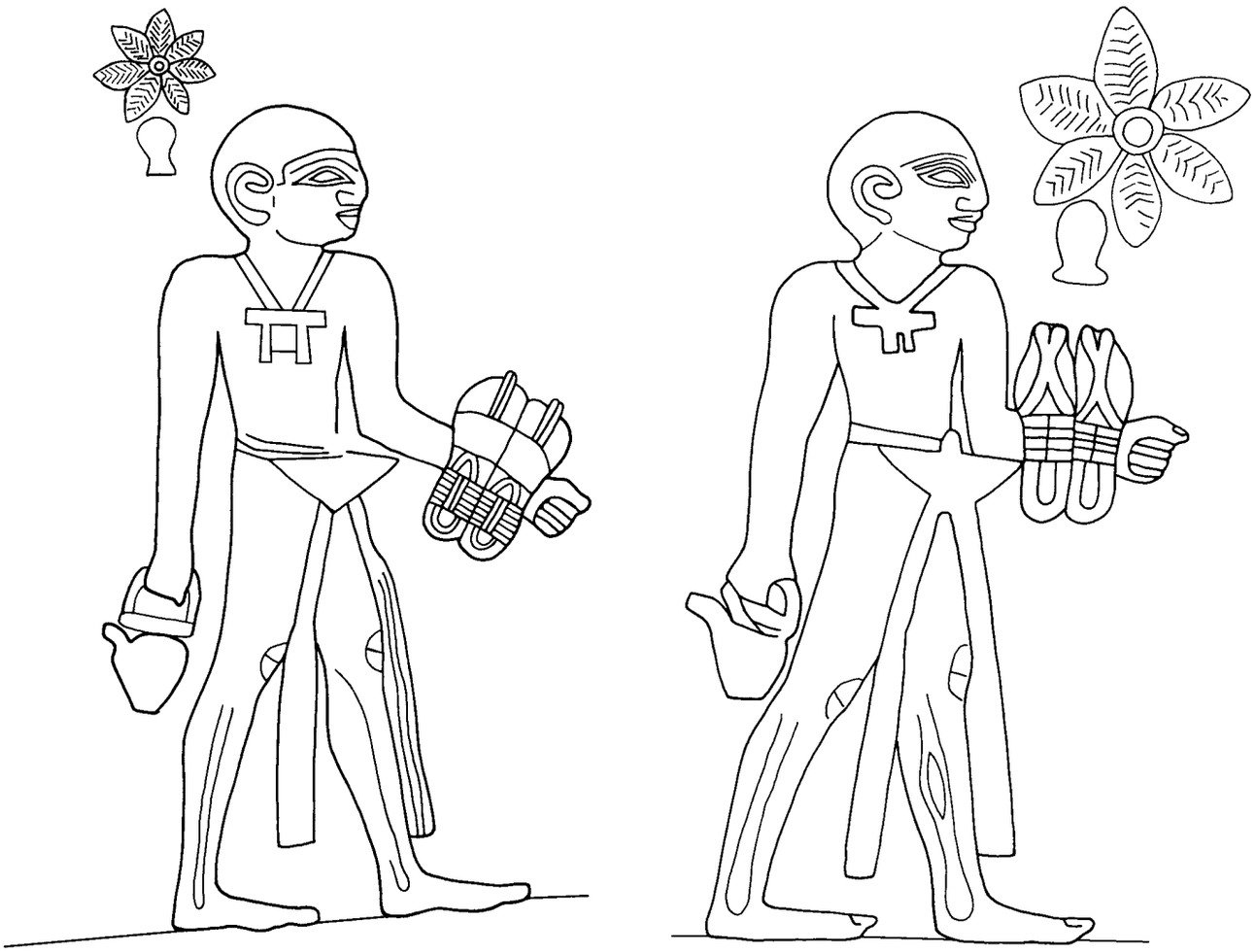
[100] Regulski 2010, p. 181, suggests horizontal lines in seals with very detailed linear features margins and an "inscribed zone."

[101] See, for example, Kaplony 1963c, figs. 59 and 72.

[102] See, for example, Kaplony 1964, supplement, figs. 915–17, and Regulski 2010, p. 612 (example from the reign of Qaa).

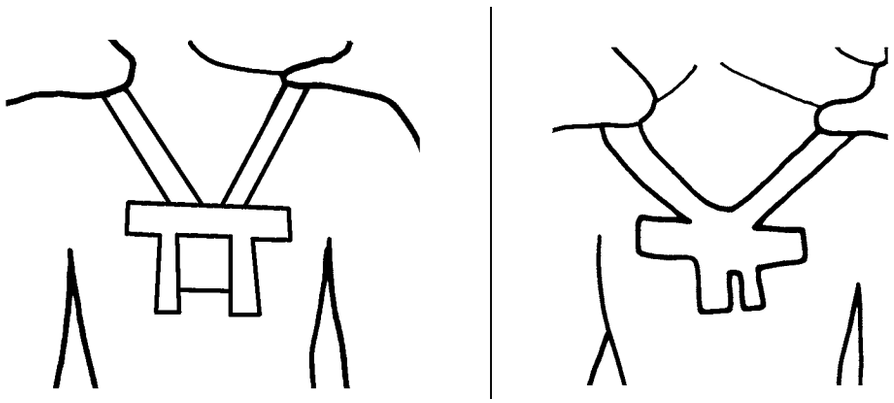
[103] See Kaplony 1963c, figs. 627–28; and also Fischer 1972, figs. 19–21 and notes 24, 25, and 29.

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a b

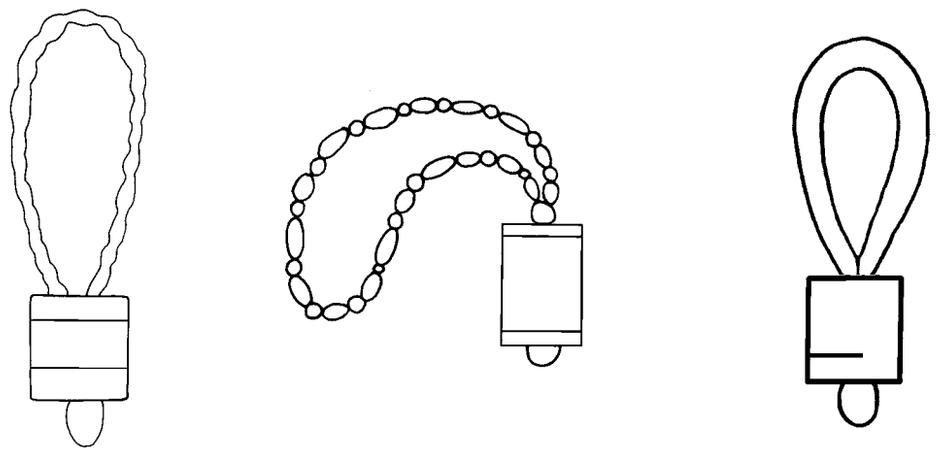
Figure 21.1. Reliefs from the Narmer Palette:
(*a*) Sandal bearer who wears a pendant suspended from two converging straps (verso);
(*b*) sandal bearer who follows the king wearing some type of pendant suspended from straps at his neck (recto)



a b

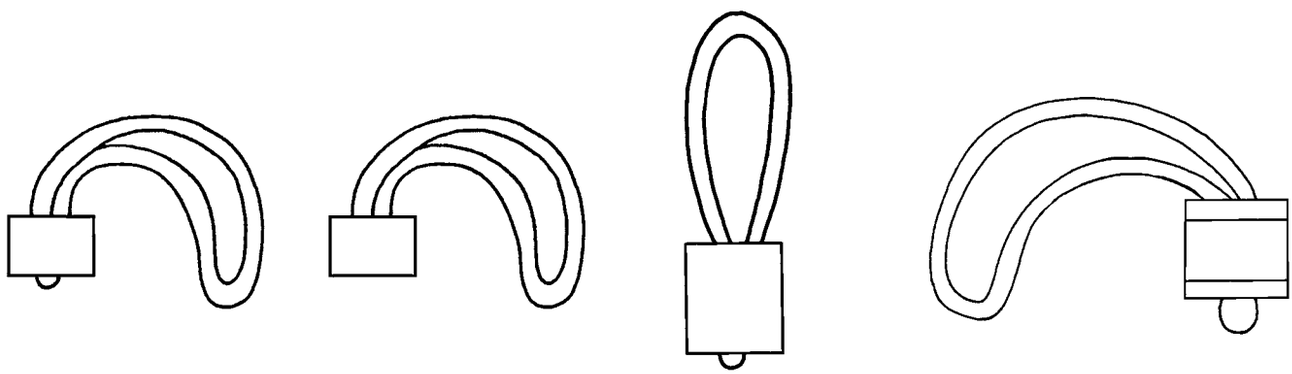
Figure 21.2. Details of neckware of reliefs from the Narmer Palette:
(*a*) neckware of dwarf (verso); (*b*) neckware of sandal bearer (recto)

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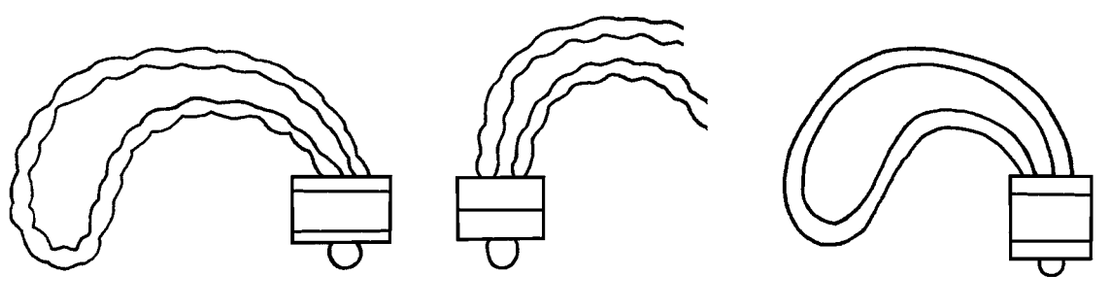
a b c

Figure 21.3. "Framed" seal (*ḫtm*) suspended from a chain: (*a*) H. Frankfort (CG 1417); (*b*) parallel from tomb of Rahotep at Medum; and (*c*) hieroglyph from false door of Nubhotep, wife of Tepemankh (CG 1415)



a b c d

Figure 21.4. Variants of *ḫtm*-hieroglyh: (*a*) False door of Tepermankh col. 1 (CG 1564); (*b*) col. 3; (*c*) niche inscription; and (*d*) Louvre relief of Tepemankh (AF 6 760)



a b c

Figure 21.5. Variants of *ḫtm*-hieroglyph: (*a*) False door of Hem-Min (CG 1417) outer left jamb; (*b*) outer right jamb; and (*c*) left innermost jamb

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Abbreviations

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22

Transformation and Justification: A Unique Adaptation of Book of the Dead Spell 125 in P. Louvre E 3452

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It is a pleasure to contribute to this volume of studies in honor of Janet Johnson, who was one of my first teachers in Egyptology. The subject of my contribution, P. Louvre E 3452, was also the subject of my University of Chicago PhD dissertation, completed in 1979, and Jan was chair of my dissertation committee, so it seems appropriate to revisit the text here.[1]

P Louvre E 3452 was written for a man named Imuthes, whose father and mother were called Panekhates and Senobastis.[2] It comes from Thebes, where its owner held a number of priestly offices, most of them associated with cults on the west bank. According to a notice at the end of the text (13/6),[3] it was written sometime between 6 September 57 BC and 5 September 56 BC, so presumably Imuthes died during the course of that year or shortly before. He was seventy-eight years old at death, so he must have been born around 135 BC. An Imuthes son of Panekhates is named either as a scribe or witness in four Demotic documents from Djeme dating between 112 and 107 BC, when the owner of our papyrus would have been in his mid-twenties, so conceivably this is the same person.[4]

The text inscribed for Imuthes on P. Louvre E 3452 is a book of transformations. I use this term to denote a composition containing spells intended to permit a deceased person to assume various nonhuman forms in the afterlife. The belief that the deceased could transform themselves in this way is attested throughout Egyptian history, from the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom onward.[5] In Book of the Dead manuscripts of the New Kingdom and later, one particular group of spells, numbered 76–88, is devoted specifically to this purpose.[6] The idea was developed even further during the Greco-Roman period, when entire compositions were created focusing exclusively on the subject of the deceased's posthumous transformations. In addition to ours, two other texts of the same type are known, P. Berlin 3162 and P. Louvre N 3122.[7] Both can be dated to the first century AD, therefore only slightly later than P. Louvre E 3452. Like it, both come from Thebes.

Although all three texts have features in common, P. Louvre E 3452 differs from the other two in a number of important ways. Whereas the other two texts address their beneficiaries in the second person, ours refers to him mostly in the third person. Script is another feature that distinguishes our text from them, since it is written in Demotic and they are written in hieratic, even though the language of all three is Middle Egyptian.

[1] I am very grateful to Marc Étienne for allowing me to visit the Louvre and inspect the papyrus in May 2013. He and Audrey Viger kindly supplied the photographs that appear in figs. 22.1–2. I should also like to thank Ann-Katrin Gill and Christian Leitz for their help and advice during the preparation of this article.

[2] For bibliography, see Smith 2009, p. 627, n. 1. An annotated translation of the text is provided in Smith 2009, pp. 627–49. The only published copy is the facsimile in Legrain 1890.

[3] Here and in the following pages I cite individual passages in the text by column and line number alone.

[4] For details, see Smith 2009, pp. 626–27.

[5] See Smith 2009, pp. 610–17, for discussion of this belief and the sources in which it is attested.

[6] Lüscher 2006.

[7] For descriptions and annotated translations of these two manuscripts, see Smith 2009, pp. 610–22 (P. Berlin 3162) and 623–26 (P. Louvre N 3122).

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P. Louvre E 3452 also employs a distinctive form of enigmatic script in three passages (6/5, 6/18–19, and 7/15–16). Although the passages in question are unintelligible, context suggests that this enigmatic script was employed to encrypt speeches uttered by divinities.[8]

Finally, whereas P. Berlin 3162 and P. Louvre N 3122 place much emphasis upon the provision of nourishment for the deceased, and may even have been read out during the regular post-burial cult of offerings to facilitate their return to earth in order to partake of what was presented to them, our text focuses upon other topics. One of the most prominent among these is the deceased's justification in what is called the hall of the righteous, an alternative designation for the hall of the two truths known from the Book of the Dead and elsewhere.[9] This is the subject of the eleventh column of the papyrus.[10] Here I would like to look at this column in more detail and examine how its strikingly individual treatment of the theme of justification serves to integrate it with the transformation spells that precede it in the papyrus. I begin with a brief outline of the text as a whole.

Column 1:	Title, address to deceased concerning blessings he will receive from Isis, and deceased's prayer to the goddess requesting admittance to the following of Osiris.
Column 2:	Prayer to Osiris on behalf of deceased, who is admitted to the god's following.
Column 3:	Deceased's transformation into a falcon.
Column 4:	Deceased's transformation into an ibis.
Column 5:	Deceased's transformation into a phoenix.
Column 6:	Deceased's transformation into a *ba*.
Column 7:	Deceased's transformation into a dog.
Column 8:	Deceased's transformation into a serpent.
Column 9:	Reunion of deceased's *ba* with his body.
Column 10:	Deceased's purification.
Column 11:	Deceased's justification and emergence from the hall of the righteous.
Column 12:	Provision of breath and freedom of movement for deceased.
Column 13:	Biographical notice.

It will be seen from this outline that the transformation spells proper occupy columns 3–8 of the text. The sequence of these is interesting. They move progressively from the celestial to the subterranean, starting with the falcon, the bird that soars highest in the sky, and moving progressively downwards, encompassing lower-flying avian forms, then the dog, a quadruped that walks about on the earth, and finally the serpent that dwells beneath the earth's surface in the underworld. In this way they mark the successive stages of a descent through each of the three spheres of the cosmos.

The immediate result of these transformations is not the deceased's return to this world to partake of offerings, but rather his justification in the tribunal of Osiris in the underworld. As noted above, this event is the subject of the eleventh column of P. Louvre E 3452, which we can now examine more closely. I begin with a transliteration and translation of the column. These are followed by textual notes and a general commentary.[11]

[8] For the appearance of this enigmatic script, see the facsimiles of columns 6 and 7 published in Legrain 1890. A photograph of column 7 is published in Smith 2009, fig. 4. See also discussion of the signs employed in this script, Smith 2009, pp. 636–37.

[9] Smith 2009, p. 323, n. 115; CDD, letter *W*, pp. 165–67.

[10] See fig. 22.1.

[11] In its present state, some fragments of the eleventh column are incorrectly mounted. These have been digitally restored to their proper positions relative to one another in the photograph in fig. 22.1. I am very grateful to Ann-Katrin Gill, who carried out the digital reconstruction of the column.

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Transliteration and Translation of P. Louvre E 3452, Column 11

(1)	*pr [m wsḫ.t] mᶜṯy in Wsir ʾIy-m-ḥtp ms.n Tȝ-šr.t-Bȝst*	(1)	Going forth [from the hall] of the righteous by the Osiris of Imuthes whom Senobastis bore.
(2)	*iw=y [ḫn]ṯ ʾImnṯ ḫṯ wsḫ mᶜṯy iw=y Spt*	(2)	O [fore]most in the West, foremost in the hall of the righteous. O Sothis
(3)	*šbs rse.ṯ m-bȝḥ nb=s sȝ.w n-nw tyb rsty.w*	(3)	the noble one, keeping watch before her lord. Phyles of the sarcophagus, watchers,
(4)	*ḫnmty.w qbḥty.w r-gs nnm.t nt Wn-nfr nt mȝᶜ-ḫrw*	(4)	companions, and libation pourers beside the bier of Wennefer who is justified.
(5)	*wnn=f m ḥtp ḥtp.ṯ sp-2 wnn=f m ḥᶜy ḥtp [ih] ir=f n=f*	(5)	He should be in a state of contentment. Be gracious (twice). He should be in a state of joy. Be contented [with] what he has done for himself.
(6)	*wnn=f pr im=f ḫᶜ sp-2 ḫᶜ.ṯ m ḥtp wnn=f ih pr*	(6)	He should go forth by virtue of it. Appear (twice), appearing in contentment. He should go forth
(7)	*ih ᶜ[we]=f iw=y ntr.w ntr.t n-nw wsḫ.t iw=y m[ᶜ]ṯy.w*	(7)	on account of his great[ness]. O gods and goddesses of the hall, O ri[gh]teous ones,
(8)	*[iw=y ntr.w(?)] šbs iw=y ntr.w ipn wry iw=y nȝ by.w*	(8)	[O] noble [divinities(?)], O these deities who hurry forth, O *bas*
(9)	*[pr m(?) ty]b=w iw=y nȝ i-ir pr ih ḥtp.t ih*	(9)	[who emerge from(?)] their [sarco]phagi, O those who have gone forth upon the offering table on
(10)	*[.... i]r rᶜ nb iw=y nȝ rse.w nt rse r nȝ sb.w n twȝ.t*	(10)	[.... e]very day, O watchers who guard at the doors of the underworld
(11)	*[... n mtr]y(?) n grḥ ih rse m ibe=w ḏ rn=w*	(11)	[.... by da]y(?) and by night, guarding in accordance with their desire. Saying their names
(12)	*m ḥtp n ip(?) wᶜ m ḥr n Bs ky m [ḥr n] mȝy*	(12)	in peace in an enumeration(?): one with the head of Bes, another with [the head of] a lion,
(13)	*ky m ḥr n [k]ȝ(?) ky m ḥr n spe ky m ḥr n*	(13)	another with the head of a [bu]ll(?), another with the head of a jackal, another with the head of
(14)	*msḥ ky m ḥr n ḥf ky n ḥr n ᶜᶜn ky n*	(14)	a crocodile, another with the head of a serpent, another with the head of a baboon, another with
(15)	*ḥr n gwf ky n ḥr n b[k] ky n ḥr n [b]yn*	(15)	the head of an ape, another with the head of a fal[con], another with the head of a [phoe]nix,
(16)	*ky n ḥ[r n] hb ky n ḥr [n m]ḫrr ky n*	(16)	another with the he[ad of] an ibis, another with the head [of a s]carab beetle, and another with
(17)	*ḥr n Mȝᶜ.[t iw=w(?)] ih ir sȝ n by=f [...] ᶜnḫ.w r n[ḥḥ ḏ]t*	(17)	the head of Maa[t, they(?)] protect his *ba* [...] living for e[ver and ev]er.

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Textual Notes

Line 1

Traces of the end of *wsḫ.t* "hall," are visible after the break at the beginning of the line. The following *mʿṯy* is a phonetic writing of *mꜣʿ.ty.w* "righteous ones." The word recurs in lines 2 and 7 below, in the latter instance written with the plural stroke. For "hall of the righteous" as a reinterpretation of the earlier *wsḫ.t mꜣʿ.ty* "hall of the two truths," see references cited in footnote 9 above.

Line 2

(a) *i̯w=y*, a Demotic writing of the interjection *i̯* "O," recurs at the end of this line and in lines 7, 9, and 10. In Column 9 it varies with hieratic *i̯*, thereby assuring the equivalence of the two.[12] For examples of this writing elsewhere in Demotic, see CDD, letter *ʾI*, p. 2. The second occurrence of *i̯w=y* in this line has the lotus determinative, perhaps influenced by the lotus determinative that occurs in interjections like *hy* and *i̯hy* found elsewhere in the text, e.g. in 2/1–4.

(b) With the traces of *ḫnṯ* "foremost," after *i̯w=y*, compare the undamaged occurrence of that word farther on in the line.

(c) The initial sign of *Spt* "Sothis," is written over the determinative of the preceding word. Sothis here is equivalent to Isis, protecting her brother Osiris. For this identification, see Kákosy 1984, p. 1111; Kockelmann 2008, pp. 59–61; Clerc 1978, pp. 247–81.

Line 3

(a) *šbs* here and in line 8 is a writing of the adjective *šps* "noble." For other instances in which the *p* in this word is replaced by *b*, see *Wb*. 4, 445; CDD, letter *S*, pp. 108–10.

(b) The terminal stroke of *ṯ*, the third-person singular feminine stative ending of *rse*, has been redrawn by the scribe in an effort to make it darker. This makes it look a bit like *y*.

(c) *n-nw*, which recurs in line 7, is a Demotic writing of the Middle Egyptian masculine plural genitival adjective *nw*. For other occurrences of this form in Demotic, see Smith 2005, p. 146; Jasnow and Smith 2010/2011, p. 25; CDD, letter *N*, pp. 1–2. On the double writing *n-nw*, see Smith 1978, part 2, pp. 18–19.

(d) For the "phyles of the sarcophagus, watchers, companions, and libation pourers beside the bier of Wennefer who is justified" enumerated in this and the next line, see Smith 2009, p. 647, n. 140; Smith 1985, pp. 105–06, correcting the reading *m-sꜣ* given with a query there. The signs immediately before *nt mꜣʿ-ḫrw* do not look a great deal like the divine name Wennefer, but the reading seems assured by a hieratic parallel in P. BM EA 10209, 1/8–9, for which see Haikal 1970, pp. 25–26 and pl. 5; Smith 2009, pp. 184–85.

Line 5

(a) *wnn* with man with hand to mouth determinative is the Middle Egyptian geminated form of the verb *wn* "be, exist." It recurs at the end of the line, in the line immediately following, and numerous times in the other columns of the text. For other examples of this form in Demotic, see Smith 1993b, p. 494. On the tendency of Demotic scribes to use the man with hand to mouth to determine grammatical archaisms and other words for which there was no standard Demotic orthography, see Smith 1987, p. 91.

(b) My translation assumes that *ḥtp.ṯ* is a hortatory stative addressed to those who stand guard beside the bier of Osiris. But since the verb *ḥtp* has only a single invariable stative form in P. Louvre E 3452, *ḥtp.ṯ*, which is also used when the subject is third person singular masculine, *ḥtp.ṯ sp-2* could also be a subordinate clause, "being contented (twice)," attached to what precedes.

[12] See Legrain 1890, pl. 9.

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(c) Restore *ỉh* in the break after *ḥtp*. For this writing of the preposition *ḥr*, which recurs in lines 6, 7, 9, 11, and 17, see Smith 1993a, p. 47; Smith 1978, part 2, pp. 23–25; CDD, letter *Ḥ*, pp. 204–06.

(d) I understand "what he has done for himself" to be the deceased's virtuous acts while alive, which ensure his justification in the afterlife. In the following line it is said that the deceased will go forth by virtue of his conduct. This refers specifically to going forth justified from the hall of the righteous.

Line 6

ỉm is the Middle Egyptian pronominal form of the preposition *m*. The determinative is the walking legs sign. For other Demotic examples of this form with the same determinative, see Smith 2005, p. 196, and references cited there; CDD, letter *M*, p. 5.

Line 7

(a) I propose to restore *ʿwe* "greatness, extent," at the beginning of the line. Only the initial sign is preserved after *ỉh*. A better preserved instance of the word occurs in 6/8. There it refers to the length of the deceased's body and has the flesh determinative. It is not clear whether *ʿwe* was so determined in the present passage. More often, that noun is written with the man with hand to mouth or seated child determinative. As discussed in the general commentary below, I understand "greatness" here to refer to the greatness of the deceased's virtues.

(b) At the end of the line, read *mʿṯy*, as in lines 1 and 2. See textual note on the former. Here the word has a plural stroke after its divine determinative.

Line 8

(a) The first word preserved after the break at the beginning of the line is *šbs* "noble." My proposed restoration of *ỉw=y ntr.w* is only a guess, but would suit both context and the available space.

(b) *ỉpn* is a Demotic writing of the Middle Egyptian plural demonstrative adjective. For examples of this form in other Demotic texts, see Smith 2005, p. 173.

(c) *wry* with man with hand to mouth determinative recurs in 5/8, 10/8, and 10/11. The word is used to describe the movements of gods in the present passage and those of the deceased in 5/8. In 10/8 and 10/11, however, it is employed to describe what water does. In the former passage, *wry* actually has a water determinative as well as the man with hand to mouth. I suggest that we have here a Demotic writing of the verb *wʿr* "hasten," (*Wb*. 1, 286, 16–18), written *wl* in Demotic (*Glossar*, p. 96; CDD, letter *W*, p. 131), which is also used to denote the swift motion of both people and water.

(d) The scribe wrote *nꜣ by.w* here instead of simply *by.w*. Since he was trying to write a Middle Egyptian text, the use of the Demotic plural definite article here is probably a slip. The scribe introduced three further instances of *nꜣ* in lines 9 and 10. The first of these is followed by the Demotic participial form *ỉ-ỉr pr* rather than the correct Middle Egyptian *pr*. Apart from these cases, seven cases where the preposition *m* has been written as *n* in lines 14–16, and column 13, a biographical notice written in standard Demotic that is not, strictly speaking, part of the text itself, the scribe successfully avoided using forms characteristic of the later stages of the language.

Line 9

(a) My proposed restoration of *pr m* in the break at the beginning of the line is only a guess, but would suit both context and the available space. The traces visible immediately after the break are of *tyb* "sarcophagus," followed by a plural stroke. Compare the undamaged example of *tyb* in line 3. Note that the order of the determinatives there, divine determinative followed by stone determinative, is reversed in this example.

(b) For the Demotic construction *nꜣ ỉ-ỉr pr* here, see note (d) on the preceding line.

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Line 10

(a) The first preserved traces after the break at the beginning of this line are those of *ỉr rˁ nb* "every day." Compare better preserved writings of that adverb in 1/10, 3/14, 6/3, and 12/3. For other examples of this phrase in Demotic, see Smith 2005, p. 143; CDD, letter *R*, pp. 16–17. It is not clear to me what should be restored in the break before the *ỉr*. The presence of *ỉh* at the end of the preceding line suggests that the infinitive of a verb, perhaps followed by an additional word or phrase, is what has been lost.

(b) For the plural definite article *nꜣ* before the nouns *rse.w* and *sb.w* in this line, see note (d) on line 8 above.

Line 11

(a) The first preserved traces at the beginning of this line are those of *y* followed by a determinative. What follows this is *n grḥ* "by night." Since the subject matter of these lines is the watch conducted by the guardians of the bier of Osiris, and this is frequently said to continue unceasingly, both day and night, in other sources,[13] it is tempting to restore a phrase meaning "by day" in the break. I suggest restoring *n mtry* "by day," even though the last sign of the partially preserved word ending in *y* does not resemble the sun determinative very closely. This would not fill up the available space, however, as there would still be room for an additional word at the beginning of the line.

(b) Better preserved examples of the noun *ỉbe* "heart, desire," occur in 1/3, 2/12, 3/17, 4/6, and 6/4, to name only a few passages.

Line 12

(a) The damaged word after *m ḥtp n* could be *ỉp* "enumeration," compare examples of that word cited in *Glossar*, p. 28; CDD, letter *ʾI*, pp. 89–95.

(b) For the translation of *ḥr* as "head" rather than "face" in this and the ensuing lines, see Smith 2009, p. 648, n. 150.

(c) *ky* "another," is written in hieratic near the end of the line. Elsewhere in this column the Demotic form is preferred. The restoration of *ḥr n* after *ky m* is assured by the parallel phrases in the ensuing lines.

Line 13

The last two signs of the damaged word after *ky m ḥr n* at the beginning of the line appear to be the phallus and animal skin determinatives. This suggests the reading *kꜣ* "bull," for which see *Glossar*, pp. 555–56; CDD, letter *K*, pp. 1–3. The traces that precede these determinatives could be of the initial sign of that word. My remark in *Traversing Eternity* (2009, p. 648 n. 151) that part of this word is obscured by a folded over piece of papyrus is inaccurate. Inspection of the original has shown that what appeared to be a folded-over piece of papyrus on photographs was actually a rough patch of the surface of the roll at the edge of a join. The phallus determinative of the word I have tentatively read as *kꜣ* is actually written over this rough patch.

Line 14

For the writing of the preposition *m* as *n* in this and the next two lines, see note (d) on line 8.

Line 15

(a) The head of the *f* of *gwf* "ape" is clearly visible before the break. The horizontal stroke above and to the left of this is part of the word *ky* that follows.

(b) For better preserved examples of *bk* "falcon," see 3/1 and passim.

[13] See general commentary below.

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(c) With the traces of *byn* "phoenix," at the end of the line, compare the better preserved examples of that word in 5/1 and passim. Two slightly different writings of *byn* are used in that column. In one, the *y* is written below the initial *b* (e.g., 5/11). In the other, which is more common, *y* is written to the left of the *b*. The surviving traces of the word in the present passage make it clear that the second writing was used here.

Line 16

With the traces of *mḫrr* "scarab beetle," here, see writings of that noun in *Glossar*, p. 177; CDD, letter *M*, pp. 223–24. The word's final sign appears to be a tall vertical stroke, probably the divine determinative. What is envisaged here is not a being with a scarab beetle's head, but rather with an entire beetle replacing the head. The god Khepri is often depicted in this manner. See, for example, Minas-Nerpel 2006, pp. 142, 145–46, 148, 246, 314–15, 321, 350, and 472. However, other underworld deities can be shown in this way as well. See, for example, Piankoff and Rambova 1957, no. 6, scene 6 (p. 86), no. 10, scene 8 (p. 116), and no. 11, scene 7 (p. 125). The beings in the first and last of these scenes are shown seated holding Maat feathers, indicating that they have a judicial function. The one depicted in the former is actually part of a group of fourteen deities constituting the court of Osiris.

Line 17

(a) For the restoration of *Mꜣʿ.t* after *ḥr n* at the beginning of the line, compare better-preserved examples of that noun in 4/4, 5, 6, 14, and 8/2. Elsewhere in the text, the word is never written with a divine determinative, so perhaps all that is lost here is the feminine *t* ending. What is envisaged in this line is a being with a Maat feather on its shoulders instead of a head. For underworld deities depicted in this manner, see Piankoff and Rambova 1957, no. 6, scene 6 (p. 86), no. 10, scene 8 (pp. 115–16), and no. 11, scene 4 (p. 121). The goddess Maat herself appears in a number of scenes depicting the judgment of the dead with a feather replacing her head.[14] For the probability that the deity mentioned in this line is actually that goddess, see general commentary below.

(b) After the feminine *t* ending of *Mꜣʿ.t* has been restored, there is still space for another word before *ỉh ỉr sꜣ*, perhaps a pronoun referring to the guardians who exercise protection. The *ỉw=w* that I have proposed is one possibility.

(c) It is not clear to me whether "his *ba*" is that of Osiris or that of the deceased. The *w* after the *ʿnḫ* that follows, which I have interpreted as a stative ending, could also be the third-person plural suffix pronoun or a plural stroke, depending on what stood in the preceding lacuna.

(d) With the traces of *r nḥḥ ḏt* at the end of the line, compare the better preserved occurrences of that phrase in 2/17 and 5/16.

General Commentary

The eleventh column of P. Louvre E 3452 begins with a title (line 1), followed by invocations to Osiris, the goddess Sothis, and a group of guardians described as "phyles of the sarcophagus, watchers, companions, and libation pourers beside the bier of Wennefer who is justified" (lines 2–4). These deities are informed of the deceased's virtues and urged to be content with what he has done (lines 5–7). As a result, Imuthes is supposed to "go forth." Given the context, this can only refer to going forth from the hall of Osiris after having passed through the test of judgment successfully. The text says that the deceased will do this "on account of his greatness," which I suggest refers to the greatness of his virtues. Compare P. Rhind 1, 8/d5–6, where a deceased man is told *šm=k r tꜣ wsḫꜣ.t n ỉmnṯ n pꜣ ʿw n nꜣy=k mnḫ.w m ḥr nb*, "You will proceed to the hall of the

[14] See Seeber 1976, pp. 143–44 and figs. 23–24; Taylor 2010, pp. 214, 223, 225.

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West because of the greatness of your virtues before everyone,"[15] and P. Rhind 2, 8/d6–7, where a woman is told *ỉwe.ṯ=t n pȝ ỉy r-ỉr=t r tȝ wsḫȝ.t n ỉmnṯ n pȝ ʿw n nȝy=t mnḫ.w ỉ-ỉr ḥ*[*r nb*], "Hail to you in the coming which you did to the hall of the West because of the greatness of your virtues before ev[eryone]."[16]

Lines 7–11 of the text invoke a further series of beings. Noteworthy is the fact that these include not only divinities like "the gods and goddesses of the hall," but also "the righteous ones," deceased humans who have been judged worthy to join the ranks of those who judge in the underworld. The belief that the justified dead were permitted to do this is also reflected in a passage in the second story of Setna Khaemwast, according to which *pȝ nt-ỉw=w r gm.ṯ=f ỉw nȝy=f mnḫ.w ʿšȝ r nȝy=f why.w ỉw=w ỉn.ṯ=f ḫn nȝ ntr.w n tȝ qnb.t n nb ỉmnt ỉw pȝy=f by šm r tȝ p.t ỉrm nȝ ỉḫy.w šps*, "He who will be found with more good deeds than bad deeds will be brought among the gods of the tribunal of the lord of the West, while his *ba* goes to the sky with the noble spirits" (P. BM 10822, 2/7–8).[17] A similar idea is attested in earlier periods as well. Thus in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Haremhab at Thebes (TT 78), the weighing of the deceased's heart is witnessed by the Great Ennead, the four sons of Horus, and four kings, Thutmose III, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III, represented by their cartouches.[18]

The invocations in lines 7–11 are followed by the words "Knowing their names in peace in," and then a damaged noun, which I propose, somewhat tentatively, to restore as *ỉp* "enumeration." An enumeration certainly follows, but not of the names of the beings invoked in the preceding lines as the text leads one to expect. Rather it is their forms that are enumerated, specifically what sort of head each one possesses. Thirteen beings are enumerated in total. The different creatures whose heads they are said to possess include most, if not all, of those whose forms the deceased is said to assume in columns 3–8.[19] The column ends with a damaged reference to the protection of someone's *ba*, which results in him living for ever and ever, but it is not clear to me whether this is the *ba* of the deceased or that of Osiris.[20]

Most columns of P. Louvre E 3452 have a vignette either above or below them (in some cases both).[21] Column 11 has no vignettes in either of these positions. Instead there is a large tableau immediately to its left, the same size as the column itself.[22] The top register of this depicts four standing figures holding sceptres in their hands within a hall. Each has the head of a different creature: jackal, crocodile, serpent, and baboon, in that order, moving from right to left. These are four of the thirteen beings described in column 11, specifically those mentioned in lines 13–14, who appear there in the same sequence as in the picture. Below this register is a *wadj*-column on a pedestal, symbolizing freshness, and to its left a sun disk shining its rays upon a basket. Underneath these is the sign for "water" and, below that, the sign for "incense." Apart from the top register this tableau seems to have little direct relevance to column 11. The signs for water and incense, in particular, would be more appropriate as illustrations for column 10, which is concerned with the deceased's purification prior to his entry into the hall of judgment.

It is evident that column 11 of our text has many features in common with spell 125 of the Book of the Dead.[23] Like that spell, it is concerned with the deceased's judgment in the hall of the two truths, here designated as the hall of the righteous. Vignettes illustrating spell 125 frequently show Isis standing behind Osiris in the hall and protecting him.[24] Likewise, in our text, Isis (identified as Sothis) exercises protection for that god. As in the Book of the Dead spell, the deceased's virtues are proclaimed to those who are in the hall of judgment, although by another rather than by the deceased himself. Furthermore, knowledge plays a crucial

[15] Möller 1913, pl. 8.

[16] Ibid., pl. 19. The restoration of the end of the sentence is based on the parallel in P. Rhind 1.

[17] Griffith 1900, pl. 2.

[18] Brack and Brack 1980, pp. 53–54 and 85, pls. 56 and 65b.

[19] Only the human-headed *ba* (column 6) and the dog (column 7) are missing. Since the dog is explicitly identified as the form of Anubis in column 7, perhaps the jackal-headed being mentioned in 11/13 replaces this.

[20] If one interprets *w* after *ʿnḫ* as the third-person plural suffix pronoun rather than a stative ending, it could be the guardians who are said to live for ever, but this seems less likely to me.

[21] For illustrations of these, see Legrain 1890. Vignettes seem to be a characteristic feature of what I have termed "books of transformation," as both P. Berlin 3162 and P. Louvre N 3122 have them as well. For the possibility that such images may actually have assisted in the process of transformation, see Smith, 2008, p. 344.

[22] See fig. 22.2.

[23] Most recent edition: Lapp 2008. For additional bibliography, see Backes, Gülden, Kockelmann et al. 2009, pp. 185–95.

[24] Seeber 1976, pp. 127–8.

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role for the deceased in both texts. But whereas in spell 125 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased need to know the names of those whom they encounter in the place of judgment, in our text it is knowledge of their forms that is required. The forms in question include a number of those which the deceased is enabled to assume with the aid of the spells in the preceding columns of the text. Thus knowledge gained through the experience of transformation permits the deceased to establish a bond or link between himself and those who dwell in the hall of judgment, just as knowing their names does in spell 125, thereby enhancing his prospects of justification.

Like the beings enumerated in column 11 of our text, the judges who assess the deceased's character in spell 125 of the Book of the Dead can be represented or described as having nonhuman heads.[25] There are, nevertheless, a couple of significant differences between the two groups. The number of judges in the Book of the Dead is normally forty-two, although sometimes fewer are named or depicted, whereas only thirteen beings figure in P. Louvre E 3452. Moreover, the latter, although clearly concerned with assessing the deceased's character, since they are informed of his virtues and urged to be content with what he has done, are not explicitly identified as judges. Rather, they are called "phyles of the sarcophagus, watchers, companions, and libation pourers beside the bier of Wennefer who is justified." Thus their primary role is to watch over the body of Osiris, protecting it from harm and performing other services for the god. Nevertheless, they exercise a judicial function as well.

This dual role, as both guardians and judges, is understandable when we consider the close connection between mummification and justification in ancient Egypt. The former actually incorporated an assessment of the deceased's character. In the texts relating to the *Stundwenwachen* ritual at Edfu, the embalming place is called *ḥw.t nt mꜣʿ-ḫrw*. "the mansion of justification."[26] A passage in a Demotic wisdom text of the first century AD, P. Insinger, illustrates graphically how the embalming table could serve as a judge's tribunal and the chief embalmer, Anubis, double as the judge who executes sentence upon the wicked. The benefits of the embalming ritual are withheld from evildoers. For them, mummification brings only suffering.[27] Assmann has aptly described justification as "moral mummification,"[28] but it is no less accurate to speak of mummification as "corporeal justification."[29]

Who are the guardians in P. Louvre E 3452? Numerous texts make reference to groups of fierce beings who stand guard over the bier of Osiris in the embalming place and protect his body from harm. These are also known from representations, both two and three dimensional.[30] The number of beings in such groups varies from one source to another. Sometimes more than one group of guardians can be named and depicted on the same object. Thus, on the mummiform sarcophagus of Panehemisis in Vienna, two groups of eight guardians are named and depicted on the lappets of the deceased's wig: one on the right lappet, the other on the left.[31] The former are identified as "these gods with sharp eyes who are in the following of Osiris, whom Re has placed as the protection of Osiris,"[32] the latter as "these children of Horus, these eight excellent spirits in his following, whom Re has placed as his protection."[33] The constituent deities of both groups are attested as early as the Coffin Texts.[34]

Two further groups of guardians are named and depicted on the right and left sides of the sarcophagus, each comprising thirty-four beings.[35] The former are invoked as "these deities who serve the god, the protectors of the bier of *Wen-shepes* the justified, lords of the portals, keepers of the gates."[36] The latter are invoked as "these deities who are in the following of Osiris, protectors of the sarcophagus of the great god, lords of the two caverns, who watch over the bier."[37] There are a number of interesting points of comparison between these two groups of guardians and the ones in P. Louvre E 3452. One is that they, like the guardians

[25] See Seeber 1976, pp. 136–39; Taylor 2010, pp. 208, 223.

[26] See Pries 2011, pp. 89, 134.

[27] P. Insinger, 18/8–13 (Lexa 1926, pp. 57–58). For discussion, see Smith 2009, pp. 26–27.

[28] Assmann 2001, p. 103.

[29] Smith 2009, p. 6.

[30] See, e.g., Smith 1987, p. 28; idem 2005, p. 38; Pries 2011, pp. 12–17; Taylor 2010, pp. 200–03; Waitkus 1987, pp. 51–82; Leclant 1961, pp. 113–32.

[31] Leitz 2011, pp. 11–37.

[32] Ibid., pp. 11–12

[33] Ibid., pp. 27–28.

[34] Ibid., pp. 17, 32.

[35] Ibid., pp. 51–178.

[36] Ibid., pp. 51–53. *Wen-shepes* is another name for Osiris. See Leitz 2002, p. 379.

[37] Leitz 2011, pp. 113–15.

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in our text, serve as gatekeepers as well as protectors of the bier of Osiris.[38] Moreover, their vigilance, like that of the guardians in our text, is said to be never ceasing.[39] Another similarity is that many of the guardians depicted on the sarcophagus have nonhuman heads, just like those in P. Louvre E 3452. The thirteen beings enumerated in the latter have the heads of Bes, a lion, a bull(?), a jackal, a crocodile, a serpent, a baboon, an ape, a falcon, a phoenix, an ibis, a scarab beetle, and Maat. None of the guardians depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis has a scarab beetle or Maat feather for a head, but there is at least one guardian with the head of every other creature listed in our text, in some cases more than one.[40] Moreover, their number includes the goddess Maat herself, who is sometimes depicted with a Maat feather instead of a head, even though on the sarcophagus she is shown with a human head.[41]

Each of the guardians depicted on the sides of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis addresses a short speech to the deceased. Most promise to perform some service or obtain some benefit for him. These include protecting him from danger, granting him freedom of movement so that he can enter and leave the underworld, preserving his body, providing him with sustenance, allowing him to breathe, integrating him among the gods and blessed spirits in the underworld, and ensuring that he will enjoy proximity to Osiris as a member of his retinue. Most important, from our perspective, is the fact that several of the guardians concern themselves directly with the deceased's justification in the hall of judgment. I cite here only a few examples by way of illustration. The eleventh guardian on the right side of the sarcophagus, appropriately named "lord of Maat," says, "I will give you Maat. Your utterance will be enduring, and all the gods content with what you say. You will enter the hall of the lords of Maat, while their hearts are upright at the sight of you."[42] Likewise, the twelfth guardian on the right side, named "master of Maat," says, "I will grant you justification on the day when you are questioned among the gods in the silent land."[43] The fifth guardian on the left side, "he who is alert," says, "I have prepared your speech before you are questioned in the presence of the lords of Maat."[44] The eighth guardian on that side, the goddess Maat herself, says, "I have caused your mouth to be provided with Maat, while the Ennead manifests itself at the sight of you. You will be granted justification in the great hall on the judgment day of the Westerners."[45] So the guardian deities on the sides of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis combine judicial and apotropaic functions, just like those in P. Louvre E 3452.

A few additional similarities of phraseology between the two sources warrant mention here. In P. Louvre E 3452, 11/5, the deities who protect Osiris are enjoined "Be contented [with] what he (scil., the deceased) has done for himself." Likewise, the sixth guardian on the right side of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis, Shesmu, tells the deceased, "I have shown you the good ways in the underworld on the day of your emergence, all the gods being contented with what you have done."[46] In P. Louvre E 3452, 11/6–7, the deceased is supposed to go forth (scil., from the hall of judgment) on account of his greatness. The twenty-first guardian on the left side of the sarcophagus, named "the loud-voiced one," tells the deceased "I have proclaimed your greatness before Wennefer," using the same word for "greatness" as that employed in our text.[47]

Perhaps the most significant similarity to be noted is that both sources envisage that the deceased will join the company of the guardians who have responsibility for assessing his character. The addresses to the guardians on both sides of the sarcophagus of Panehemisis proclaim *ntf wʿ ỉm=ṯn* "He is one of you," with respect to the deceased.[48] As we have seen above, in the eleventh column of P. Louvre E 3452, it is the knowledge

[38] The guardians on the right side of the sarcophagus are called "lords of the portals, keepers of the gates." Those in P. Louvre E 3452 are called "watchers who guard at the doors of the underworld" (11/10).

[39] The guardians on the right side of the sarcophagus watch *m ḏ.t=f ḥ.t=f* "morning and evening" (Leitz 2011, p. 53), those on the left, *m grḥ m hrw* "night and day" (Leitz 2011, p. 115). The guardians in P. Louvre E 3452 exercise vigilance [*n mtr*]y(?) *n grḥ*, [by da]y(?) and by night" (11/11).

[40] See, e.g., nos. 1 and 17 on the left side of the sarcophagus (head of Bes), nos. 6–9 on the right side (lion), no. 30 on the left side (bull), no. 10 on the right side and no. 4 on the left (jackal), no. 27 on the right side and no. 6 on the left (crocodile), nos. 16–20 on the right side (serpent), no. 23 on the left side (baboon/ape), no. 27 on the left side (falcon), nos. 1–4 on the right side (phoenix/heron), no. 30 on the right side, and nos. 7 and 15 on the left (ibis).

[41] See textual note (a) on 11/17 above. The goddess appears as no. 8 on the left side of the sarcophagus.

[42] Leitz 2011, p. 76.

[43] Ibid., p. 79.

[44] Ibid., pp. 124–25.

[45] Ibid., pp. 131–32.

[46] Ibid., pp. 64–65.

[47] Ibid., p. 155.

[48] Ibid., pp. 53 (right side) and 115 (left side).

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gained through the experience of transformation that permits the deceased to establish a bond or link between himself and those who review his conduct in the hall of judgment.

The number of guardians/judges in our text, thirteen, is a slightly unusual one. I am grateful to Christian Leitz for the suggestion that we should probably subdivide this into 12 + 1, that is, twelve guardian deities and the goddess Maat, who, as we have already seen, appears in a number of scenes depicting the judgment of the dead with a maat feather on her shoulders instead of a head. Twelve is a much more logical number for a group of guardians. One thinks, for instance, of the *Stundenwachen* ritual, with its twelve deities who guard the body of Osiris during the twenty-four hours of the day and night.[49] Here too, the motif of justification is combined with that of protection.[50] Thus one can envisage the twelve guardians of our text as watchers who keep an hourly vigil over the bier of Osiris in the embalming place while exercising judicial authority at the same time. The overlap between these two spheres of activity is explained by the link between mummification and justification, and between the embalming place and the hall of judgment.

Although I have focused on column 11 of P. Louvre E 3452 so far, this is not the only column of the text where the themes of transformation and justification occur together. In column 4, for instance, which is concerned with the deceased's transformation into an ibis, he is urged to come to the divine *ba* (= Osiris) in a state of triumph or justification.[51] Column 5, which deals with his transformation into a phoenix, affirms that his *ba* is justified.[52] Column 7, concerned with the deceased's transformation into a dog, describes him as *nt mꜣʿ-ḫrw rʿ nb* "the one who is justified daily."[53] Column 8, which deals with his transformation into a serpent, says with respect to the deceased *ỉy nt mꜣʿ-ḫrw m ꜣytm* "He who is justified will come in happiness."[54] Thus the theme of justification is present in four of the six columns devoted to the deceased's assumption of nonhuman forms. Obviously it does not figure as prominently in these columns as the theme of transformation does in column 11. Nor do the references to justification in these columns suggest that it is in any way contingent upon transformation. Nevertheless, they provide further evidence of the care taken by the author of our text to integrate the two themes within the framework of his composition.

This has led me to wonder whether transformation and justification are linked together elsewhere in Egyptian sources. As it happens, both of the other major collections of transformation spells preserved from the Greco-Roman period, P. Berlin 3162 and P. Louvre N 3122, contain evidence of such a link. Column 4 of the Berlin manuscript states that the deceased, having assumed the form of a divine falcon, will "flourish within the hall of the two truths."[55] Similarly, column 2 of the Louvre papyrus declares that the deceased in the form of a falcon will speak before the gods of the underworld with righteousness upon her tongue.[56] Another interesting feature of P. Berlin 3162 is that the epithet *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* "justified," is only written after the deceased's name in those columns of the text (the last five) that describe the deceased's transformations.

Are transformation and justification linked in Egyptian sources prior to the Greco-Roman period? One obvious place to look for possible examples of such a link is the group of transformation spells in the Book of the Dead. In some versions of spell 84, the title of which is "Undergoing a transformation into a heron" (*ỉr.t ḫpr.w m šn.ty*), the deceased says *ḥp mꜣʿ.t ḥr ỉnḥ.wy=ỉ* "Maat overruns my eyebrows."[57] In spell 85, entitled "Undergoing a transformation into a living *ba* and not entering the place of execution" (*ỉr.t ḫpr.w m bꜣ ʿnḫ tm ʿq r ḫb.t*), the deceased is made to proclaim *nkꜣ=ỉ m mꜣʿ.t ʿnḫ=ỉ ỉm=s* "Maat is what I think about and on it I live."[58] In these spells we have a connection between Maat and transformation but no indication of how one is related to the other.

Things are slightly clearer in spell 83, entitled "Undergoing a transformation into a phoenix" (*ỉr.t ḫpr.w m bnw*). The rubric to one version of this spell states explicitly that the benefits it confers upon the user in the afterlife include that of *mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḫr Wsỉr* "being justified in the presence of Osiris."[59] Even more interesting

[49] For a list of these, see Pries 2011, pp. 43–44. Each is discussed in greater detail in his commentaries on the individual hours.

[50] Assmann 2001, pp. 349–71; Pries 2011, p. 487, s.v. Rechtfertigung/Feindvernichtung.

[51] 4/12–13.

[52] 5/5.

[53] 7/11.

[54] 8/19. For *ꜣytm* as a writing of *ꜣwt-ỉb*, see Smith 2009, p. 640, n. 69.

[55] P. Berlin 3162, 4/5–6.

[56] P. Louvre N 3122, 2/6.

[57] Lüscher 2006, pp. 320b–21c.

[58] Ibid., 330d–33a.

[59] Ibid., p. 298h.

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for our purposes is spell 79, entitled "Spell for being among the Ennead and becoming a great one of the tribunal" (*r n wnn m psḏ.t ḫpr m wr n ḏ̱ḏ̱ḏ̱.t*). In this the deceased addresses the gods with the words *iw in.n=i n=ṯn nfr.wt sʿr.n=i n=ṯn mȝʿ.t iw=i rḫ.kwi ṯn rḫ.kwi rn.w=ṯn rḫ.kwi irw.w=ṯn iwty rḫ st ḫpr.n=i im=ṯn*, "I have brought you good. I have elevated Maat for you. I know you, I know your names, and I know your forms which are unknowable, I having come to be among you."[60] Here we have, as early as the New Kingdom, nearly all of the same features that we found in Column 11 of P. Louvre E 3452. The deceased needs to know not only the names of the members of the tribunal of the underworld but their forms as well. Furthermore, as a result of this knowledge and his virtuous conduct, he becomes a member of the tribunal himself. It is tempting to see here a further early reflection of an idea we have already encountered in the Louvre papyrus and the second story of Setna Khaemwast: the belief that those who are found to have been righteous in the tribunal are subsequently allowed to join it.

So the concept of a link between transformation and justification did not originate with the composer of the text inscribed on P. Louvre E 3452 or any of his fellow authors of the Greco-Roman period. It is already attested in the transformation spells of the Book of the Dead during the New Kingdom. How pervasive the idea was at that time, and whether the concept can be traced back even earlier in Egyptian history, are certainly subjects that merit further investigation. The Coffin Texts contain a number of spells intended to allow the deceased to assume the forms of various animals and birds, as well as those of a range of deities.[61] A few of these mention justification in a court or tribunal as well. In Coffin Text spell 149, for instance, entitled *ḫpr m bik rmṯ.w* "Becoming a human falcon," the deceased claims to have been endowed with the form in question because he spoke the truth in the mansion of the foremost of the Westerners.[62] Earlier, however, he describes how he confronted an opponent in the tribunal of the foremost of the Westerners and won his case against him, having spent the night being judged with him in the presence of his adherents in the god's domain.[63] This seems to be a rather different sort of tribunal to the one we find in the Book of the Dead and later sources. No scrutiny of the deceased's character or conduct while alive is involved. Rather, he seeks redress against an enemy who has wronged him, and the falcon form he acquires as a result of his legal victory serves primarily as a vehicle for wreaking vengeance upon his foe in the most comprehensive manner possible.

Going back even earlier in time, a number of Pyramid Text spells refer to the deceased's transformation into various nonhuman forms, including those of a falcon, goose, swallow, jackal, and scarab beetle.[64] A few of these spells speak of justification in a court as well. In Pyramid Text spell 302, for instance, the deceased is said to have a falcon head, wings, and talons. The spell goes on to say that there is no dispute involving him on earth among people, or guilty verdict against him in the sky among the gods, since he has refuted the charge against him and destroyed the one who opposed his heavenward ascent. As a result, the deceased flies up to the sky, beating his wings like a goose or kite.[65] Just as in Coffin Text spell 149, the deceased's ability to enjoy the benefits of transformation is contingent upon his victory in court. Here too, there is no general scrutiny of the deceased's behavior. Instead, a legal situation seems to be envisaged in which a specific opponent has to be confronted and defeated, and a specific charge proven false. Early examples like this one are of interest since they show that transformation and justification could be associated in ancient Egypt even before the concept of a comprehensive assessment of the deceased's character and conduct had arisen.

Another topic deserving closer study is the nature of the dynamic between transformation and justification. In some of the texts cited above, the latter appears to be contingent upon the former. But was this invariably the case? Other sources imply that posthumous transformation was a reward for having led a virtuous life.[66] Which comes first, transformation or justification? There is probably no simple answer to this question. One becomes an *akh*, or spirit, as a result of the mummification rites, and acquisition of this status is an essential prerequisite for undergoing the sort of transformations described above. But as we have seen, the mummification rites have their desired effect only if one has been righteous. Therefore the power to assume

[60] Lüscher 2006, pp. 192d–97a.

[61] See Buchberger 1993, pp. 82–91; Barguet 1986, pp. 424–563.

[62] de Buck 1938, pp. 240–41.

[63] Ibid., pp. 233–35.

[64] Smith 2009, p. 610.

[65] Sethe 1908, pp. 237–39.

[66] See the spells of New Kingdom date discussed in Grapow 1942, pp. 57–78; Brovarski 1976, pp. 57–73.

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nonhuman forms is denied to the wicked. Viewed from this perspective, it would seem that justification is primary. But what about texts like Book of the Dead spell 83, whose rubric implies the opposite? One might argue that transformation and justification are parts of a cycle in which each eternally precedes and follows the other. But a cycle has to start somewhere. The starting point of this one remains to be determined. We can be certain of one thing, however. The title of this paper describes the eleventh column of P. Louvre E 3452 as containing a unique adaptation of Spell 125 of the Book of the Dead. Unique this may be, in the sense that no exact parallel for it is known. Nevertheless, in linking the deceased's transformations and justification together, it is an adaptation grounded firmly in earlier Egyptian tradition.

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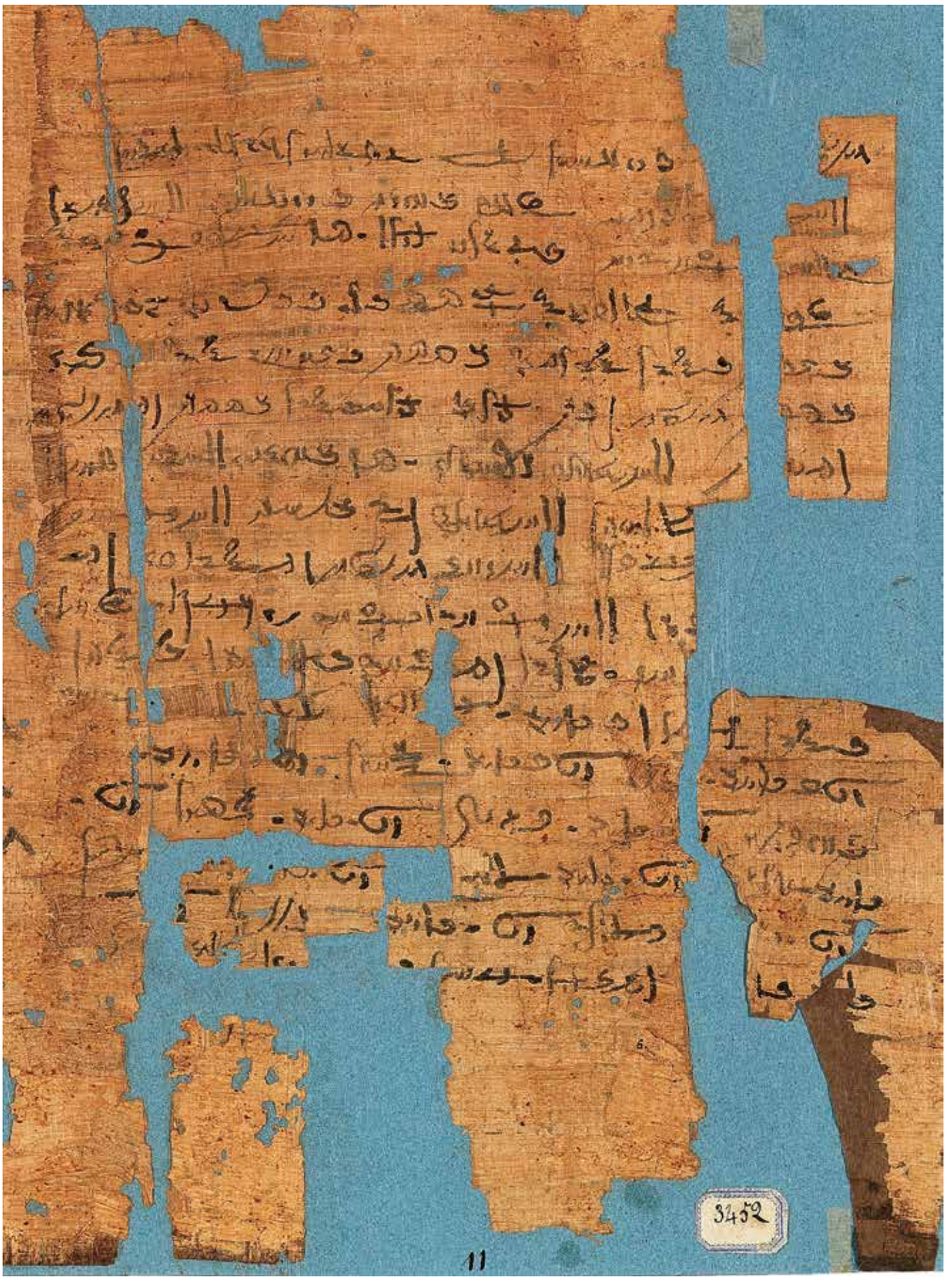


Figure 22.1. P. Louvre E 3452, Column 11

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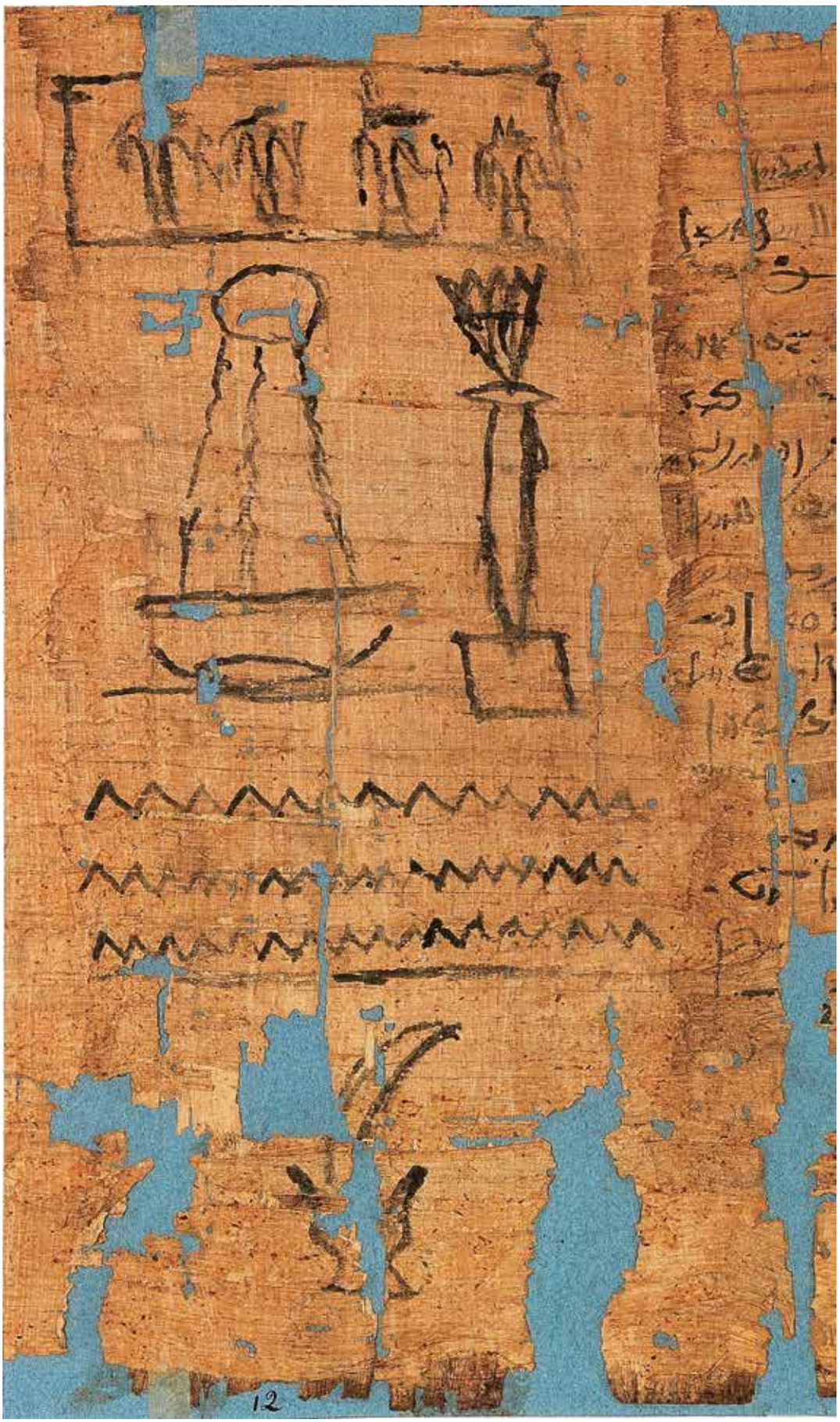


Figure 22.2. Tableau to the left of P. Louvre E 3452, Column 11

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Abbreviations

CDD — Janet H. Johnson, editor. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 2001–2014. http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/publications/demotic-dictionary-oriental-institute-university-chicago (accessed December 29, 2016)

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23

Djedhor Son of Usirwer in the Valley of the Kings

Steve Vinson, Indiana University Bloomington; Eugene Cruz-Uribe, Indiana University East; and Jacqueline Jay, Eastern Kentucky University

It is our pleasure and privilege to describe what we have been able to learn about Djedhor son of Usirwer in this volume in honor of Professor Janet Johnson, who has done so much to advance the study of Demotic lexicography and grammar, and who has been a valued teacher, mentor, colleague, and friend to each of us over many years.

We would willingly wager that today, the most famous individual name associated with Egypt's Valley of the Kings is that of the Eighteenth Dynasty pharaoh Tutankhamun, whose tomb (KV 62) was discovered by Howard Carter in 1922. And of course, many of the other pharaohs who were buried in the valley have relatively high profiles in modern times: Thutmose III, Ramesses II, or Ramesses III, to name only a few.

But there was another ancient Egyptian who deserves to be remembered with these great kings — an ordinary Egyptian priest (an *iṯ nṯr*, "god's father") named Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Imhotep. Djedhor must have devoted years of his life to his interest in the valley — certainly he left behind more records of himself, in the form of graffiti recording his name and priestly titles, in more valley tombs than any other individual in history. This Djedhor appears to have lived during the Ptolemaic or early Roman periods; at any rate, the bulk of his graffiti is in a Demotic hand that is certainly not late Roman.

Djedhor son of Usirwer was first brought to the attention of modern Egyptology by J. K. Winnicki, who presented one example of his graffiti in a short article in *Enchoria* in 1987 (his figure 2, from the tomb of Ramesses III, our KV11-G001 below).[1] In this article, Winnicki worked from copies of Demotic graffiti that had been incidentally published by Jules Baillet in his 1923–1926 publication of the Greek graffiti in the royal tombs. In the 1987 *Enchoria* article, Winnicki published three other valley Demotic graffiti that he knew from Baillet: an unusual bi-graphic graffito (Greek and Demotic script) from KV2 (Ramesses IV), our KV02-G094 (*Pꜣ-šr-*[*n*]*-tꜣ-ỉḥt*/Βσονθς [?]), Winnicki's figure 1; a graffito from KV8 (Merneptah), our KV08-G001 (*Pꜣ-tỉ-ỉy-m-ḥtp sꜣ Pꜣ-tꜣ-Wp.t*), Winnicki's figure 3 (erroneously ascribed by Winnicki to KV9, Ramesses V/VI); and a graffito from KV1 (Ramesses VII), our KV01-G015 (*Pꜣ-tỉ-Ḫnsw* [?] *sꜣ Twtw*), Winnicki's figure 4.[2]

Surprisingly, Winnicki appears to have been the only scholar to study the Demotic graffiti in the Valley of the Kings before we began our project to record them in 2005. When Baillet published the Greek graffiti, he indicated that the Demotic graffiti would be published by Georges Bénédite.[3] Bénédite, however, was not a Demoticist, and we have been unable to discover any indication that he ever began any such project. Winnicki himself returned to the bi-graphic graffito from KV2 in 1995, but he never published any additional examples, and as far as we know, he never contemplated a comprehensive publication of the Valley of the Kings Demotic graffiti.[4]

When we began our study of the Valley of the Kings Demotic graffiti, we fully expected to encounter some number of individuals who had left multiple graffiti — persons who either left two or more graffiti in a single tomb, or who left at least one graffito in at least two tombs. As it turned out, we did discover several individuals — including Djedhor — who left their name more than once in one tomb. Djedhor, however, turned out to be the only individual whose presence can be documented in multiple tombs, at least within the corpus of surviving Demotic graffiti (needless to say, many graffiti must have been lost through surface destruction over the centuries).

[1] Winnicki 1987, p. 166, graffito II.

[2] For KV02-G094, see also Vinson 2010/2011.

[3] Baillet 1923–1926, p. vii.

[4] Winnicki 1995, esp. pp. 173–74.

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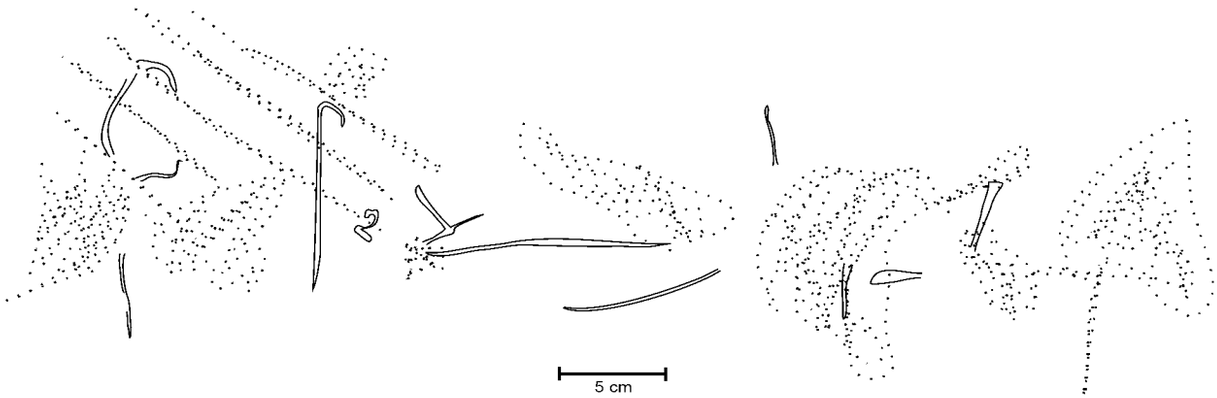
Djedhor wrote his name in a very distinctive way (with a zigzag personal determinative), and once we had noted his name in two different tombs, it became something of a game to see who would be the first to find another example each time we began to work in a new location. We were never disappointed: ultimately, we were able to find at least one Djedhor Demotic graffito in each of the eight tombs in the valley in which there are any Demotic graffiti at all. And beyond these, there are also a handful of hieratic graffiti that write the name *Ḏd-ḥr* — three from KV2 and one from KV9. In this latter example, KV09-G031 below, the name is written once in Demotic and then, directly below and at the same scale, in hieratic. It therefore seems at least possible that the three hieratic *Ḏd-ḥr* graffiti of KV2 should be connected to our priest as well.

Clearly Djedhor son of Usirwer had a very strong, and very unusual, interest in the Valley of the Kings. But what was the nature of that interest? Why, in general, were Egyptians of the Greco-Roman period interested in the royal tombs? What could have motivated Djedhor's own heightened interest in these sites? And, given the fact that he was clearly not averse to writing his name on the walls of ancient monuments, is it possible that his presence can be documented elsewhere, at any of the other sites in Luxor with substantial Demotic graffiti? Does he turn up in any of the numerous papyri from Ptolemaic Thebes? Before turning to those questions, we will first present and describe the existing Djedhor son of Usirwer graffiti, along with a few that appear to us to be, at least potentially, related to Djedhor. The graffiti are numbered according to our current temporary numbering system; in the final publication, it is likely that these numbers will be changed.

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Catalog

KV1, Tomb of Ramesses VII



Temporary Number: KV01-G007

Transliteration: [... ...] ... *sꜣ Wsir-wr*

Translation: [... ...] ... son of Usirwer

Scale: 3:10

Location: Vestibule north, immediately below the boat, 170 cm off the ground.

Comments: We are not sure how to interpret the traces of the dedicant's name, but we do not believe that the traces suit a reading [*Ḏd-ḥr*] *sꜣ Wsir-wr*. One possibility might be *ʾIy-m-ḥtp*, which is also the name of Djedhor's grandfather. The hand is not unlike Djedhor's, although the signs are more spread out. Possibly this is a brother of Djedhor's. There are four certain graffiti of Djedhor son of Usirwer in KV1, including KV01-G008 immediately below this one.



Temporary Number: KV01-G008

Transliteration: *iṯ-nṯr Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ* [*Wsir*]*-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp pꜣ wʿb*

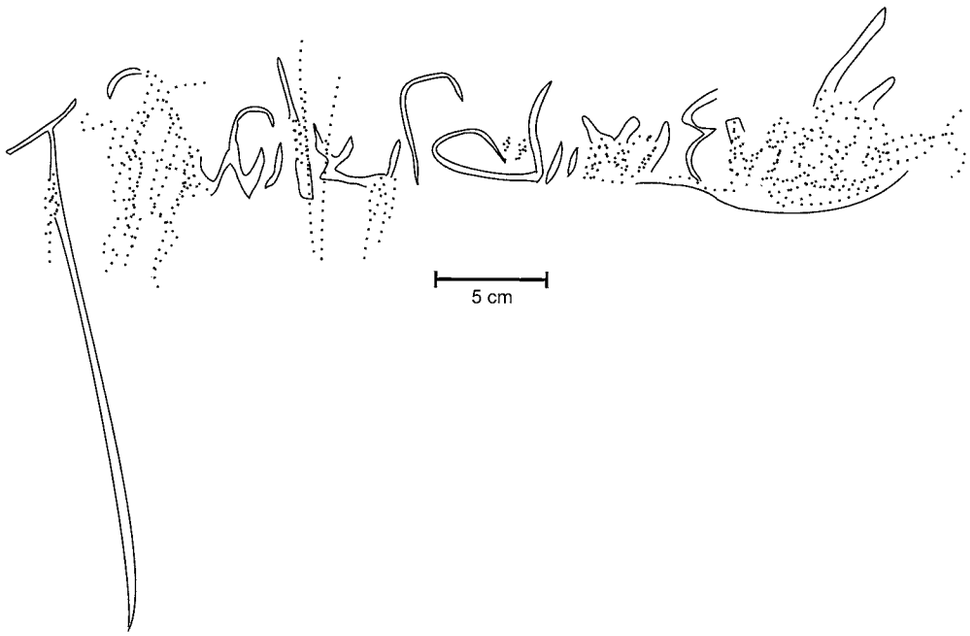
Translation: The God's Father Djedhor son of [Usir]wer son of Imhotep the Priest

Scale: 3:10

Location: Vestibule north, 158 cm above ground, below KV1-GO7.

Comments: This is a typical example of the fullest formula employed by Djedhor.

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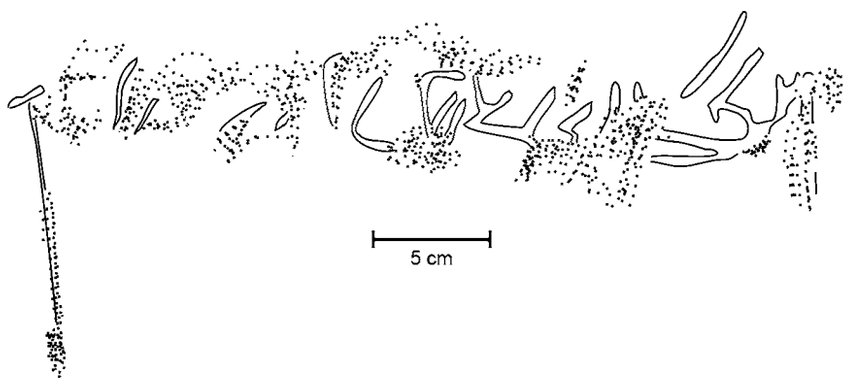
Temporary Number: KV01-G035

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp pꜣ wʿb*

Translation: Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Imhotep the priest

Scale: 3:10

Location: Burial chamber vestibule, blank wall, behind panes L21 and L22, 131 cm above ground.



Temporary Number: KV01-G036

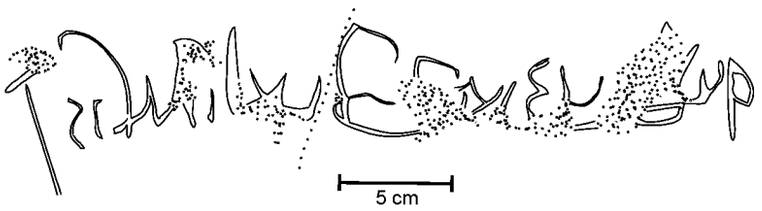
Transliteration: *i̯t-nṯr Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr sꜣ ʾI[y-m-ḥtp pꜣ wʿ]b*

Translation: The God's Father Djedhor son of Usirwer son of I[mhotep the pries]t

Scale: 3:10

Location: Burial chamber, back left wall of sarcophagus chamber, by the king's forward knee, behind glass pane L34, 127 cm above ground level.

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Temporary Number: KV01-G037

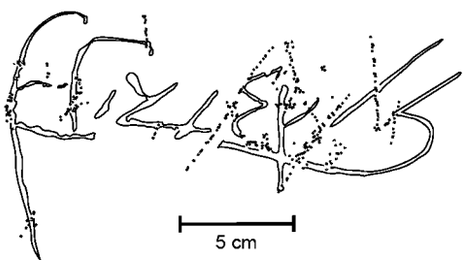
Transliteration: *i̯ṯ-nṯr Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsi̯r-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp pꜣ wʿb*

Translation: The God's Father Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Imhotep the priest

Scale: 3:10

Location: Niche behind burial chamber, left wall, behind glass panes L39 and L40, 126 cm above ground.

KV2, Tomb of Ramesses IV



Temporary Number: KV02-G089

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsi̯r-wr*

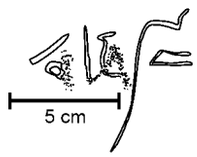
Translation: Djedhor, son of Usirwer

Scale: 3:10

Location: Burial chamber, left side, behind large mummiform/Osirian figure, 105 cm above ground.

Comments: KV2 is the single tomb in the Valley of the Kings with the most Demotic graffiti (we count 107 examples), and so it is peculiar that only one Demotic Djedhor graffito appears there! Needless to say, he may have left — indeed, almost certainly did leave — more Demotic graffiti on some surface or surfaces of the tomb that we have overlooked or are now destroyed. However, there are also three hieratic graffiti of the name Djedhor that may well have been left by our priest. Compare the hieratic text of KV09-G031 below, in which a very similar *Ḏd-ḥr* appears directly associated with a Demotic *Ḏd-ḥr.*

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Temporary Number: KV02-G031

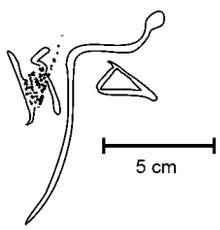
Transliteration: *ḏd-ḥr*

Translation: Djedhor

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall A, right side, column 21, 312 cm above floor.

Comments: The personal determinative resembles the more contracted writings of the "seated man" of Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* III, p. 8, 33. The oblique stroke in combination with the "seated man" is not shown in any examples of the personal determinative illustrated in Möller, *Paläographie* III, but it appears in KV02-G038a below, and in KV09-G031 below. In that KV9 graffito, however, the "seated man" itself more resembles the broader writings of the sign in Möller, *Paläographie* III. The hieratic *d* in this writing is not as triangular as in the other writings of the name in KV2 and in KV9. For late hieratic writings of *d*, see Möller, *Paläographie* III, p. 10, 115; p. 66, XXII (*ḏd* ligature).



Temporary Number: KV02-G125b

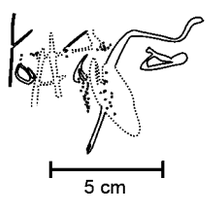
Transliteration: *ḏd-ḥr*

Translation: Djedhor

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall C, right side, to left of the second ram-standard, 187 cm above the floor.

Comments: Writing lacks a personal determinative. The hieratic *d* here is more typically triangular.



Temporary Number: KV02-G038a

Transliteration: *ḏd-*[*ḥr*] (?)

Translation: Djed[hor] (?)

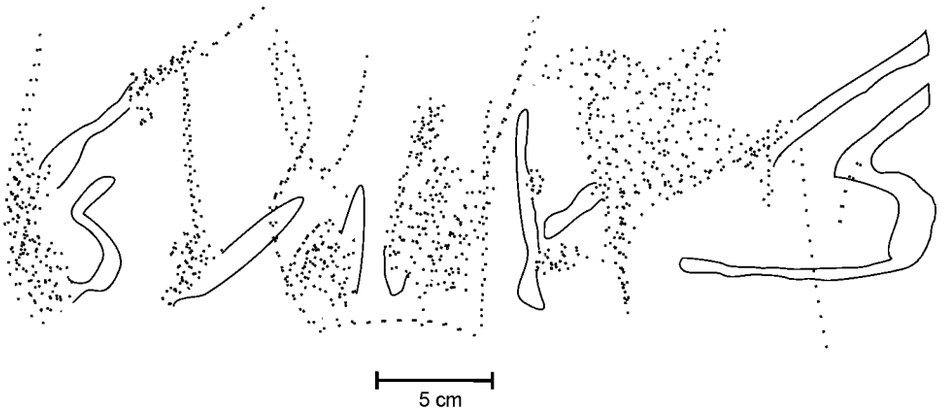
Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall A, right side, column 27, 303 cm above ground.

Comments: The *ḏd* here is clear, and seems identical to the other examples of the writing of the name. There appears to be a plausible personal determinative just at the edge of the column rule, but it is hard to see a *ḥr*-sign in the damage and palimpsest that appears to follow the *ḏd*.

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KV4, Tomb of Ramesses XI



Temporary Number: KV04-G013

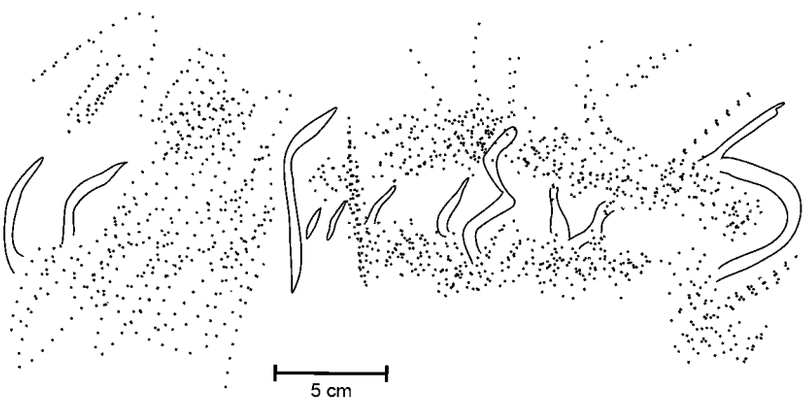
Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Ḏd-*[*ḥr* (?)...]

Translation: Djedhor son of Djed[hor? ...]

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall A, left side, 619 cm from hall entrance, 115 cm above ground.

Comments: There are, of course, other possible *Ḏd*-names with which the patronymic here might be restored, but *Ḏd-ḥr* is common, and the proximity to G015 suggests that this could be a son of Djedhor son of Usirwer. Compare also G024 below, certainly a Djedhor son of Djedhor, although the determinatives seem to be written slightly differently.



Temporary Number: KV04-G015

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ W*[*sir-w*]*r*

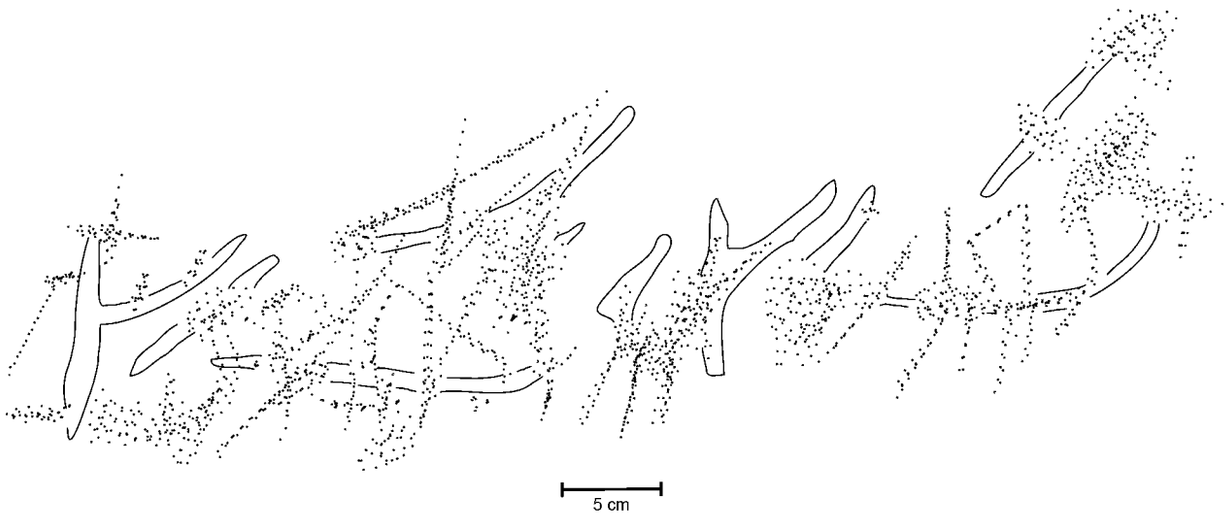
Translation: Djedhor son of U[sirwe]r

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall A, left side, 122 cm from hall entrance, 140 cm above ground level in rough plaster.

Comments: This graffito is damaged and executed on a very poor surface of rough mud plaster, but the traces strongly suggest a graffito of Djedhor son of Usirwer.

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Temporary Number: KV04-G024

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Ḏd-ḥr*

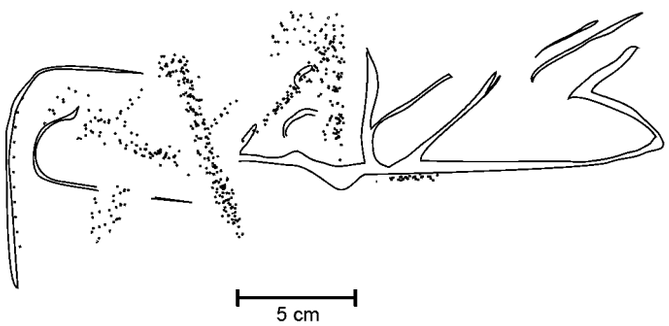
Translation: Djedhor son of Djedhor

Scale: 2.5:10

Location: Hall A right side, 588 cm from hall entrance, 150 cm above ground level.

Comments: Large strokes deeply incised. Perhaps the same individual as in G013 above, although the *ḥr*-sign and determinatives seem to be written somewhat differently.

KV6, Tomb of Ramesses IX



Temporary Number: KV06-G009

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ [Wsir]-wr*

Translation: Djedhor son of [Usir]wer

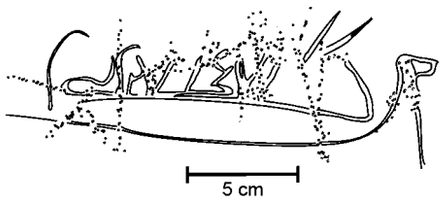
Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall C, south side, 827 cm from hall entrance, in between the two furthest left sun-balancing dancers, 112 cm from floor level.

Comments: Graffito is filled in with a great deal of modern plaster.

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KV8, Tomb of Merneptah



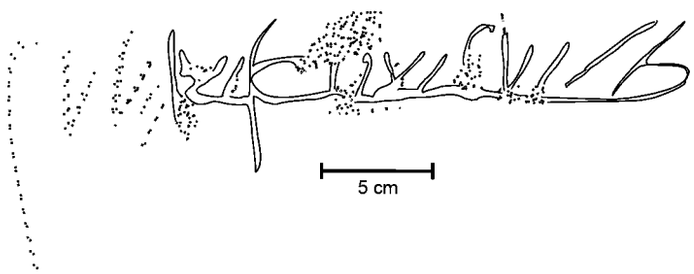
Temporary Number: KV08-G013

Transliteration: *i̯ṯ-nṯr Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsi̯r-wr*

Translation: The God's Father Djedhor son of Usirwer

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall A, left side, in a colored band 118 cm above ground level, under the last two columns to the left of modern concrete restoration.



Temporary Number: KV08-G022

Transliteration: *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsi̯r-wr sꜣ ʾIy-*[*m-ḥtp*]

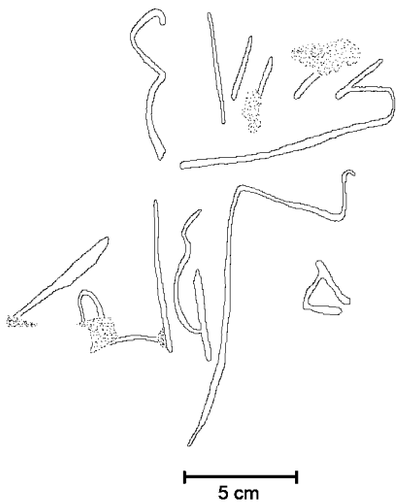
Translation: Dedhor son of Usirwer son of I[mhotep]

Scale: 3:10

Location: First pillared hall, left side, 209 cm above ground level, between the third and fourth figures to the right of the snake, over *ba* hieroglyph.

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KV9, Tomb of Ramesses V/VI



Temporary Number: KV09-G031

Transliteration: *ḏd-ḥr / ḏd-ḥr*

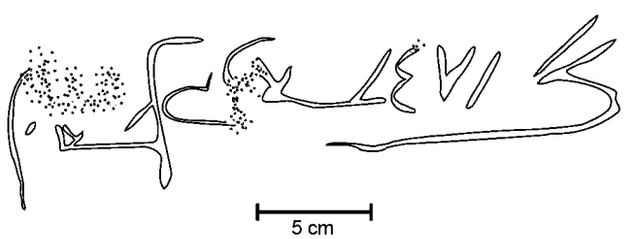
Translation: Djedhor / Djedhor

Scale: 3:10

Location: Hall C, left side, between two Anubis standards, 170 cm above ground level.

Comments: The reading of the hieratic was pointed out to us by Profs. Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim Quack at the Eleventh International Congress of Demotic Studies in Oxford University in 2011. Compare this hieratic to the three writings above from KV2, KV02-G031, KV02-G125b, and KV02-G083a. For the form of the personal determinative, compare the broader examples in Möller, *Paläographie* III, p. 3, 33, although the oblique stroke is not attested in any of the "seated man" signs recorded there. For the triangular form of the hieratic *d*, see Möller, *Paläographie* III, p. 10, 115; p. 66, XXII (*ḏd* ligature).

KV11, Tomb of Ramesses III



Temporary Number: KV11-G001

Transliteration: *ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp*

Translation: Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Imhotep

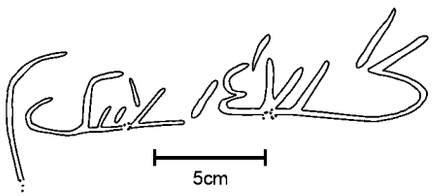
Scale: 3:10

Location: Second chamber after the jog, west side. 448 cm from the pilaster between first and second chambers after the jog, directly below a yellow band.

Comments: This graffito was first published by J. K. Winnicki in 1987.

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KV 15, Tomb of Sety II



Temporary Number:	KV15-G001
Transliteration:	*Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsi̯r-wr*
Translation:	Djedhor son of Usirwer
Scale:	3:10
Location:	Burial chamber, left wall, 533 cm from chamber entrance, 201 cm above ground, top register in front of falcon headed figure.

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Discussion

The variety of formulas that our Djedhor used in his graffiti might suggest that he came to the various tombs and left his inscriptions over an extended period of time, but how extended we cannot know. In some cases, Djedhor writes only his name and the name of his father Usirwer. In at least one case — the Demotic/hieratic graffito KV09-G031 — he writes only his own personal name; but to this we should probably add the three other hieratic *Ḏd-ḥr* graffiti from KV2. The fullest formula identifies him as an *iṯ-nṯr*, a "god's father," and then appends the title *wʿb* following the name of his grandfather, *ʾIy-m-ḥtp*, which presumably refers to his grandfather. Therefore, one of the few things we can say about Djedhor with any confidence is that he was, apparently, a mid-level priest; at any rate, the title *iṯ-nṯr* is generally taken to be a rank midway between a *wʿb* and a *ḥm-nṯr*.[5]

But before we turn to a discussion of what Djedhor's purpose in the tombs — and perhaps the purpose of a few close relatives — may have been, let us first review the evidence for other persons of this name known to us from Greco-Roman Thebes, as well as the evidence for attestations of names of other persons connected to our Djedhor.

Djedhor Son of Usirwer

1. A *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr* signs as a witness on a late Ptolemaic *r-rḫ=w* temple receipt, dated to a regnal year 10 + x. Ursula Kaplony-Heckel assumes a date of 108/107 BC or 105/104 BC. Taking the ostracon at face value, this individual's name should be in his own handwriting. If so, this is not likely to be our Djedhor. The name lacks the distinctive personal determinative that occurs in all writings of the name in the graffiti.[6]
2. A *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr* occurs in P Phil Dem 16, 17 and 24, part of the Theban family archive published by Mustafa El-Amir in 1959. However, this individual had a paternal grandfather also named Djedhor.[7] Therefore, this is not our Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Imhotep. In fact, no individual named Imhotep appears to figure in the archive.
3. A *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr* appears in ostracon OIM 19321 1.8, in a list of men somehow connected with straw. Brian Muhs dates this ostracon to late in the reign of Ptolemy II, ca. 285–246 BC. Muhs speculates that this individual could be the Djedhor son of Usirwer from the Philadelphia archive; if so, it cannot be our Djedhor son of Usirwer.[8]
4. An ink graffito at Medinet Habu, G MH 236, l. 18, refers to an *iṯ nṯr Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Wsir-wr* (?) *sꜣ Ḏd-ḥr ʾIy-m-ḥtp r s 2*.[9] If the name of the father is correctly read here, a Djedhor son of Usirwer son of Djedhor might suggest that this is the Djedhor of the Philadelphia archive. It is intriguing, however, that an individual named *ʾIy-m-ḥtp* also occurs. Possibly there is some sort of a family relationship to our Djedhor, but this graffito cannot refer to the same individual. Thissen does not suggest a date here, but the handwriting gives a strongly Ptolemaic impression.

Usirwer Son of Imhotep

1. An ostracon from the Leiden collection, O Leiden 157R, 16, refers to an *Wsir-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp*. Nur El-Din gives the date of the ostracon as "Roman"; if correct, this may be too late to refer to the father of our Djedhor.[10]
2. A Greek-language receipt for the salt tax refers to an Osorēris son of Imouthis:

> L ιγ Παχὼν ιε ἁλικῆς | διὰ Σωστράτου | Ὀσορῆρις ʾΙμούθου etc.[11]
>
> Year 13, Pachōn, day 15, for the salt tax: Through Sōstratos: Osorēris son of Imouthis etc.

[5] *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, *ʾI*-volume, p. 236, http://oi.uchicago.edu/research/pubs/catalog/cdd/ (accessed December 11, 2017).
[6] Kaplony-Heckel 2006, p. 41, Ostracon Berlin 9719 (her no. 37).
[7] El-Amir 1959, p. 81.
[8] Muhs 2005, p. 159, note d.
[9] Thissen 1989, pp. 146–47; Edgerton 1937, pl. 60.
[10] Nur El-Din 1974, p. 127; handcopy on p. 611.
[11] Viereck 1923, p. 1, ostracon 3, l. 3.

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Viereck says this ostracon is Theban, but does not suggest a date. Other than the similarity of names, there is no particular reason to think this refers to the father of our Djedhor, but also no particular reason to exclude the possibility.

3. In P BM 10722/3, P BM Andrews 10, an *Wsi̯r-wr sꜣ ʾIy-m-ḥtp* appears on a witness list. Presumably the name is in the individual's handwriting, which does not especially resemble our Djedhor's. Andrews dates this document to 181 BCE.[12]

Djedhor Son of Djedhor

1. The witness list of a Ptolemaic papyrus from the Turin archive, P Turin Botti 10 (Suppl. 6105), l. 13, dated by Botti to 121 BC, includes a *Ḏd-ḥr sꜣ Ḏd-ḥr*, a name combination we noted twice in KV4, and which there might refer to a son of our Djedhor.[13] The name in this Turin papyrus is apparently in the individual's own handwriting; and unlike the writing of the name Djedhor son of Djedhor in KV4, the writing, to our eyes, does not particularly resemble the handwriting of our Djedhor son of Usirwer. Therefore, we do not believe that this individual is the Djedhor son of Djedhor of KV4.

The results of this survey are unfortunately negative. Although we would hope that evidence for our Djedhor son of Usirwer might be found outside of the Valley of the Kings, and that we might thereby be able to infer something about his life and about his motivation for his activities in the royal tombs, no such evidence appears to be forthcoming at present. The only conclusions that we can really come to regarding Djedhor, then, are those that we can infer from the graffiti themselves. Three general observations seem important. First, Djedhor son of Usirwer left more graffiti in the tombs, by far, than any other Egyptian visitor. Second, he penetrated more deeply into the tombs than most visitors to the tombs, often visiting the burial chambers (KV01-G035, KV01-G036, KV01-G037, KV02-G089, and KV15-G001). Many other graffiti are relatively far back in the tombs (KV02-G125b, KV06-G009, and KV09-G031, all in the third halls of their respective tombs). Djedhor was not the only visitor to penetrate deeply into some tombs, and those who have visited KV1 will recall that it is not a very deep tomb in any case (44.3 m from entrance to back of the burial chamber).[14] Nevertheless, as a general rule, most graffiti in those of the royal tombs that were open in antiquity are near the tomb openings, where visitors could see by natural light. Penetrating to the rear of KV2 (Ramesses IV), which is more than 88 m from its opening to the rear of the burial chamber, would have been no small challenge.[15] The presence of graffiti in Hall A as high off the modern floor as 3.5 m suggests that substantial flood debris must have choked the tomb in the Ptolemaic period — even in Hall C, occasional graffiti higher than 2 m off the modern floor are encountered. To have reached the burial chamber, Djedhor son of Usirwer must have been highly motivated indeed.

The third fact about Djedhor son of Usirwer that is inferable from the graffiti is that — as we have already pointed out — he was a mid-level priest. His interest in the tombs, then, may well have been in some sense of the word "religious,"although one negative observation may be pertinent here as well: as far as preserved examples show, Djedhor never left a graffito using the pious formula *rn=f mn ty m-bꜣḥ* DN, "May his good name remain here in the presence of DN." On the other hand, this formula, while not absent from the royal tombs, is far less common generally than it is in other locations where Demotic graffiti are common.

Beyond this, we can really only speculate as to what Djedhor's true purpose in the royal tombs may have been. But while we can obviously come to no firm conclusions, two possibilities, which may well have overlapped, suggest themselves: he may have come as a pilgrim, and/or as a tour guide.

[12] Andrews 1990, p. 43, witness 11.

[13] Botti 1967, Testo p. 91, Tavole pl. 15. For the reading of the father's name, not read by Botti, see Zauzich 1971, p. 56.

[14] Theban Tomb Mapping Project, http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_815.html (accessed December 11, 2017).

[15] Theban Tomb Mapping Project, http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_816.html (accessed December 11, 2017).

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Egyptian Graffiti as Evidence of Pious Pilgrimage

While "graffiti," in the very general sense of informal inscriptions at sites for which the "author" has no responsibility, are found in Egypt already in the Egyptian Predynastic period, the phenomenon of written, pious graffiti at religious sites in ancient Egypt mainly begins in the New Kingdom.[16] The Theban and Memphite necropoleis are particularly rich in visitors' graffiti from this period, which — as Navrátilová points out — may testify both to the Egyptians' "religious sense" and to their "historical consciousness." In fact, it is doubtful that in ancient Egypt, these motivations for visiting ancient sites, and for recording one's personal presence there, can really be separated.

The New Kingdom is of course also the period of the restorations of Old Kingdom monuments in the Memphite area undertaken by Khaemwas, the son of Ramesses II, who left many written records of his activities.[17] Some of his inscriptions are informal enough to be classified as "graffiti," while others were clearly considered to be formal inscriptions. In either case, Khaemwas' intentions were, like those of the non-royal visitors to the famous sites of Memphis, no doubt both pious and "historical." And certainly by the Ptolemaic period, the notion that someone might visit an ancient necropolis purely for personal edification was not unimaginable, as we see in the "First Tale of Khaemwas," and its description of the character Naneferkaptah (here in the voice of his sister/wife Ihweret):

> [(And so) it happened that Naneferka]ptah my brother [had no] occupation in the land aside from hiking over the necropolis of Memphis, as he recited the writings that were on the tombs of the pharaohs, along with the stelas of the scribes of the House of Life, as well as the writings that were on [their tombs. Ever]y [day, his heart rejoiced] exceedingly because of writing![18]

Tourism in Greco-Roman Egypt

As Egypt became integrated into the Greco-Roman world in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a phenomenon often referred to as "tourism" can be seen to develop alongside the long-standing phenomenon of the Egyptians' own visitation of their ancient sites.[19] The motivations for this phenomenon were complex and will likely never by fully understood — again, it may be impossible to separate out motivations of piety and personal fascination. A common statement among the Greek graffiti is simply "I marveled" (ἐθαύμασα), which may point toward tourism for simple enjoyment and personal edification, or to partake in the exotic world of the Nile.[20] This may apply to the frequent visits to the Colossus of Memnon, one of the best-known tourist attractions in the Greco-Roman Thebaid, which in antiquity was known to "sing" or vibrate in some particularly notable way. And Greeks or Romans planning to visit Egypt may have expected the royal tombs to be more elaborate than they actually are, as suggested in an incidental description, which appears at least to be based on the tombs of the Valley of the Kings, that appears in the minor fourth-century AD writer Callistratus' *Descriptions*:

> There was a certain cave near Thebes in Egypt which resembled a shepherd's pipe, since as it followed its winding course in the depths of the earth it formed a natural spiral; for it did not take a straight course at the opening and then branch off into straight-running corridors, but winding about under the mountain it made a huge spiral, ending in a most difficult maze.[21]

On the other hand, religious motivations can never have been far in the background. Tourist descriptions of the Theban West Bank — the Memnonia — generally report that the entire landscape was imbued with a sense of sanctity.[22] The site around Deir el-Bahri was well known as a realm of healing, being dedicated to Asclepius, and thus would have attracted numerous visitors for health reasons.[23] And the fascination of

[16] Navrátilová 2007, p. 16.

[17] For discussions and catalogs of Khaemwas' restoration inscriptions, see Gomaà 1973, pp. 61–62; Fisher 2001, vol. 1, p. 96; vol. 2, pp. 107–08, 123.

[18] "First Setne" 3.9–3.10 (trans. S. Vinson).

[19] E.g., Milne 1916, pp. 76–80; Casson 1994, esp. pp. 278–83; Foertmeyer 1989; Łajtar 2012, pp. 183–85.

[20] E.g., Baillet 1923–1926, graffito 79–80, p. 23. On the exoticism of Egypt, cf. Versluys 2010, pp. 7–36, esp. 19.

[21] *Descriptions* 1, in Fairbanks 1931, p. 377.

[22] Meskell 2003, p. 52.

[23] See Łajtar 2006, pp. 50–56; Bataille 1951, p. 336.

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visiting the secret burial sites of the gods and heroes may also partly explain Greek interest in the Valley of the Kings.[24]

There is some evidence for the mechanics of Greco-Roman tourism in Egypt: tourists would normally use local guides to aide in their travels.[25] A number of these tourists left behind accounts of their journeys, including comments on the standard patter that guides would often launch into while on site.[26] We can only guess at the total numbers of visitors who came to the Valley of the Kings as part of their journey up the Nile, but the quantity of Greek graffiti — which greatly exceeds that of the Demotic graffiti — suggests there were a significant number of visitors spread out over many years.[27]

Whatever the number, a knowledgeable person, familiar with the tombs, could easily have supplemented his income by escorting tourists out to the Valley of the Kings to visit the royal tombs of the New Kingdom pharaohs, known to the Greeks as the "Syringes."[28] Perhaps our Djedhor son of Usirwer was one such person. But if so, he was more than a simple guide. His literacy, and his priestly credentials, would have made him a trained, "purified" vehicle for coming in contact with the divine, even if he did, in some sense, "market" his skills.[29] A guide to the tombs, if of priestly status (or willing to feign such), might conceivably have taken visitors to the west bank at Thebes in order to "initiate" them — in some sense of the word — into a variation or simulacrum of the mysteries of Egyptian religion. If this meant a long, dusty donkey ride up from Deir el-Bahri and over the Theban ridge and down into the Valley of the Kings, then the visitor would have gotten the required initial penitential aspect of the journey, to be followed by the final groveling as they crawled through narrow passages choked with flood debris into the syringes. There they would come face to face with the sacred images of the divine. Conversely, the crawling out of the dark tomb back into the daylight of the valley and the long trip back to the river would be the mechanism to separate the divine experience of seeing the gods with the profane world.

It does not seem possible, however, that *all* of the Demotic graffiti in the royal tombs could have been left by guides, if indeed any were. A complete analysis and description of the texts will have to be deferred to our final publication, but many of the graffiti suggest that Egyptians visited the tombs in groups that might have comprised both male and female members. This does not seem compatible with the idea that these Egyptians, at least, were leading groups of Greeks into the tombs professionally. Moreover, it seems probable that Egyptians had been coming into the royal tombs as "tourists" over a longer period of time than the Greeks had. Baillet believed that the earliest Greek graffiti were of Ptolemaic date, but that most were from after the Roman conquest.[30] Dated Demotic graffiti are rare, and graffiti naming rulers are rarer still: the earliest are our KV02-G030 and G035, both dating to year four of Gaius Caesar Augustus (Caligula), or 40 AD.[31] However, most of the graffiti give a strongly Ptolemaic impression, and some of the hieratic/cursive hieroglyphic texts may well date as far back as the Persian period. Demotic, like Greek, continues well into the late Roman period; a few graffiti from the royal tombs are very close in their appearance to the latest Demotic from Philae.

One other observation that seems valid is that graffiti that are written in Egyptian scripts — Demotic and cursive hieroglyphic — were placed in "respectful" positions, deliberately placed so as not to damage pre-existing texts or images. The Egyptians appear to have respected the power of the hieroglyphs and images, and to have understood that interfering with them could be potentially dangerous.[32] Greek graffiti, on the other hand, were written in an almost haphazard manner on any suitable surfaces. In many cases the Greek graffiti congregate on flat surfaces on top of the figures of deities (such as the sun disk on the head of Ra-Harakhty). These spaces of course make excellent and attention-grabbing surfaces for writing, but it may

[24] Galli 2005, p. 254.

[25] Ibid., pp. 255–56.

[26] Ibid., p. 256.

[27] On the chronology of the Greek graffiti, see Baillet 1923–1926, pp. xx–xxvii; cf. also Galli 2005, p. 274; Romer 1981, pp. 28–32. Casson 1994, p. 360.

[28] Riggs 2006, p. 176. This term probably derives from the Greek σῆραγξ, "cave hollowed out by water, hollow rock" (*LSJ* 1594b).

[29] Trips to the tombs were not the only sacred rituals, spaces or objects that were "marketed." Also reported were the use of dream incubations, or the display of sacred animals. See Frankfurter 2010, p. 539; Szpakowska 2006, pp. 142ff.; Milne 1916, p. 79.

[30] Baillet 1923–1926, pp. xx–xxvii.

[31] Vinson 2006. The only other rulers named among the Demotic graffiti are Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, who appear together in a graffito from KV2, our KV02-G134 (no year date preserved, or at any rate legible to us; graffito must date between 161 and 169 AD).

[32] On the mutilation of hieroglyphs see Ritner 2008, pp. 148ff.

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also have been the case that the Greeks wished to imbue their own written traces with the sacredness of the images themselves.

And so we return to the subject of this paper, Djedhor son of Usirwer. His name is found in all of the tombs that were open in antiquity. He was the only individual to have that distinction. Was Djedhor a local priest turned tourist guide? Or was he a hyper-religious person who wished to imbibe as much of the sacred as he could? It is completely possible that both of these motivations converged in our most unusual god's father. Possibly he was simply imbued with the spirit of his age. This was a time in which the pull of the ancient, exotic Thebaid, and points farther south, was projected onto a culture hero like Alexander the Great. Alexander, wrote his first-century AD Roman biographer Curtius Rufus, had been seized by

> A desire … to visit not only the interior of Egypt, but also Ethiopia; eager as he was to become acquainted with ancient remains, the celebrated palace of the Memnon and Tithonus was drawing him almost beyond the limits of the sun.[33]

Djedhor son of Usirwer, for his part, seems to have been seized with a desire to probe the limits of the Underworld. But if that is too romantic a notion, at least we can say that the Demotic graffiti from the royal tombs now become a new body of evidence for understanding the phenomenon of visitation of the royal tombs of the Valley of the Kings. And Djedhor, whether pilgrim, tour guide, or curious explorer himself, has now become the very human face of that important group of texts. May his good name remain forever in the presence of the gods!

[33] Curitus, *History of Alexander*, Book 4, 8, 3 (quoted from Łukaszewicz 2010, p. 256).

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The Beginning and End of Coffin Spell 149: A Living Person Approaches the Netherworld Tribunal

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In the prologue of the book of Job (1:26), there is a divine tribunal composed of "the sons of God" presided over by God. This court was convened during the lifetime of Job, whose adversary enters as the Accuser (ha-Satan). In Egypt divine tribunals are generally associated with the judgment after death. Did such divine tribunals ever function during one's lifetime? If a terrestrial court failed to reach a satisfactory decision, it was possible, at least during the New Kingdom, for a person to petition the oracle of a god, but what about earlier times?[1] Consideration of the incipit and conclusion of Coffin Text Spell 149[2] suggests that a living plaintiff might approach the netherworld tribunal.

This spell is one of the few transformation spells that are provided with extended preliminary remarks including instructions on how the spell is to be recited. In some transformation spells, it is indicated that the user is one who knows the spell, as in CT Spells 339, 503, and BD 85–86. In CT Spell 297 the rubric at *CT* IV, 50 *l*, "As for the one who knows this spell, he shall be at the portal in the sky when he has gone to his *ka* (i.e., died)," clearly implies that the one who knows the spell is a living person, receiving the benefit, however, after his death.[3]

Obviously Spell 149, by virtue of its being inscribed on coffins, was of value to a deceased person, but just as Spells 38–41 can be analyzed as having been originally recited by a living son addressing his deceased father but then secondarily introduced into the corpus of funerary literature, so one might suggest that Spell 149 deserves consideration regarding its original *Sitz im Leben*.[4] Its eventual funerary use is nicely indicated in the preliminary rubric: "To become a falcon (var., "human falcon"), to render a man effective in the necropolis, and to cause a man to have power over his enemies. When reciting (the following), a man should be shod with white sandals and be <garbed in> a kilt and sash of red linen" (*CT* II, 226–27).[5] The first occurrences of "man" obviously refer to the deceased beneficiary, whereas the "man" in the final statement is the reciter. Such bifurcated treatment of "man" occurs also within the terminal remark of CT Spell 954 (*CT* VII, 169 *l*–*o*): "A man (the lector) shall recite (this) over firewood, incense, myrrh, laudanum, *ḥknw*-oil, *šs*ꜣ*t*-oil, vulture-dung, and feather-of- the-field plant, all combined together, and the flesh of the man (the beneficiary) is to be smeared therewith. It (the substance?) shall then be thoroughly cleaned off."[6] Since both Spell 954 and Spell 149 are recited in the first person, the living practitioner must be functioning as a proxy for the deceased beneficiary.

[1] See Baines 1987, pp. 79–98, for possible oracles before the New Kingdom.

[2] *CT* II, 226–53, comprehensively treated by Grieshammer 1970, pp. 131–48.

[3] Cf. de Jong 1995, p. 148 with n. 25, on spells used in this life.

[4] See Kees 1957, p. 223, for the adaptation of this spell for funerary usage, but cf. Federn 1960, p. 246, n. 58.

[5] Both kilt and sash are of red linen with the sash descending across the breast from the left shoulder to the right hip; see Taylor 2001, p. 80, fig. 46, and Strudwick 2004, p. 11, for color photograph of an Old Kingdom mummy dressed in this priestly garb.

[6] Reading *ḏd z* rather than *ḏd.i*. In the Gardiner Papyri the first-person suffix pronoun is generally written reed-leaf + seated man (cf. the writing of *ḏd.i* in *CT* VII, 240 *c*), whereas the seated man alone is used for *z*, "man," in the Old Egyptian manner, as in *CT* II, 158 *g*; V, 60 *a*, 271 *j*; VII, 244 *a*.

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The beginning of the spell proper (*CT* II, 228–229) introduces a sort of narrative in which the speaker participates throughout the rest of the spell:

> I am a human being (lit., "body," var., "this human body")[7] who came disgruntled from the Isle of Flame.[8] Because of what was done against me crookedly by my enemy, I was given access to the Tribunal[9] (var., "The earth has been opened up for me in the direction of the Tribunal because of what was done against me crookedly by that enemy"). It is into a human falcon who moves among men that I requested a transformation.[10]

What is implied is that the beneficiary had left the land of the living for a specific purpose: to transform into a human falcon and to be justified against his opponent in the Tribunal, which we learn was in the Mansion of Khentyamentiu.[11]

Now the conclusion of the spell[12] is attested in only four exemplars all belonging to the same individual, Mezehti of Assiut (S2C^{e}, S2C^{a}, S2C^{d}, S1C^{a}):

> The Eye of Horus is my guide. My magical powers are my strength, those that come accompanying me both from (or, "in") the Isle of Flame and from (or, "in") the Mansion of Osiris (var., "Khentyamentiu"), they being come with <me>. Just as I repulse those who are, so I catch (var., "punish") those who are not. No one can come in opposition to me. No one can draw up a legal claim against me in any evil matter. I am indeed a human falcon. When (or perhaps better, "Whenever") I go (back) down to the Isle of Flame, I eat with my mouth, I defecate with my anus, and I walk upon my feet.[13] I eat bread, and I receive the pouring out of water (var., "I drink from the water jar"). When (eventually) I am (i.e., shall have been) taken away to the Cavern (var., "Mansion") of Khentyamentiu, I shall settle down upon the banks of the Flood so that I am among the happy ones. My name (i.e., identity) can never perish in this land.

Part of this passage concerns the individual's ability to return to the land of the living ("Isle of Flame") where as a human being (note the one variant, S1C^{a}, giving simply, "I am a human"!) he can exercise his normal bodily functions. There is perhaps the implication that this return to the land of the living was something that the person might be doing on further occasions after voluntarily leaving it and approaching the netherworld tribunal to assume the form of a human falcon.

It is at 253 *d* that there is a noticeable shift in the individual's attitude in that he acknowledges his eventual death and removal to the underworld Cavern (var., Mansion) of Khentyamentiu. The passive form *i.t.i* with its *pronominal* subject should probably be a nominal form of the verb followed by the active circumstantial *ḥms.i* (*not* circumstantial Old Perfective!) serving as the emphasized adverbial adjunct. Such an analysis of the construction is comparable to that of nominal *sḏm.n.f* + circumstantial *sḏm.f*, where the initial clause can be

[7] Although *ḥʿw* might conceivably refer to a dead body, it is generally used of the body of a living being, whereas a dead body is normally rendered by *ḫꜣt*, corpse. Why the speaker uses *ḥʿw rmt* and not simply *rmt* at the beginning of the spell may have to do more with the contrast that is subsequently developed when the speaker makes a primary identification with *bik rmt*, "human falcon" (*CT* II, 230 *c*, 232 *b*) than with asserting that he is a deceased human. In connection with the nuance of *rmt* in mortuary texts, Coffin Text Spell 105 (*CT* II, 112–15) is interesting, bearing the title "Going forth by day and making a transformation into a human being." Although the speaker in this spell is dead, the human form that he aspires to assume is clearly that of his previous existence, "in this my earthly dignity of the Isle of Flame" (*CT* II, 112 *j*–13 *a*), and he is given his bones and limbs so that he can eat with his mouth and defecate with his anus (*CT* II, 114–15). Thus a deceased person no longer simply continued to be a *rmt* but was "magically" retransformed into a human being, possessing the bodily functions of a living person.

[8] "The Isle of Flame" designates the upper world of the living; see Assmann 1969, p. 272; Grieshammer 1970, p. 103; and the preceding footnote.

[9] Taking the impersonal passive *wn n.i* as a nominal form, cf. *rḏiw n.f r prt ḫrw im m rk Sꜣḥw-rʿ*, "It was in the time of Sahure that it was given to him in order to make a funerary offering therefrom" (*Urk.* I, 37, 15).

[10] The variants B9C, Pap. Berlin, and S2C^{c} have been understood by Grieshammer 1970, p. 136, as "du mögest für mich die Gestaltung als Menschenfalke erbitten," with "du" being "eine fürsprechende Gottheit," but this is a sort of deus ex machina and does not yield much sense in the context. Rather I would understand *dbḥ.k*(*wi*) *n.i ḫprw*, "I requested for myself a transformation." In Old Egyptian simple *.k* is the most common writing of the first-person Old Perfective ending, and the use of this Old Perfective of transitive verbs with direct object is well attested as a preterit in past narrative; cf. Edel 1955/1964, par. 590, citing *Urk.* I, 99, 10–11. Although fuller writings of the first-person Old Perfective ending appear in Spell 149, simple *.k* alone occurs in *CT* II, 234 *a* (S2C^{d}) and 244*b* (S2C^{a}).

[11] *CT* II, 241 *b*, 243 *c*–44 *a*.

[12] Ibid., 251 *g*–53 *g*.

[13] It seems to me that 253 *b*, "The cistern(?) is my retreat . . . in the Isle of Flame," or "It is my retreat that I have rejoined . . . in the Isle of Flame," was inserted parenthetically, being entirely omitted in S2C^{d} and S1C^{a}.

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rendered as a temporal or conditional clause and the emphasized adverbial adjunct as the main clause, as in *wnm.n.tn nw, gm* N *zp ḫr.tn*, "When you have eaten (i.e., shall have eaten) this, N will find the leftovers in your presence" (PT 1674*c*).[14] I take *ỉw.ỉ mm nḏmw-ỉb* as a circumstantial clause of result. The conclusion of Spell 149 thus stands in contrast to the beginning narrative with dying being an involuntary removal of a person from the world of the living as opposed to a voluntary and temporary visit to the underworld.[15]

That at death the beneficiary should have the happy afterlife indicated at the end of Spell 149 does seem dependent upon his previous justification in the Tribunal of Osiris and the absence of any opponent who might institute hostile legal action against him. Although Federn regarded the transformation spells as voluntary and desirable experiences for a living person,[16] Spell 149 does not seem especially pleasurable, but rather juridical in nature. It would seem that the individual had suffered some ill treatment at the hands of a living foe and that perhaps an earthly court had been unable to rectify an unpleasant situation to the plaintiff's satisfaction.

The question arises as to where such a transformation and litigation took place. At 243 *c*–244 *a* it is indicated that the Tribunal was "in the Mansion of Khentyamentiu," which might conceivably designate his temple at Abydos. One might conjecture that the earliest use of the spell occurred in this Abydos temple, which may have had a subterranean room or crypt, designated the "Cavern," analogous to the later Osireion. However, according to Federn, "the place where the 'mysteries' were taught or performed was situated within the precinct of the necropolis,"[17] which might suggest a tomb chapel. The conclusion of the spell states that the Cavern (var., Mansion) of Khentyamentiu was the place to which the individual is taken away so that the Mansion of Khentyamentiu by metonymy — metaphorically or symbolically — designated a part of a tomb or its chapel rather than the actual temple of Khentyamentiu at Abydos. What I suggest is that the Mansion of Khentyamentiu referred to the tomb chapel whereas the Cavern of Khentyamentiu designated the burial chamber. Possibly the former term could more broadly refer to the entire tomb complex: chapel and burial chamber, which might account for the two variants of *CT* II, 253 *d*. In this connection it might be apposite to refer to the ceiling inscription of the entrance to the tomb complex of Kheruef that designates the entrance as the "First Portal of Imhet."[18] This doorway, had the tomb been completed, would have served as the entrance both to the tomb chapel and to the burial chamber accessible at the southwest corner of the columned hall. Thus both visitors to the tomb chapel and the funeral cortege would have been entering the netherworld in passing through the initial portal of Kheruef's mortuary complex.

Although the rubric of Spell 149 mentions a plurality of enemies, throughout the spell proper, the foe is clearly a single individual (despite a few inappropriate occurrences of "foes"), and it appears that he is still among the living as expressed by "among men" (*CT* II, 233 *a*). There is no indication that Spell 149 was of ritual nature. What is noteworthy about this transformation spell is its down-to-earth quality, avoiding hostile interaction of mythological divine characters; noticeably absent is the person of the antithetic god Seth. It rather more resembles those spells of meditative personal nature.[19] This sort of internalization of the narrative accords well with the recitation of the spell by a living person and with Federn's "psychological" interpretation of the transformation spells.[20] If Spell 149 was originally used by a living person, he would either have read out the text himself or have had a lector priest do the reciting in his presence at the tomb chapel. Perhaps that part of the preliminary remark specifying how the lector should be dressed might also have been applicable. The living beneficiary of this spell would thus mentally participate in the sequence of actions and, being transformed into a human falcon, he could function both in the netherworld court and in the world above, swooping down on his foe and annihilating his household. One reason for the paucity of

[14] For this translation see Allen 1984, par. 406 C, citing also PT 880*c*–*e*, and for the future perfect in Egyptian see Vernus 1990, p. 3, n. 7.

[15] On dying as an involuntary removal from the world of the living, see *CT* VII, 283 *b*: "But as for the one who does not know this spell for passing on these ways, he shall be removed by a stroke(?) of death"; cf. Zandee 1977, pp. 13, 86, 185.

[16] Federn 1960, p. 245.

[17] Ibid., p. 252.

[18] Epigraphic Survey 1980, pl. 23 and p. 41.

[19] See de Jong 1995, pp. 156–57; Federn 1960, p. 249; and Derchain 1987, pp. 47–55. Note the two instances in Spell 149 where the speaker states, "Moreover I say in my mind (lit., "heart"), 'How *ꜣḫ*-potent I am! How strong my *Ba* is!" (*CT* II, 242 *b*–*c*), and "I also say in my mind to those who are in the Tribunal in the Mansion of Khentyamentiu, 'See, I have returned, having removed my enemy'" (*CT* II, 243 *c*–244 *c*), reflecting the mental activity involved.

[20] Federn 1960, p. 247.

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versions that include this final section of Spell 149 is perhaps that it really was not very suitable for one who had already died a genuine death.[21] The legal aspect of this spell is analogous to certain letters to the dead in which a living person seeks justice through litigation in the beyond.

As a token of my esteem for the contributions of Professor Janet Johnson in both Egyptian philology and law and society, I offer this brief article dealing with what seems to be an unusual aspect of jurisprudence as practiced perhaps as early as the late Old Kingdom.

[21] The fact the speaker mentions his *Ba* at 242*c* does not necessarily preclude his being alive. For living persons possessing a *Ba*, see Allen 2001, vol. 1, p. 161; and Federn 1960, p. 255, n. 147; to which add Černý 1939, p. 68, line 9, as translated by Wente 1990, p. 173, "Don't you know the nature of my heart, that it is concerned about you, that my desire is to have your *Ba* remembered for your sake daily" (there is no implication here that the writer was thinking in terms of the younger recipient's demise); Papyrus Anastasi IV, 11, 9–10, as translated in Caminos 1954, p. 182, "Beer makes you cease being a man. It causes your *Ba* to wander"; and Papyrus Anastasi I, 24, 1–2 as translated in Wente 1990, p. 108, "Such bristling fright grips you that (the hair of) your head is ruffled. Your *Ba* lies in your hands."

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Abbreviations

BD	Book of the Dead
CT	*The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 7 volumes. Adriaan De Buck. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–1961.
PT	Pyramid Text
Urk. I	*Urkunden des alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterums I. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs,1933.

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Revisiting the Egyptian Memnon: Landscape and Memory in Western Thebes

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On a November day in the year 130, a Roman noblewoman stood on the Theban West Bank at dawn and recorded her impressions of the scene in Greek verses carved on the left ankle of Amenhotep III's northernmost colossus. She wrote,

> When, in the company of the Empress Sabina, I was in the presence of Memnon: You who are the son of the dawn, O Memnon, and of venerable Tithon, . . . your tongue was cut, like your ears, by a barbarous man, the godless Cambyses … but as for me, I do not think that your statue can die, and I have already immortalized your soul with my thoughts.[1]

Some 1,700 years later, a young Englishwoman on the Grand Tour described her own visit to the site in a letter to her parents at home:

> Well, we climbed up on the pedestals of the Colossi, and copied a few Greek and Latin inscriptions, which told how, in the times of this Emperor or that Ptolemy, I "Camillus," or I "Hmodoros," heard the Memnon "once in the first hour" . . . But, as I am only writing my real and individual impressions, I must confess that I cannot understand people raving about these Colossi … they are such sightless, shapeless ruins, they look like sightless Lear after the storm.[2]

The accounts of these two women, separated as they are by language, culture, religion, and almost 2,000 years of intervening history, nevertheless stand together in a long line of literary depictions of the monuments of pharaonic Egypt. Both exemplify the way in which viewers have tended to reinscribe those monuments in light of their own cultural preconceptions, with the Roman poetess Julia Balbilla casting Amenhotep III's ruined portrait as a Homeric hero and the Victorian Englishwoman seeing in the same image a figure out of Shakespearian tragedy. Both also demonstrate the way layers of memory and meaning crystallized over the millennia around certain points in the Egyptian landscape. Through accounts like these, the monuments of pharaonic Egypt came over time to have an existence separate from their presence as physical artifacts, becoming players in what Jaś Elsner has called the "language-game" of textual representation.[3] As objects of discourse, the monuments have been written and rewritten, talked about and translated over the course of millennia, and, as Elsner notes, in many cases the resulting accounts reveal as much about the cultural perspective of their writers as they do about the appearance or history of the object under discussion. Elsner goes on to say that "what emerges from this conflict with monuments and earlier views of them is identity itself,"[4] and it is precisely this nexus of monument, representation, and identity that will be the central concern of the present article, which examines the Late Antique toponymy of the village of Jeme and the role of the Colossus of Memnon in the memory traditions of the Theban West Bank.

*I first encountered the "Memnoneia" over the course of a quarter spent wrestling with Coptic documentary texts from Thebes under Jan's patient guidance; it is with both gratitude and affection that I now offer these remarks on the region's toponymy.

[1] *I.Memnon* 29, 1–12; trans. after Bernand and Bernand 1960, p. 87.

[2] Nightingale 1987, p. 128.

[3] Elsner 1994, p. 224.

[4] Ibid., p. 235.

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I. Landscapes of Memory

The question of how societies remember — and what they choose to remember — has occupied scholars since the pioneering work of Maurice Halbwachs in the first half of the twentieth century. This question has proven to be especially meaningful for societies in times of transition, when images of the past may assume particular significance.[5] A growing body of scholarly literature, from Halbwachs's landmark study *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte* onward, has been devoted to the notion that social memory may be embedded in the physical landscape; as Halbwachs noted, "if a truth is to be settled in the memory of a group it needs to be preserved in the concrete form of an event, of a personality, *or of a locality*."[6]

The idea of a connection between landscape and memory is, in fact, a very ancient one. Rhetorical handbooks from the first century AD describe methods by which speakers would "deposit" words or ideas they wanted to remember in the rooms of an imagined building; these could then be recalled by "walking" through that mental landscape.[7] Moreover, the members of ancient societies were certainly well aware that elements of the physical landscape, whether built or natural, could be used to commemorate significant people and events; recent studies of monument making have suggested that the act of monumentalization is a near-universal aspect of human civilization.[8] Contemporary scholarship has expanded the notion of such memory sites (*lieux de mémoire)* to include not only physical monuments, but ritual and performative elements as well, and increasing emphasis has been given to the role of memory and its various supports in the construction and maintenance of social, religious, political, and cultural identity.[9] Norman Yoffee sums up the connection among landscape, memory, and identity as follows:

> Space consists . . . in both natural and constructed terrain as people live among monuments, ruins, and environments all of which are the seat of stories about events and personalities. Landscapes, thus, form the material of "memory communities" . . . and such communities provide important aspects of people's identities. These identities then "overarch" other, local identities; the landscapes of everyday life are the sites where the various and diverse levels of identity are negotiated. Memories are also "performed" in space through the use of artifacts, heirlooms, and spolia in new places and in abandoned places. People make choices of which part of the past to accommodate and which to reject and how the past can be, within limits, created.[10]

The choices to which Yoffee refers are in themselves historical phenomena, and by examining these choices and the specific contexts (social, political, economic, religious, etc.) in which they were made, we may begin to reconstruct a picture of the uses of the past *in* the past and the meaning(s) of individual monuments over time.[11]

With the notion of "landscapes of memory" has come the associated concept of "archaeologies of memory,"[12] and it is in this light that we may consider the Late Antique reinterpretation of ancient Egyptian monuments. The temples, tombs, and cemeteries of pharaonic Egypt, together with their associated monumental inscriptions and reliefs, were clearly intended by their original builders to serve as *lieux de mémoire* in the most fundamental sense, as Jan Assmann has noted.[13] However, as contemporary memory theory would suggest — and as the ancient sources indicate — the interpretation of these monuments varied both over time and across lines of ethnicity, language, religion, social class, and individual taste, among other factors. The so-called Colossus of Memnon stands as a fine illustration of this point. The northernmost of a pair of sandstone statues flanking the entrance to the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III on the Theban West Bank, the Colossus was originally intended to commemorate the Egyptian ruler whose titulary it bears.[14] By the early Roman period, however, the statue had come to be seen by an elite, classically educated segment of the population as the sculptural embodiment of the Greek mythological figure of Memnon.[15] In this guise, the statue

[5] Alcock 2002; Yoffee 2007a.

[6] Halbwachs [1941] 1992, p. 200; emphasis mine.

[7] Cicero, *De oratore* 2.86.350–367; Anonymous, *Ad Herennium* 3.16–24; Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 11.2. The classic study of this practice remains Yates 1966; see also Carruthers and Ziolkowski 2002.

[8] Nelson and Olin 2003, p. 4.

[9] See Connerton 1989; Nora and Kritzman 1996–1998.

[10] Yoffee 2007b, p. 3.

[11] Lowenthal 1985; Bradley and Williams 1998.

[12] Bradley and Williams 1998; Alcock 2002; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Yoffee 2007a.

[13] Assmann 2006, pp. 85–86.

[14] Bianchi 1982.

[15] Letronne 1833; Gardiner 1961; Haeny 1966; Bowersock 1984; Łukaszewicz 1995, 2010.

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became a major pilgrimage site and the locus for extensive epigraphic activity.[16] Certain of the inscriptions carved at the site, however, point to the existence of parallel memory traditions involving the statue, as does the description of Pausanius, who writes, "The many call it Memnon . . . the Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I have heard some say that it is Sesostris."[17] Arabic traditions of *el-Colossat* are little known as yet, but by the eighteenth century, the image of the ruined colossus had been taken up once more by European travelers, who interpreted the statue according to their own cultural preconceptions. Modern Egyptological scholarship has restored the name of Amenhotep to his ancient memorial, but the colossus still stands as a prime example of both the mutability of memory and its attachment to the physical landscape.

Increasing scholarly attention to the role of landscape in structuring and supporting social memory has led, in the past few decades, to a proliferation of studies on the relationship between toponymy and memory.[18] Speaking about the toponymy of urban centers in Roman and Late Antique Egypt, Richard Alston has pointed out with some justification that "meaning and function cannot simply be assumed from names," and that "although one might be charmed by finding the eponymous trees in Acacia Gardens, Hazel Grove and Beechwood Avenue, we would not necessarily expect them."[19] Nevertheless, as Alston himself concedes,[20] toponyms frequently do serve a mnemonic purpose, and examples ranging from Alexander the Great's eponymous urban foundations to the city variously known as Crocodilopolis/Ptolemais Euergetis/Arsinoë attest to the power of place names to anchor memories of people, places, and events in the landscape. Although prior scholarship dealing with toponymy in the papyri from Late Antique Egypt has tended to focus on the correlation of archaeological and papyrological material and on attempts to reconstruct physical landscapes by reference to the documentary sources,[21] the present article will rather use those sources to reconstruct *mental* landscapes, drawing on naming patterns to elucidate the position of pharaonic monuments in the Christian thought-world of the Late Antique Thebaid.

II. Jeme and Its Environs

The West Theban village of Jeme is in many ways ideally suited to inform about the interrelation of toponymy, landscape, and memory. The settlement was built into the very fabric of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and it is difficult to imagine that its inhabitants were not, on some level, aware of the antiquity of their surroundings, an awareness one might think to see reflected in the local toponymy and hence in the documentary record.[22] Medinet Habu was excavated between 1926 and 1932 by an Oriental Institute expedition under the direction of Uvo Hölscher; although this work was carried out with the principal objective of exposing the underlying Ramesside remains, Hölscher's reports constitute a significant source of information about the physical layout of the Coptic town.[23] Residential settlement is attested in the precinct of the mortuary temple as early as the Twenty-first Dynasty, and habitation appears to have been more or less continuous through the end of the eighth century AD, although there is some evidence of decline from the Late Period into the Ptolemaic Period.[24] The Coptic village of the seventh and eighth centuries represents the high point of settlement at Jeme, with the expansion of construction both into the temple proper and outward beyond the temenos wall; this is also the period best attested by local documentary sources.[25]

[16] Théodoridès 1989; Bernand and Bernand 1960.

[17] *Gr. Descr.* 1.41.3.

[18] E.g., Monmonier 1995, 2006; Basso 1996 remains a classic study.

[19] Alston 2002, pp. 134–36.

[20] Ibid., p. 292.

[21] E.g., Borkowski 1975; Krüger 1990; van Minnen 1994.

[22] Indeed, Elisabeth O'Connell's work (2007a, 2007b) on the reuse of pharaonic funerary architecture in the Theban necropolis has shown that the tomb-dwelling Theban monks were often highly conscious of the underlying pharaonic sacred landscape and exploited the various meanings of that landscape in their processes of monastic formation.

[23] See in particular Hölscher 1951, 1954.

[24] Wilfong 1989, p. 96; Stadelmann 1980, cols. 1267–68. Although Hölscher noted (1954, p. 34) that he had found no Ptolemaic architectural remains in the course of his excavations at Jeme, Ptolemaic documentary texts bear witness to ongoing settlement at Jeme in that period (Pestman 1993). Römer (2004/5, p. 105) suggests that the lack of physical evidence for this Ptolemaic settlement may indicate that it was located in the area of the temple complex that had been cleared in the nineteenth century prior to the commencement of systematic excavation.

[25] Wilfong 2002, pp. 3–6.

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Coptic documentation from Jeme includes both texts found *in situ* and documents deposited in the archives of the nearby Monastery of St. Phoibammon; recent work in the Theban necropolis has also produced large quantities of documentary material, the publication of which is ongoing.[26] A significant proportion of the documentary material from Jeme consists of texts dealing with the transfer of real estate, and these documents offer a significant corpus of local toponyms for our consideration. The following discussion will first consider Jeme on the micro level, looking at toponyms that refer to locations within the temple/town walls; it will then "zoom out" to look at Jeme on the macro level, investigating the toponyms that were applied to the village itself and to its immediate surroundings.

Toponymy at Jeme: Inside the Walls

Few of the toponyms attested in the documentary papyri from Jeme give any indication that the settlement was constructed within the confines of a pharaonic mortuary temple. Many streets were named simply by reference to local residents, leading to designations like "the street of Petros (son) of Petale" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲣⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲧⲁⲗⲉ, *P.KRU* 7.23), "the street of Saneth" (ⲧϩⲏⲣϩⲓⲣⲉ ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲉⲑ, *P.KRU* 13.24), or "the street of the men from Peshoumare" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲛⲛⲣⲙⲡⲱⲟⲩⲙⲁⲣⲉ, *P.KRU* 15.31).[27] Other streets took on the names of Christian saints, so that we find "the street of Saint Apa Ananias" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲛⲁⲛⲓⲁⲥ, *P.KRU* 106.128), "the street of Saint Apa Victor" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲙⲡϩⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲃⲓⲕⲧⲱⲣ, *P.KRU* 71.24), and "the street of Apa Kolluthos" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲛⲛⲁⲡⲁ ⲕⲟⲗⲗⲟⲩⲑⲟⲥ, *P.KRU* 67.74). These should probably be understood as references to churches or shrines that had given their names to the streets on which they stood; this is explicit in the case of Apa Kolluthos, and a shrine or church of Apa Victor is attested in several other documents (cf. *P.KRU* 3.76; 36.40; 44.22; 105.30), so the naming of a street after that institution is not unlikely. Combined with such laconic, functional designations as "the blind alley" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲃⲗⲗⲉ, e.g., *P.KRU* 1.62; 6.18; 7.72; 8.8) and "the public street" (ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ, e.g., *P.KRU* 6.19; 14.43; 19.40; 21.40),[28] these toponyms give the overall impression of a type of ad hoc nomenclature that likely reflects the organic growth of the Coptic settlement at Jeme, rather than any centralized effort of urban planning. In this respect, the Jeme material closely resembles the evidence of the documents from Late Antique Oxyrhynchus, which exhibit the same sort of profoundly local, even personal, approach to the landscape (Rink 1924; Daris 2000; Worp 2004). Unlike Oxyrhynchus, however, where the earlier Ptolemaic and Roman documents are replete with references to major streets and civic structures, including many temples, the documents from Jeme seem never to have used those types of geographic reference points. In fact, the only common landmarks noted in the Ptolemaic documents from Jeme that are not private houses are the so-called Royal Road (*p*ꜣ *ḫjr n pr-*ꜥ or ῥὺμη βασιλική; cf. *P.Berl.Dem*. 3070.4), and the walls of Jeme themselves (cf. *P.Berl.Dem*. 3090.5–6 and *UPZ* II 176. 5–6). This usage probably reflects a number of phenomena, including the significant differences in scale and circumstance between the metropolis of Oxyrhynchus and the village of Jeme, the spatially circumscribed nature of the settlement within the walls of Medinet Habu and the apparent lack of large-scale urban planning there, and the tight-knit quality of the Jeme community, where saying that a house or plot of land was "on the street leading to So-and-So's place" would have been a sufficient indication of its location for all parties concerned.

The "Fort" of Jeme

Although it might appear from the examples cited above that the pharaonic sacred landscape underlying the settlement of Jeme was not commonly alluded to in the toponymy of the Christian period, the complexity of the memory traditions at work in the Theban West Bank during that time is thrown into sharper relief when

[26] See Wilfong 1989, pp. 104–18; O'Connell 2006, pp. 113–17; Boud'hors and Heurtel 2010.

[27] Römer 2004/2005, pp. 81–82.

[28] Although the numerous references to ⲡϩⲓⲣ ⲇⲏⲙⲟⲥⲓⲟⲛ have traditionally been understood as referring to a single street, Römer (2004/2005, pp. 83–85) argues convincingly that this toponym should not be interpreted as a single thoroughfare meandering throughout the town (which, he notes, it would have to do, given that it appears in some documents with a north–south orientation and in others with an east–west orientation). Rather, he suggests that the term was an essentially generic designation for any (public) street, which might, if necessary, also be given a more specific appellation.

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we step back and look at the toponyms that were used to describe the site of Medinet Habu and the surrounding area more generally. Like the Late Antique papyri from Hermopolis,[29] the documents from Jeme also allude to the underlying pharaonic landscape in their use of the term "Fort" to describe the site of Medinet Habu. As early as the Ptolemaic period, the area inside the enclosure wall of the Ramesside temple, *p3 ḫn n p3 sbt* in Demotic, was being rendered in Greek with the term τὸ φρούριον, "fort, citadel, garrison."[30] This usage is clear in the documents from the archive of the Theban choachytes, which deal with the choachytes' private residences and property on the West Bank; thus, for example, the property being ceded in *P.Berl.Dem.* 3104 is said to be located "(in) the interior of the wall [of Jeme]" ((*n*) *p3 ḫn p3 sbt* [*dm3*]), whereas in the Greek subscription to that document (*UPZ* II 182.3) the same property is described as "inside the fort" (ἐντὸς τοῦ φρουρίου). Medinet Habu was not used as a garrison in the Greco-Roman period, so it is unlikely that the application of the term φρούριον to the site was ever intended as a literal description of its function.[31] On the other hand, scholars have noted that the architecture of Medinet Habu, and most notably of the so-called High Gate and the enclosure wall itself, is strongly reminiscent of the design of Ramesside fortifications in Syria, so it may be possible to take the Ptolemaic use of the word φρούριον as a late commentary on the outward appearance of the temple-complex-turned-settlement site.[32]

By the Late Antique period, φρούριον had largely been replaced in both Greek and Coptic sources with the essentially synonymous term "kastron," and the Late Antique settlement on the site of Medinet Habu is variously referred to in contemporary documents as "Kastron Jeme" or "Kastron Memnoneia."[33] This usage is exemplified by *P.Lond.* V 1720.7 (ca. AD 564), a receipt addressed to a woman "from Kastron Memnoneia" (ἀπὸ κάστρο(υ) Μεμνόνι(ων)), and the term is ubiquitous in the Coptic documents of the *P.KRU* collection. The word ⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ comes into the Coptic lexicon as a double loanword derived from the Latin *castrum*, mediated through the Greek (τὸ κάστρον) and variously translated as "stronghold" or "fort."[34] Adam Łajtar has suggested that in Late Antique usage τὸ κάστρον often refers simply to a walled settlement built within the enclosure walls of a pharaonic temple, citing Jeme and Philae as principal examples of this usage.[35] Thus, on the most basic level, the use of the terms *phrourion* and *kastron* to describe the walls of Jeme can be taken as a simple statement of the fact that the town was a walled settlement. However, this does not exclude the possibility that the scribes who penned these documents may also have had in their mind's eye the intended militaristic effect of the Ramesside temple's architectural design; just as the landscape of Western Thebes was capable of supporting multiple layers of construction, so the language used to describe that landscape was capable of supporting multiple layers of meaning.

III. "Jeme" and "Memnoneia"

Taking a step back from the walls of Medinet Habu to look at how that settlement and its immediate surroundings were described in Late Antiquity, we encounter an intriguing instance of dual toponymy; in Greek-language contexts, the region is called "Memnoneia," whereas the toponym "Jeme" is preferred in Coptic-language contexts. As the term "Memnoneia" has long been associated with the Greek mythological figure of Memnon, it is tempting, at first glance, to take this phenomenon as indicating a reluctance on the part of Coptic scribes to make reference to a pagan divinity. However, a survey of the Theban documents shows that this dual nomenclature was in use already in bilingual documents from the Ptolemaic period, which renders

[29] Westerfeld 2012, pp. 68–70.

[30] Pestman 1993, pp. 411–14; see also Grunert 1981.

[31] Wilfong (2002, p. 8) notes that the nearest "real" fort was across the river at Luxor; on that structure, built in and around the Luxor Temple precinct, see el-Saghir et. al. (1986).

[32] Haeny 1967, pp. 71–78; 1997, p. 121; see also Hölscher 1951, pp. 10–11.

[33] On the divergent usage of "Jeme" and "Memnoneia" in the Theban documents, see section 3 below.

[34] Förster 2002, p. 383.

[35] Łajtar 1997, p. 44. Roger Bagnall (2001, pp. 7–8) has disputed Łajtar's contention that there was in the papyri a strict distinction in meaning between the singular κάστρον, referring to a fortified settlement, and the plural κάστρα, referring to a military installation; however, he does not question the assertion that κάστρον came to have the former meaning. The fluidity of the terminology used to refer to Late Antique towns and urban centers is further highlighted in Brogiolo and Ward-Perkins 1999.

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such an interpretation problematic.[36] Rather, it seems preferable to seek an explanation by examining the processes by which the West Theban landscape was reinscribed over the centuries and the divergent memory traditions that came to be embedded in that landscape.

The dual use of "Jeme" and "Memnoneia" is first noted in the Theban documentary papyri from the Ptolemaic period; for example, the property being conveyed in *P.Berl.Dem.* 3097 (150 BCE) is described in the Demotic body of the document as being located "in the south-western part of Jeme, inside the wall of Jeme" (*n t3 iwj.t rsj imnṯ n ḏm3 ḫn t3* (sic) *sbt n ḏm3*), a description that is rendered in the Greek subscription (published separately as *UPZ* II 174) as "in the southern and western part of the Memnoneia, inside the wall" (ἀπὸ νό(του) καὶ λι(βὸς) μέ(ρους) τῶν Μεμ(νονείων) ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους). This usage was retained throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, and it appears frequently in the eighth-century legal documents from Jeme. Although these texts, written mainly in Coptic, are not traditionally considered to be bilingual in the same way as the Ptolemaic documents from the choachytes' archive, they do contain embedded clauses in Greek, including formulaic invocations and scribal or notarial signatures.[37] These Greek passages refer to the settlement at Medinet Habu as "Memnoneia," but, as one might expect on the basis of the Ptolemaic parallels, the Coptic sections of the documents prefer the toponym "Jeme." Thus, for example, the Coptic introduction of *P.KRU* 1, a deed of sale from AD 750, states (lines 7–8) that the document was drawn up in the presence of "Kômêtos, the son of Chaêl, the *dioikêtes* of Kastron Jeme" (ϫωμητος ⲡⲱⲛϧⲁⲏⲗ ⲡⲇⲓⲏⲕ(ⲏⲧⲏⲥ) ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ϫⲏⲙⲉ), while the same individual is identified in the Greek introduction of *P.KRU* 6 (line 4) as the *dioikêtes* of Kastron Memnoneia. Similarly, in a number of sale documents, the agreed-upon price is first stated in Coptic, with the qualification "according to the measure of Kastron Jeme," and then restated in Greek "according to the measure of Kastron Memnoneia." So, for example, the price of the plot of land sold in *P.KRU* 10 is stated in the following terms (lines 40–41): "three *holokottinoi* and two *trimesia* by the measure of Kastron Jeme; that is, three and two-thirds *nomismata*, pure, measure of Kastron Memnoneia" (ⲱⲟⲙⲛⲧ ⲛ2ⲟⲗⲟⲕ(ⲟⲧⲧⲓⲛⲟⲥ) ⲙⲛⲥⲛⲁⲩ ⲛⲧⲣⲓⲙⲏ(ⲥⲓⲟⲛ) ⲙⲡⲱⲓ ⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥⲧⲣⲟⲛ ⲛϫⲏⲙⲉ γί(νεται) 3 2/3 ὄβρ(υζον) ζυ(γῷ) κ(άστρου) Μεμνω(νίου)).[38]

As in the Ptolemaic parallels, in the Coptic documents "Jeme" and "Memnoneia" may refer not only to the settlement at Medinet Habu but also to the surrounding West Theban area; thus, in *P.KRU* 77, the bilingual testament of the bishop Victor of Hermonthis from the year 634, we find reference (lines 6–7) to the monastery or *topos* "of the victorious martyr Abba Phoibammon of the Mount [of the Memnoneia] in the nome of Hermonthis," (τοῦ ἀθλοφόρου μάρτυρος αββα φοιβάμμωνος τοῦ ὄρου[ς Μεμ]ν[ωνίων νό]μου Ἑρμώνθεως), which is identified in the Coptic section of the document (lines 10–12) as "the holy *topos* (of) Abba Phoibammon the holy martyr, this one which lies on the Mount of Jeme in the nome of the city of Hermonthis" (ⲡⲧⲟⲡⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲁⲃⲃⲁ ⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙⲙ[ⲱⲛ ⲡⲙⲁⲣⲧ]ⲩⲣⲟⲥ ⲉⲑⲟⲩⲁⲁⲃ ⲉⲧⲕⲏ ⲉⲃⲣⲁⲓ ⲛⲓⲡⲧⲟⲟⲩ ⲛϫⲏⲙⲉ ⲛⲁⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟ[ⲥ ⲛⲧⲡⲟⲗⲓⲥ] ⲉⲣⲙⲟⲛⲧ).

In all of these cases, it is clear that "Jeme" and "Memnoneia" refer to the same place, but there is a strong correlation between linguistic context and the choice of one toponym over the other; ϫⲏⲙⲉ does not appear at all in Greek-language contexts, and "Memnoneia" appears very rarely in Coptic-language contexts. Of the forty-one instances of "Memnoneia" in the *P.KRU* collection, all but one (*P.KRU* 106.117–18) occur in a Greek-language context — invocation formula, scribal signature, or statement of price. Wilfong's suggestion that "usage of 'Jeme' in Coptic texts usually seems to be in some reference to the town at the Ramesses III temple . . . whereas 'the Memnoneia' seems less tied to the settlement and more universally applicable within western Thebes,"[39] seems problematic in light of the pattern of usage outlined above. Moreover, the persistence of this dual nomenclature for a period of nearly 1,000 years raises the question of why bilingual scribes conversant in both Greek and Egyptian continued to distinguish sharply between two functionally equivalent toponyms. The fact that "Jeme" was not adopted into the local Greek lexicon can perhaps be explained on linguistic grounds, as the word contains a phoneme not represented in the Greek alphabet, but there is no clear linguistic explanation for the fact that "Memnoneia" does not appear more commonly in Egyptian-language contexts. Work on Greek-Demotic bilingualism in documents from the Thebaid suggests

[36] Pestman 1993, pp. 411–15.

[37] On the question of bilingualism and language interaction in Coptic legal documents, see Richter (2007, ch. 7).

[38] Compare *P.KRU* 5.33; *P.KRU* 6.21–22; *P.KRU* 14.47–48.

[39] Wilfong 2002, p. 4, n. 8.

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that we should not expect to see extensive borrowing from Greek in the Demotic lexicon,[40] but Coptic shows no such reluctance, and the Coptic lexicon is filled with Greek loanwords, including personal names and toponyms. It seems preferable, then, to seek an explanation of this phenomenon not based purely on linguistic grounds, but rather by reference to the meaning of these two toponyms and the processes by which they came to be rooted in the local landscape.

Despite the quantity of ink that has been spilled over this subject in the past, the origins of the terms "Jeme" and "Memnoneia" remain somewhat problematic. "Jeme" is first attested in the Twenty-first Dynasty (in the form *ṯ3m.t* or *ḏ3m.t*) denoting the Small Temple at Medinet Habu, but its meaning later expanded to encompass a broader area of the Theban West bank.[41] The etymology of the term is unclear today; judging from the folk etymologies Otto mentions in the *Lexikon*,[42] it was a matter of some speculation in antiquity as well. In its Demotic form, *ḏm3*, the toponym is sometimes understood as a reference to a local deity of the same name, whose cult is attested at the site of Medinet Habu during the Ptolemaic period.[43] The toponym "Memnoneia" is, similarly, often correlated with another divine, or at least mythological, figure — Memnon of the colossus; however, the Ptolemaic documents cited above demonstrate that the term "Memnoneia" was used to describe both the settlement at Medinet Habu and the Theban necropolis more generally long before Amenhotep III's statue was first associated with the Homeric hero. The explanation for the adoption of this toponym and the initial identification of the colossus as Memnon has consequently become one of the most contentious subjects in modern scholarship on the colossus; a concise overview of the major theories is offered by Łukaszewicz.[44]

Beginning with the seminal work of Letronne, scholars have generally agreed that, as Łukaszewicz states, "the name of Memnon applied to these places is not entirely imaginary but is founded upon an *interpretatio Graeca* of an Egyptian appellation."[45] However, the "Egyptian appellation" in which early Greek visitors to the Thebaid apparently heard something akin to "Memnon" has proven difficult to identify. Letronne suggested that the term derived from an Egyptian word read by Champollion as *Mennoun* or *Mannoun*, by which he understood "*locus cryptorum*, *locus mortuorum.*"[46] This argument was reprised by Bataille, who claimed that an answer was to be found in a text from Luxor temple that makes reference to "Amun in/of *Mn-Mnw*," seemingly designating a locale on the West Bank.[47] Writing a decade after Bataille, Alan Gardiner posited the alternative view that "Memnoneia" derives from the prenomen of the colossi's builder, *Nb-m3ʿt-Rʿ*; the later pronunciation of *Nb-m3ʿt-Rʿ* is hinted at by the vocalization (Nimmuria or Mimmuria) given in the Amarna letters, and Gardiner argued that Greek speakers heard the name as "Memnon," and made the link between the monuments of the Egyptian pharaoh and the hero of Homeric myth. Gardiner suggested further that the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, or *Nb-m3ʿt-Rʿ*, was known to Greek speakers in the Ptolemaic period as "the Memnonion," and that over time the other mortuary temples in the area came to fall under the same rubric, giving rise to the Greek plural form, τὰ Μεμνόνεια. Then, per Gardiner, when the northernmost colossus began to make noise at dawn, the linguistic stage was already set for the connection to be made to the Greek hero.[48] Although Gardiner's argument was sharply critiqued by Gerhard Haeny,[49] Haeny's own suggestion that "Memnoneia" should be understood as an erroneous writing of μνημεῖον, or "monument," that was then adopted into the local Greek lexicon, is hardly convincing, given the lack of evidence for the use of the term μνημεῖον in reference to the Theban West Bank. Scholars since Gardiner have generally followed his lead in trying to trace "Memnoneia" back to the name of an Egyptian ruler, but candidates other than Amenhotep III have also been proposed, including Ramesses VI (also *Nb-m3ʿt-Rʿ*), Ramesses II (*Wsir-m3ʿt-Rʿ*/Ἰσμάνδης, equated with Memnon by Strabo, *Geog*. 17.1.42), and Sety I (*Mn-m3ʿt-Rʿ*).[50]

[40] Dieleman 2005, ch. 4.

[41] Otto 1952, pp. 77–78; 1975, cols. 1108–09.

[42] Otto 1975, col. 1109.

[43] Although the references that Pestman (1993, p. 411, n. 3) cites in support of this identification are largely onomastic and not wholly convincing (one could argue, for example, that the personal name *P3-ḏm3* might be understood as "He-of-(the town)-Jeme," rather than "He-of-(the god)-Jeme"), André Bataille (1952, pp. 97–98) cites several Demotic documents in which the reference is unmistakably made to the deity and his cult; cf. *P.Berl. Dem*. 3115 and *P.Jur.Inh*. 10079 A, p. 68.

[44] Łukaszewicz 1995, pp. 132–36.

[45] Ibid., p. 132.

[46] Letronne 1833, p. 64.

[47] Bataille 1952, pp. 5–6.

[48] Gardiner 1965, pp. 95–99.

[49] Haeny 1966.

[50] Łukaszewicz 1995, pp. 135–36.

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Whatever the Egyptian antecedents of the term "Memnoneia" may have been, the toponym's application to the Theban West Bank was very clearly the product of an aristocratic, Greek-speaking milieu, a fact that is borne out by the predominantly Greek and Latin graffiti carved on the feet and legs of the colossus and by ancient travelers' accounts of their visits there.[51] These inscriptions and travel narratives, almost without exception, were produced by a Classically-educated population that chose to express itself in Latin epigrams and Greek verses modelled after Homer. Although the literary quality of the inscriptions on the colossus is sometimes derided, scholars have suggested that the writers of many of these texts were in fact attempting to display their erudition: "les auteurs de ces épigrammes . . . exprimaient le plus souvent un fond commun de croyances traditionnelles . . . Leur souci était bien plutôt de montrer qu'ils n'avaient pas oublié les leçons d'Homère."[52] The presence of a single Demotic graffito on the colossus[53] suggests that Egyptian speakers were not necessarily indifferent to the phenomenon of the singing statue, as some scholars have suggested, but the preponderance of inscriptions in Greek and Latin indicates that if those Egyptian speakers were indeed visiting the statue and writing inscriptions there alongside their Roman contemporaries, they were doing so in languages other than their mother tongue.

Memnon of the colossus was, in essence, a Hellenistic construct, the product of an era that delighted in syncretism and did not scruple to rewrite the landscape according to its own traditions, just as Amenhotep's colossus was literally reinscribed in the name of Memnon. KV 9, the tomb of Ramesses VI, was similarly reinvented by these early tourists; containing almost a thousand Greek graffiti, the tomb was explicitly identified (and venerated) in antiquity as that of Memnon.[54] However, this process of *interpretatio Graeca* by which Memnon was linked to the colossus, and to the Theban West Bank more generally, did not entirely obscure or supplant alternative traditions. These have come down to us principally through the works of Greek and Roman authors, but they do bear witness to what may have been a thread of local memory at odds with the prevailing Greco-Roman paradigm. So, for example, the Roman poetess Julia Balbilla, who visited the colossus in AD 130 in the suite of the emperor Hadrian, addresses the statue as Memnon, but she then adds, "or Amenoth, the Egyptian king, as the priests say who are acquainted with the ancient myths."[55] Similarly, Pausanius, writing in the second century, says of the statue, "The many call it Memnon, who they say from Aethiopia overran Egypt and as far as Susa. The Thebans, however, say that it is a statue, not of Memnon, but of a native named Phamenoph, and I have heard some say that it is Sesostris."[56] If these remarks by Julia Balbilla and Pausanius do in fact accurately reflect a rejection on the part of Egyptian speakers of the identification of the colossus (and the west-Theban region more generally) with Memnon, it is perhaps less surprising that the toponym "Memnoneia" was not adopted into the local Demotic and Coptic lexica, which preferred the indigenous but no less ancient designation of "Jeme."

The colossus of Memnon evidently fell silent at some point in the early third century, but as the Late Antique documents discussed above demonstrate, "the Memnoneia" as a geographic entity did not vanish with the voice of their patron divinity.[57] By the time the statue was silenced, the toponym "Memnoneia" had been in use for at least half a millennium and was so firmly entrenched in the local Greek lexicon that its use continued well into the eighth century. By that time, "Memnoneia" seems to have become essentially a linguistic fossil, rather than an active evocation of local mythology; the Greek passages embedded in the Late

[51] Bernand and Bernand 1960; Zauzich 1973; Sijpesteijn 1990. The late Greek literary sources that make mention of the Colossus of Memnon are discussed in some detail in all the major studies of the colossus; the fullest treatment of the literary material is still to be found in Letronne (1833) and Bataille (1952). Among the most significant of these sources are Strabo, *Geog.* 17.1.46, Pausanius *Gr. Descr.* 1.42.3, and Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 6.4.

[52] Bernand and Bernand 1960, p. 15.

[53] Zauzich 1973

[54] Baillet 1926, ix; Łukaszewicz 2000. KV 9 is explicitly stated to be that of Memnon in *I.Syring.* 1277. See also *I.Syring.* 1283, 1394, 1732, and 1762.

[55] *I. Memnon* 29, lines 3–4; trans. Gardiner 1961, p. 95.

[56] *Gr. Descr.* 1.41.3.

[57] Following Letronne (1833, pp. 51–56), scholars have generally agreed that the cessation of the phenomenon was an unforeseen consequence of restoration work on the statue, carried out under the orders of Septimius Severus sometime after his visit to Egypt in AD 199. The latest datable graffito from the colossus was written early in the third century, and by the fourth century, Jerome was able to suggest — albeit with some questionable chronology — that the colossus had been silenced by the birth of Christ (Bowersock 1984, p. 24). Bowersock himself suggests that the ill-fated restoration of the statue should be attributed to Zenobia of Palmyra and dated to sometime in the third quarter of the third century AD, but this view is not widely accepted.

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Antique Coptic texts are all in some sense fossilized — archaic elements preserved in the strata of an inherently conservative textual genre — and it is therefore not surprising that they should equally well preserve an archaic toponym without necessarily retaining its original significance. Along the entire span of time from the Ptolemaic period through the eighth century AD, while the term "Memnoneia" was evolving in its meaning and gaining — and losing — mythological overtones, the toponym "Jeme" was in constant use in Egyptian-language contexts. The ancient sources are less forthcoming on this point, but if Pestman's hypothesis is valid and "Jeme" derives ultimately from the name of a local deity, the Egyptian term for the West-Theban region may have followed a similar arc of development to that of its Greek counterpart. Ultimately, what we seem to see preserved in the toponymy of Western Thebes during the period under discussion here are two parallel strands of local memory that intersected in the bilingual documents, as they surely did in the mixed society of Late Antique Egypt, but never completely lost their individual character.

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Abbreviations

Papyrological sources are abbreviated following the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca, and Tablets* (founding editors John F. Oates and William H. Willis; online at http://papyri.info/docs/checklist)

Ad Herennium	[Cicero]. *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. ranslation by Harry Caplan. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
De oratore	Cicero. *De oratore.* Translation by H. Rackham. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958–1960.
Geog.	Strabo. T*he Geography of Strabo*. 8 volumes. Translation by Horace Leonard Jones. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.
Gr. Descr.	Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. 5 volumes. Translation by W. H. S. Jones. Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1918–1935.
Institutio oratoria	Quintilian. *The Institutio oratoria of Quintilian.* 4 volumes. Translation by H. E. Butler. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.
I.Memnon.	Bernand, André, and Étienne Bernand, *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du colosse de Memnon*. Bibliothèque d'Étude 31. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1926.
I.Syring.	Baillet, Jules. 1926. *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes*. Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 42. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
KV	Valley of the Kings
Vit. Apoll.	Philostratus, the Elder. *The Life of Apollonius of Tyan, The Epistles of Apollonius, and The Treatise of Eusebius*. Translation by F. C. Conybeare, 1912–1917.

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26

A Saite Family Burial Assemblage from Nag el-Hassiya in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology

*T. G. Wilfong, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan**

It is a pleasure to make this contribution to honor Jan Johnson. Since so much of my work with Jan involved ancient Egyptian families in some way — from the New Kingdom family disputes recorded in Late Egyptian legal texts to the family relations of the Coptic documents from Jeme that formed the core of my doctoral dissertation — I hope she enjoys this reconstruction of a Saite family from its burial assemblage, dispersed in Egypt, and brought back together in Ann Arbor.

The Saite period coffin of Djehutymose, priest of Horus of Edfu, is a centerpiece of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology's permanent Dynastic Egyptian gallery. Kalamazoo businessman Albert M. Todd acquired the coffin at some point before 1906, when he presented the coffin and other Egyptian artifacts to the University of Michigan. These artifacts entered the collection of the Museum of Classical Archaeology (later renamed the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology) in 1931, the year of Todd's death. For many years, the coffin was on long-term loan to the Kalamazoo Public Museum, and it returned to Ann Arbor in 1989.[1] Egyptologist Jonathan Elias studied the coffin and included it in his 1993 doctoral dissertation on the textual programs of post–New Kingdom coffins; from Elias' work, the coffin had also been noted in the 2001 dissertation of Martin v. Falck on coffin inscriptions of the later periods. Otherwise, although the Djehutymose coffin has long featured in the Kelsey Museum's permanent installation, it has not otherwise been discussed in print aside from brief mentions in Kelsey Museum exhibition publications.[2] A short monograph on the coffin appeared recently,[3] and it is not the purpose of the present article to replicate this in-depth study. What I hope to accomplish here instead is to make an argument for the connection of this coffin to other material in the Kelsey Museum acquired from a different source.

The Djehutymose coffin (Kelsey Museum inv. 1989.3.1) is made of wood, covered with gesso painted decoration and text, and measures 181.25 cm tall, 52.50 cm at its widest, and 54.00 cm deep at its deepest, when the two halves of the coffin are placed together (fig. 26.1). Elias included the coffin in his Group V and dated it to 625–580 BC, with the possibility of its date extending further into the reign of Amasis II.[4] Given the identification of the owner as a priest of Horus of Edfu, Elias placed its provenance as Nag el-Hassiya, the major necropolis for Edfu in the later periods and site of the burial of many Edfu priests of the Late and Ptolemaic periods. Information in the coffin's inscriptions allows us to reconstruct the genealogy of its owner

* I owe a great debt of thanks to Janet Richards: the material published here comes from her part of the collection at the Kelsey Museum, and I appreciate her encouragement and generosity in ceding her rights of publication to me. Former Kelsey Museum registrar Robin Meador-Woodruff facilitated my early work on this material; Kelsey Museum Coordinator of Museum Collections Sebastián Encina arranged for photography and facilitated access to artifacts and records. Margaret Root supplied information about the early history of the Djehutymose coffin at the Kelsey Museum, while Jonathan Elias's 1993 doctoral dissertation has been essential point for my work on the coffin. Maarten Raven, of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, very kindly answered queries about the Kelsey Museum Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures and generously shared his thoughts on them. And thanks to Robert Ritner and Anthony Leahy for their helpful comments. Any errors remain mine, however.

[1] For the history of Djehutymose's coffin in the US, see Wilfong 2013, pp. 91–92, Talalay and Root 2015, pp 58–61.

[2] E.g., Richards and Wilfong 1995.

[3] Wilfong 2013.

[4] Elias 1993, pp. 842–44.

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Figure 26.1. Coffin of Djehutymose in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (KM inv. 1989.3.1)
(Composite of photographs by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.2. Inscription on exterior edge of the base of Djehutymose coffin, showing Djehutymose's name and titles and those of his family
(Composite of photographs by Randal Stegmeyer)

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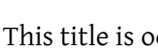
two generations back. The fullest statement is found in an offering text on the exterior edge of the base of the coffin (fig. 26.2):

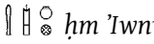


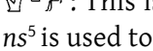
ḥm Ḥr ḥm Nbw.t Ḏḥwty-ms sꜣ mỉ-nw Ns-pꜣ-ẖrd sꜣ Nḫt-Ḥr mꜣʿ-ẖrw ms nb.t-pr Tꜣ-r(.r=w) mꜣʿ-ẖrw

Priest of Horus,[a] Priest of the Golden One, Djehutymose, son of the like-titled[b] Nespachered,[c] son of Nakht-hor,[d] justified, born of the Mistress of the House Tar(eru),[e] justified.

NOTES

a. This title is occasionally expanded elsewhere on the coffin to specify Horus of Edfu:  *ḥm Ḥr Bḥdt.*

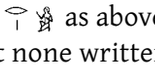
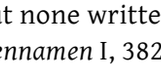
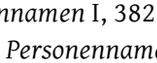
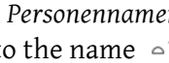
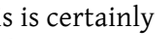
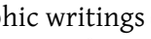
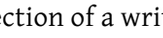
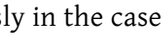
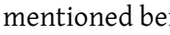
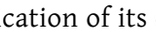
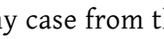
b. The father's titles are given in full elsewhere on the coffin, and in one case with an additional title:  *ḥm ʾIwnw,* Priest of Heliopolis.

c.  : This is the only instance on the Djehutymose coffin in which the cryptographic writing for *ns*[5] is used to write the name of Djehutymose's father. In all other occurrences on the coffin, the name is written  .

d. This is the only instance in which Djehutymose's paternal grandfather is named on the coffin.

e. The mother's name is vocalized based on fuller writings elsewhere on the coffin and parallels, for which see below.

f. Thus, the coffin's owner is Djehutymose,[6] his father Nespachered,[7] and his paternal grandfather Nakht-hor,[8] all relatively common names in the later periods and all attested at Edfu.[9]

The name of Djehutymose's mother is much more unusual and is written in a number of ways on the coffin:  as above, but more often as ,  and . In hieroglyphic texts, there are parallels, but none written precisely in the same way:  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.8),  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.9),  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.10),  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.11),  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.12), and  (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 382.17), these last possibly linked to the name  "The sow" (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 364,14).[10] In all of these examples, Ranke has taken the initial *Tꜣ-* as group writing for *T-*. However, in Demotic, we find the name as *Ta-r.r=w* and *Tꜣi-r.r=w*,[11] and this is certainly the same name, although the Demotic writings themselves do not directly reflect the hieroglyphic writings of the name, either in the case of Djehutymose's mother or in the other known examples. A correction of a writing of the name found elsewhere (see below) suggests that the *r=w* ending is to be taken seriously in the case of Djehutymose's mother, so the rendering "Tareru" seems best.

As mentioned before, the Djehutymose coffin was donated to the University of Michigan in 1906, but with no indication of its earlier provenance. The donor, Albert M. Todd, acquired at least one other Saite period mummy case from the collection of Lady Amherst of Hackney in 1921,[12] but there is no indication whether

[5] For which see de Meulenaere 1954, pp. 81–82.

[6] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 408.5, with some occurrences of this name in Demotic: *NB Dem.* 1303.

[7] The child hieroglyph used to write the final element of the father's name is ambiguous. It could stand for *-ẖrd* or *-sfi*, both of which are attested in fuller writings in hieroglyphs (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 175.14-15) and Demotic (*NB Dem.* 670–671). Although reading *Ns-pꜣ-sfi* for the abbreviated writings is preferred by de Meulenaere, Limme and Quaegebeur (1985, p. 51) and was previously used by the present author (Wilfong 2013, passim), *Ns-pꜣ-sfi* seems to prefer fuller writings (both in hieroglyphs and Demotic), not abbreviations. *Ns-pꜣ-ẖrd* seems the more likely reading in this case and is used here. (Thanks to Robert Ritner and Anthony Leahy for references and discussion.)

[8] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 211.3 and II, 372, some occurrences in Demotic, *NB Dem.* 654.

[9] The name Djehutymose is common at Edfu, known from at least six Saite funerary stelae, for which see Munro 1973, I, 247–257 and Vittmann 1978, 176. There is one instance from Edfu noted by Munro 1973, I:249–50, and one of a possible Nakht-hor, Munro 1973 I:249.

[10] Note also the woman's name *Rwrw* (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 221.8), found in at least two Saite Period stelae from Edfu (Cairo 22026 [for which, see Munro 1973, I, 248] and Cairo 4/1/21/1 [Munro 1973, I: 246).

[11] Under the latter in *NB Dem.* 1235, with cross references to the names *Pa-r.r=w* (389) and *Ta-ir=w* (1166). One might also note the related *Tꜣi-r.r=w-bꜣst.t* (1235).

[12] Elias 1996, p. 105, n. 2.

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the Djehutymose coffin likewise came from an existing collection or was acquired in Egypt. Djehutymose's coffin was originally displayed at the University of Michigan Gallery of Art and Archaeology, and subsequently entered the collection of the recently founded University of Michigan Museum of Classical Archaeology (later renamed as the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology) in 1931. This was a time when the museum was winding down its major field project in Egypt, the 1924–1935 archaeological expedition to Kom Aushim, ancient Karanis, with side projects at Dimé (Soknopaiou Nesos) and Kom Abou Billou (Terenouthis). The emphasis of the museum's collection was on material from Graeco-Roman period sites in the Mediterranean world, much of it from Michigan-sponored excavations. Aside from a donation of objects from Flinders Petrie, acquisition of the collection of David Askren, and some purchases arranged through Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Carl Schmidt, the museum had relatively little Dynastic period Egyptian material at the time that Djehutymose's coffin was accessioned.

By 1935, the Michigan team was shutting down operations of its Egyptian project and preparing for the shipment of nearly 50,000 objects from the division of finds from Karanis and the other sites. Project director Enoch Peterson sought to improve the museum's Dynastic Egyptian holdings through purchases to be shipped back with the Karanis material. Although Peterson made some purchases through the well-known dealer Phocion Tano, he acquired some ninety-nine objects directly from the Egyptian Department of Antiquities, which at the time sold off "duplicates" and material unneeded for the Cairo Museum. This 1935 purchase included a variety of artifact categories, but the relevant pieces for the present article are three Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures. Two of these are very similar in appearance and indeed belong to members of the same family. What is more surprising is that the figures seem to come from the same burial as the Djehutymose coffin, although acquired from a completely different source.

Kelsey Museum inv. 88768 is a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure made of wood, decorated with paint, the base below the feet of the figure carved into a peg to fit into a now-lost base (figs. 26.3–5).[13] The figure is made of a solid piece of wood, although the feather headdress and horns on the head are made of separate pieces.[14] The inscriptions on the figure are the usual offering formula, with the names of the deceased and his father providing familiar names in a familiar configuration:



ḥm Ḥr ḥm Nbw.t Ḏḥwty-ms sꜣ Ns-pꜣ-ẖrd

Priest of Horus, Priest of the Golden One, Djehutymose, son of Nespachered

As stated above, the names Djehutymose and Nespachered are found at Edfu, but are not otherwise attested in the same relationship to each other and, taken with the parallel between the titles of the Djehutymose of the coffin and those of the Djehutymose of the figures, might suggest that they are indeed the same person. In itself, this coincidence of common names and titles would not be conclusive, but the evidence of the second Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, acquired with the Djehutymose figure, seems to confirm this identification.

[13] For purposes of photography, this Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure and the other two mentioned below have been set into neutral modern bases, which has the disadvantage of not showing the full figure; figure 26.5 shows the peg below the foot of KM inv. 88768.

[14] KM inv. 88768 corresponds to Raven's type III (Raven 1978–1979, pp. 263–66), which Raven characterizes as a Saite type (p. 266). The dimensions of the Kelsey Museum figure are 57.0 cm tall, 17.5 cm wide, and 10.4 cm deep.

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Figure 26.3. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Djehutymose (KM inv. 88768) set in modern base for photography: front view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.4. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Djehutymose (KM inv. 88768) set in modern base for photography: back view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.5. Detail of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Djehutymose (KM inv. 88768) showing peg below foot (Kelsey Museum archival photograph)

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Kelsey Museum inv. 88769 is similar to 88768, but slightly larger and more elaborately decorated, and the face of the figure is gilded, rather than simply painted green (figs. 26.6–7).[15] Like the Djehutymose figure, the inscription is a standard formula, and, along with the name and titles of the owner, Patjenefy,[16] some familiar names appear. The inscription on the back of the figure is better preserved and gives the fullest information about the owner:

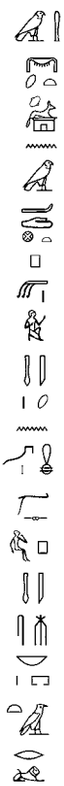




Figure 26.6. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Patjenefy (KM inv. 88769) set in modern base for photography: front view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.7. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Patjenefy (KM inv. 88769) set in modern base for photography: back view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)

ḥm Ḥr (*ḥm*) *Nbw.t ḥry-sštwt n Ḥr Bḥdt Pꜣ-ṯnfi mꜣʿ-ḫrw sn mỉ-nw Ns-pꜣ-ḫrd mꜣʿ-ḫrw ms nb.t-pr Tꜣ-r.r=w*

Priest of Horus, (Priest of the)[a] Golden One, Overseer of the Mysteries[b] of Horus of Edfu, Patjenefy, justified, son of the like-titled Nespachered, justified, born of the Mistress of the House, Tareru.[c]

NOTES:

a. The initial *ḥm*-sign does double duty here.

b. The reading of this title would be entirely straightforward as *ḥry-sštꜣ n Ḥr Bḥdt*, except for the presence of the hieroglyph  above the , which is clear on the original, less so on the photographs,

[15] KM inv. 88769 corresponds to Raven's Type IV A (Raven 1978–1979, pp. 266–68), which includes examples from the Saite through Ptolemaic period. The dimensions of the Kelsey Museum figure are 60.0 cm high, 18.5 cm wide, and 9.0 cm deep; this is on the small end of Raven's type IV A, examples of which range from 60 to 83 cm (p. 267 and n. 118).

[16] Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 121.14, Demotic attestations fairly common, *NB Dem.* 395. For two priests of Horus of Edfu with this name, although not the same individual as in the Kelsey Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, see Vittmann 1978, pp. 175–79, and note also the Djehutymoses present in their family trees, although again they cannot be the same as the owner of the Kelsey coffin or figure.

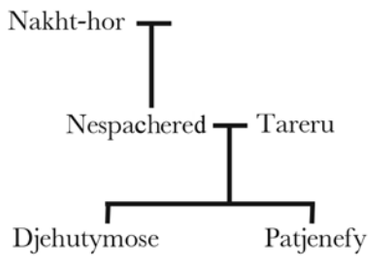
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on both front and back. One could read this instead as *wt ʾInpw* "embalmer/wrapper of Anubis," but this is primarily a title of the Old through Middle Kingdoms and seems less likely here. So perhaps we should take the  as a reminder of the role of the "Overseer of the Mysteries" in the embalming of sacred animals, as noted below. (Note that both titles are already linked in *Wb.* I, 379/12 (*wt*) since *ḥry-sšt*ꜣ = lector priest later.[17])

c. Unfortunately this is not readily visible on the photographs, but a second  has been corrected to  in the writing of Patjenefy's mother's name, suggesting that this was the preferred writing for Tareru.

So Patjenefy has the same parents as the Djehutymose of the coffin, bearing the common name Nespachered and the uncommon name Tareru, with the same titles. Patjenefy is likewise identified as Priest of Horus of Edfu, Priest of the Golden One, but he is also given the additional title of Overseer of the Mysteries of Horus of Edfu — a title also connecting him with the animal cult at the Edfu temple. The Overseer of the Mysteries, among other things, supervised the wrapping of the sacred animal mummies.[18] Patjenefy's extra title may imply a higher status than Djehutymose, perhaps reflected in his larger Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure with gilding.

The occurrence of the unusual name Tareru in exactly the same relationship to a Nespachered with the same titles as parents to a Priest of Horus of Edfu makes the likelihood of a connection to the Djehutymose of the figure and the coffin practically certain, making Patjenefy Djehutymose's brother. Thus we might reconstruct a family tree as follows:



Although the names of the men in this family occur in Edfu stelae with some regularity, none of the known family trees can be matched up with this one.

A few additional wooden funerary figures and fragments from the Saite and Late periods came to the Kelsey Museum along with these two Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures as part of the 1935 Antiquities Department purchase. Few of these pieces are inscribed and none can be definitively connected to the Djehutymose family material. Two wooden falcon figures may have a connection: Kelsey Museum inv. 88766 and 88767 (figs. 26.8–9)[19] are of a type commonly found with Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures in the Saite Period. Such falcons often serve as the lids of cavities in the bases of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures — cavities that contained grain mummies (fig. 26.10).[20] The Kelsey falcons are decorated similarly to the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, and a slight quality variation seems to distinguish them, as 88766 bears more gilding, just as with the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures. But a connection between them can only be suggested, not proven.

Finally, it remains to consider a third Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, Kelsey Museum inv. 88770, from the same 1935 purchase (figs. 26.11–12). This figure is slightly smaller and less well made than the other two, and its decoration is dissimilar.[21] It could date to the same period as the other two, although this is not certain. Unfortunately, the inscription on the figure is very damaged, and this is particularly regrettable as the

[17] For which, see Ritner 2008, p. 232.

[18] As in the Apis Embalming Ritual: see Vos 1993, p. 37 and references throughout the translation for the roles of the Overseer of the Mysteries in the embalming of the Apis bull, and note the more general discussion in Smith 2009, pp. 216, 221–22.

[19] KM inv. 88766 is 16.8 cm long, 4.0 cm wide, and 19.1 cm high, while KM inv. 88767 is 18.3 cm long, 5.4 cm wide, and 21.2 cm high.

[20] See Raven 1978–1979, p. 264 and fig. 3, which formed the inspiration for the reconstruction in fig. 26.10 of the present article.

[21] KM inv. 88770 is 59.5 cm high, 11.5 cm wide, and 10.0 cm deep; it corresponds to Raven's "Miscellaneous" class (Raven 1978–1979, p. 272 and note the example cited in n. 158).

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Figure 26.8. Falcon figure (KM inv. 88766) possibly from the base of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure
(Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.9. Falcon figure (KM inv. 88767) possibly from the base of a Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure
(Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.10. Hypothetical reconstruction of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Patjenefy on base with falcon figure serving as the cover for a cavity containing a grain mummy: (left) three-quarter view and (right) side view
(Reconstruction by author using photographs by Randal Stegmeyer)

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Figure 26.11. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Tareru? (KM inv. 88770) set in modern base for photography: front view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)



Figure 26.12. Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure of Tareru? (KM inv. 88770) set in modern base for photography: back view (Photograph by Randal Stegmeyer)

surviving traces may suggest a connection with the other figures. The inscription on the front gives the beginning of a *hetep-di-nesu* formula, which continues onto the back. Although the *ḏd-mdw n* that begins the back inscription is almost certainly a mistake, it goes on to introduce the owner: *n kꜣ n Tꜣ*-[..., but frustratingly breaks off. The temptation to read the name of the owner in the inscription as *Tꜣ*-[*r.r=w* is very strong. This break is followed by indistinct traces of what must have been the father's name and titles, followed by a clear introduction to the mother's name (*i.n nb.t pr*), after which the text is damaged to the end. The reconstruction of the owner's name as Tareru is only a guess, a guess based on the common source of the figure with the other two, but also strongly influenced by wishful thinking. For now, this third figure cannot conclusively be connected with the other two or with the Djehutymose family burial.

We are left with the connection of the Djehutymose coffin, the Djehutymose Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure, and that of his brother, with the possible addition of the two falcons from the bases of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures and the very uncertain attribution of the remaining Ptah-Sokar-Osiris to Djehutymose's mother. The three core objects, at least, would have come from a family burial of the sort not uncommon in the period: mummies often covered in bead nets, in coffins, and accompanied by canopic jars in chests, Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures, other divine figures and other objects.[22] Priests of Djehutymose's status from a town like Edfu would have taken at least a minimum of equipment into their tomb, shared with other family members and, all too often, by later intrusive burials. Given the connection of their Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues, Djehutymose and his brother Patjenefy would have been buried together, possibly accompanied by their mother, and almost certainly by other family members as well. The location of this family burial at Nag el-Hassiya is assumed by virtue of the men of the family having been priests at the Horus temple at Edfu, but is also confirmed on the coffin itself,

[22] Aston 2009 provides an exhaustive survey of burial contents in the period directly before that of Djehutymose, and his summary list on p. 396 and observations on pp. 399–400 are useful suggestions of the likely contents of an elite burial of Djehutymose's time: coffin, heart scarab, bead net, falcon and jackal statues, shabtis in boxes, stela, canopic chest containing jars and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure. From Aston 2009, p. 290, note the bead net from a burial at Nag el-Hassiya for a priest of Horus of Edfu, roughly contemporary with Djehtuymose, described further in Bosse-Griffiths 1978, p. 105. Although later, note the intact Ptolemaic burial excavated by Garstang in 1905 at Nag el-Hassiya with its coffin next to the tomb wall and canopic chest, stela and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure near the coffin's head (Gray and Slow 1968, pp. 41–42).

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where Djehutymose is wished a good burial in the West of Edfu,[23] clearly a reference to its necropolis at Nag el-Hassiya.

How, then, did this burial assemblage come to be dispersed and then partly reassembled in Ann Arbor? Coffins and stelae are known to have come from formal and informal excavations at Nag el-Hassiya from 1884 through the early twentieth century;[24] although none of the published material from these finds can be connected to the Kelsey Museum coffin and statues, it is likely that the Kelsey objects were brought to light at this time. At least some of the material from the official (but largely unpublished) excavations would have gone to the Department of Antiquities, which could account for the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures being available for Peterson to purchase in 1935. Albert Todd's acquisition of the Djehutymose coffin at some point before 1906, though, is harder to account for: it could have been acquired on the antiquities market or, perhaps less likely, through the Department of Antiquities, possibly purchased by a dealer or collector who later sold it to Todd. The coincidence of material from the Djehutymose family burial arriving in Michigan from separate sources must remain so: the Kelsey Museum records provide no information to suggest that Peterson might have deliberately acquired the figures because they were related to the coffin. The fate of Djehutymose's mummy, the coffin and mummy of his brother, as well as the remains of other family members and other funerary equipment from the burial, remains unknown. But perhaps this article will flush out other pieces from this burial, unsuspected, in other museum collections.[25]

[23] Wilfong 2013, p. 84.

[24] de Meulenaere 1969, p. 90.

[25] The Djehutymose coffin maintains a lively social media presence on Facebook and Twitter, where "Djehutymose" has enlisted the help of his fans and followers to track down the missing mummy (see Wilfong 2013, pp. 99–101, for more on Djehutymose's digital "afterlife").

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Abbreviations

Demot. NB	*Demotisches Namenbuch*. Lüddeckens von Erich. Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1980–2000.
Ranke, *Personennamen*	*Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Three volumes. Hermann Ranke. Hamburg: Selbstverlag, 1932.

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27

Security Conditions and Methods in the Middle Kingdom

Bruce B. Williams, University of Chicago

To Janet H. Johnson, for many decades of achievement, friendship, and support.

In the First Intermediate Period, Egypt entered a period of dynastic instability, social disorder, and warlordism that was only partly resolved by its forceful reunification under the Eleventh Dynasty. The "great compromise" ushered in by the usurping founder of the Twelfth Dynasty was met by fierce resistance and ultimate treachery. Throughout, consolidation of powers beyond the normal frontiers posed challenges to the Egyptian state. The Egyptian government took strong, positive measures to deal with these challenges that have left significant and consistent trails in the evidence that remains. In the end, public order was corroded again, possibly by these very measures, to the point that a second great era of disorder occurred.

The following is not a narrative focused on determining the exact order and juxtaposition of events, but an inquiry into the nature of conditions as perceived by the Egyptians and actions taken in relation to them.[1] It is a situation analysis focused on actions that were regarded as typical and symbolic in their own time and by scholars today, but it poses the thesis that these events essentially represented not fictions, but expected actualities that were interpreted according to religious convention, and that they represented rational decisions taken to cope with difficult circumstances.[2]

Two interpretive points often lost in discussions of the ancient world are pertinent to this examination. First, time and malice have reduced the materials with which we deal such that they are at most tiny fragments of the documents, monuments, and artifacts that once existed, and fortune has drastically favored the robust over the fragile.[3] Second, the monumental civilizations we deal with were lavish in celebrating success and parsimonious in admitting failure, a commonplace in critical historiography that bears repetition well.

The Middle Kingdom Attitude: Vulnerability and Right Action

Surprising it is, then, that the Middle Kingdom, creator-transmitter of Egypt's most venerated literary compositions, expressed in them failure and weakness as a literary and political conceit.[4] Despite the probably

[1] For narratives of the period, see Grajetzki 2006 and Hayes 1971. Assmann 1996, pp. 81–193, remarks on intellectual and social history. The large-scale struggles during the reign of Amenemhat I were discussed in the context of a dynasty in Nubia that arose at least partly in response to the reversal of Eleventh Dynasty policy. See Williams 2013, pp. 6, 8–10.

[2] Loprieno (1996a, summarized pp. 294–95) reviewed the novel inquiry into the king's position in reference to humankind and history as relatively fluid (1996b, esp. pp. 409–10) human relations or loyalist instructions.

[3] Perhaps the outstanding illustration of this fragmentary nature is the mass of Lahun Papyri that have recently been published by Collier and Quirke (2002, 2004, and 2006) and Luft (2006). These represent the one archive from the period comparable to the tablet masses of Mesopotamia.

[4] Assmann 1996, pp. 106–14; the First Intermediate Period is discussed on pp. 93–105. For Merikare, see Helck 1977, p. 42; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 98–103. For Amenemhat's instruction see Helck 1986, pp. 20, 25; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 105–09. For another example, see the prophecy of Neferty, Helck 1992, pp. 20–50; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 137–41. For the Dialogue of a Man with His Soul, see Lichtheim 1973, pp. 163–69; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 148–54. For pessimism more generally, see Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage, Helck 1995, pp. 1–68; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 119–31. Note the king himself torments the Eloquent Peasant (Helck 1995, pp. 169–84; Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 157–63) with delay.

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accurate explanation that these compositions urged adherence to the dynasty in an implied contrast between the conditions described and the present age, they are two sided.[5] If the authors lay stress on the painful disorder of the past, the fact that such stress is needed indicates that there is also something painful in the present. Moreover, by admitting that such times had existed, even, as in Sinuhe and Amenemhat's Instruction, within the present dynasty, humanity, mortality, and change were all admitted — admissions that give the lie to the idea that Egyptians had no concept of history.[6] In every age they expressed some awareness that conditions, including rulers and dynasties, changed with the challenges and opportunities they faced, divine incarnations upholding order in a world of struggle that each individual, in the end, lost.[7] Monumentality aside, the Middle Kingdom was far from complacent, and it was particularly aware of security and took significant measures to establish and maintain it. Some of these were practical, and indicated by archaeological and documentary evidence.[8] Others were derived lessons enunciated in theoretical statecraft expressed in literature.[9] For example, the Middle Kingdom contrasts deeply with the later millennium-long career of the Napatan/Meroitic Empire.[10]

The First Intermediate Period Foundation

The story of the Middle Kingdom attitude began with the First Intermediate Period and its conditions that were the reactive foundation for later policy as announced or implied in literary works that were at once propaganda — intended to inspire action or acquiescence — and state papers. A precarious balance among the nomes of Upper Egypt was upset when the nome of Edfu became flooded due to the incompetence of its ruler and was taken over by the neighboring nomarch, one Ankhtify.[11] At about this time, Thebes was absorbing or conquering Coptos, and a disaffected army leader at Armant offered to join Ankhtify with his forts. Taking the gamble, the latter moved against the Theban nome, but the Thebans retired to their fortresses and refused battle. Ankhtify in turn retired and claimed victory, and soon passed from the scene, his nome absorbed, like all the others, into a less boastful, but more effective Theban kingdom.[12] Although pausing, more or less, at Aswan to the south, the Thebans, now under the long-lived Wahankh Inyotef, pressed slowly northward, finally seizing This and breaking (breaching — an empty fort is a threat) its fortresses.[13] He was checked by the Herakleopolitan ruler and his warlord nomarchs in Middle Egypt, apparently with the effective help of Nubian archers, who are mentioned or shown in the major depictions of battle.[14] The Nubians were so numerous that Mesekhti of Asyut made them half his wooden army. If it is correct that the depictions of archers show Nubians, then they made up a very significant part of the armies of the day, and with the Asiatics shown at Beni Hasan (and possibly some Libyans), they were clearly decisive in dealing with fortifications.[15] Unlike the

[5] Posener 1956, esp. pp. 40–60 remarks on Neferty, which most directly refers to the Twelfth Dynasty.

[6] Papyrus Westcar (Lichtheim 1973, p. 219) shows the awareness of dynastic change. Neferti (Helck 1992, pp. 53–60) compares the arrival of the southern king to the previous disaster, as giving a sense of history. This is Assmann's linear time (1996, pp. 13–14, 17–19).

[7] Even if redeemed to another cycle. Assmann 1996, p. 424, also 208–10, encapsulates of this sense of mortality, even of the gods.

[8] See n. 24, for the police officer Kay and n. 41 for forts and dispatches.

[9] Neferty, for example (Helck 1992, pp. 56–60; Papyrus Hermitage, lines 65–71) predicted the Walls of the Ruler. Amenemhat urged caution in personal relations (Helck 1986, esp. p. 59; Obsomer 1995).

[10] Despite evidence from the banishment stele (*FHN* I pp. 38, 252–58) and the danger to Meroe expressed by Harsiyotef (*FHN* II pp. 78, 438–64, 451).

[11] Fischer (1961, pp. 44–80) discussed Nubians at Gebelein and (pp. 63–66) Moalla. See also Jenkins 2000, esp. pp. 69 and 77–78; Vandier 1950, pp. 21 and 42, inscription 6, 198–99; Gardiner 1961, p. 111, who stresses the difficulty of the text; and Schenkel 1965, pp. 45–57.

[12] For Ankhtify's career, details, and political situation, see n. 11 and Vandier 1950, pp. 202–03, inscription 7.

[13] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 12–15.

[14] Hatnub inscriptions mention men of Medja and Wawat along with Asiatics among the followers of a prince of the Hermopolitan nome. From this it would seem that Nubian contingents were in the service of the Heracleopolitan confederation (Bietak 1985, pp. 87–97). See Anthes 1928, pp. 36–37, inscr. 16, 6; and Zibelius-Chen 1988, p. 118, for the military significance of this incursion. In addition, the archers shown at Beni Hasan were probably Nubians (Hayes 1971, p. 471).

[15] Hayes 1971, p. 471, mentions the Beni Hasan Asiatics. For Nubians, see Grajetzki 2006, p. 105 (Mesekhti), but taken here as a symbol of typical expected activity. See Zibelius-Chen 1988, esp. p. 117, but pp. 115–25 generally, and Meurer 1996, pp. 96–97, for discussion of the Assiut figures.

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Old Kingdom, when Asiatic towns were overcome by the application of ladders, towers, or mining, Egyptian forts were attacked by men thrusting probes, long metal-tipped poles, at the wall from testudo-shelters, as I would interpret them, to poke hand- and footholds in the wall. This dangerous work was supported by Nubian archers and Asiatic slingers, whose accurate delivery of missiles would force the defenders to avoid exposure or accept casualties that would reduce their numbers below the point necessary to defend the perimeter.[16] It may be that the difference reflects the likelihood that forces would appear to relieve a fort in Egypt more rapidly than in Asia, requiring a relatively quick and risky assault by swarming the walls. Note that from their military service, Nubians were made fully aware of the full panoply of Egyptian war-craft, knowledge that returned with them homeward on retirement. Never was Nubia isolated.[17]

Concrete Sources of Disorder and the Eleventh Dynasty Resolution

This introduces three of the major security concerns of Middle Kingdom Egypt: maintaining the food supply, the power of garrisoned fortresses to hold territory against superior forces, and the ability of foreign troops to provide the weight and technology needed to reduce them. The first could be addressed by the correct maintenance of the dikes and drains that could spell the difference between adequacy and famine,[18] by establishing social order well enough to allow work to proceed without disruption,[19] by either compensating or compelling the laborers, and by socially controlling the food supply to mitigate the effects of hoarding that could exacerbate any shortage and instigate disorder. The second meant building forts where needed and destroying or breaching them where not, for an empty fort was a temptation. Finally, dealing effectively with foreign troops required wealth to pay them and control of the borders to regulate the supply.

It is small wonder that Merikare's teacher told him in one place to consolidate his frontier and patrol against the Asiatics and in another to build castles in the Delta. This in turn informs us that boundaries, patrols, and forts were explicitly part of the statecraft of the day.[20] Merikare's teacher also advocated that he not molest the south, because trade flourished anyway. What he did worry about was incursion of Asiatics, who seem to have been entering the Delta in numbers. Neferty later noted the effect such incursions had on agriculture.[21]

It was not long afterward that Mentuhotep II finally overcame Herakleopolis, radically centralizing the country from Thebes.[22] If nomarchs continued in power in Middle Egypt during his reign, and later down

[16] Sieges are noted by Meurer 1996, p. 97; illustrated in Newberry 1893, pls. XIV, XVI, XLVII; 1894, pls. V, XV. The point raised above indicated that the siege scenes, especially those of Beni Hasan, presented a tactical system, and the killing, executions after the conquest of the fort. The Asiatic fort shown by Inyotef was assaulted from a tower, again with archery support from Nubians (Jaroš-Deckert 1984, and folding-pl. 1). Compare also are the Old Kingdom sieges at Deshasheh (Petrie 1898, pl. IV) and in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery (Quibell and Hayter 1927, frontispiece). This reconstruction of the siege-system implies a rational military procedure.

[17] Meurer (1996, pp. 92–120) gives a catalog of Nubian occurrences in Egyptian sources in the Old and Middle Kingdoms. The chronological foundation for C-Group relations was established in Bietak 1968, esp. pp. 92–117.

[18] If Baer (1962, pp. 42–45) was right in believing that Egypt's population was close to the number its food supply could support, any disruption, man-made or natural, could lead to starvation. This was addressed by public works intended to regularize and secure the production of food, and the establishment of controlled granaries to regularize and secure distribution (Kemp 1986, esp. pp. 130–34; the size of Kahun is surprising). The letters of Hekanakhte vividly reveal the power that accrued to one who controlled grain in a time of famine, for he not only hectored his family, he could control the interchange with his superior Herunefer. For remarks on famine, see Williams 1999, p. 437, n. 16.

[19] For example Neferty Papyrus Hermitage 1116B, lines 17 to 21 (http://www.digitalegypt.ucl.ac.uk/literature/nefertytransl.html), which describe the depredations of Asiatics. The effect of the kind of arbitrary confiscation suffered by the Eloquent Peasant could also severely discourage production.

[20] Helck 1977, pp. 37–39; also Quack 1992.

[19] Helck 1992, pp. 15–20; Papyrus Hermitage lines 17–21.

[22] Anthes 1928, pp. 52–53 (line 4), 54–55 (lines 7–8), 57–58 (lines 12–13). For Henenu's wide-ranging official career as an example, see Hayes 1949.

At Abisko, only a short distance above the First Cataract, a soldier has scratched upon a rock the information that he had accompanied his royal master on an expedition perhaps as far as Wady Halfa. To the soldier who commemorated his existence at Abisko is owed the further information that king Nebhepetre, that is to say Mentuhotep I in his third phase, "captured the entire land and proposed to slay the Asiatics of Djaty." The pacification of the entire land must have been accomplished before the forty-sixth year, since a stele at Turin of the date tells us that "a good course was set by Montu's giving the Two Lands to the sovereign Nebhepetre" (Grajetzki 2006, pp. 18–23). Habachi 1963, pp. 16–52, discusses the reign more generally.

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through that of Amenemhat I, it was not without disruption, for some of the more ferocious battle/siege scenes at Beni Hasan must date to the general period, and inscriptions at Hatnub speak grimly of battle and a day of fear of the royal house.[23] If we take the evidence of the Beni Hasan scenes and the Hatnub inscriptions to heart, the disruption may have been considerable, and the picture is not made brighter by the letters of Hekanakht from this time or not long after. Granted, he was a curmudgeon, suspicious, perhaps impatient, and an annoying micromanager, but if we doubt the reality of his statements about starvation,[24] we need only to reflect that some of his household could just as well have sought their fortunes in more generous circumstances than the establishment of a grain-chiseling skinflint, if such existed. I conclude that there was famine.[25]

There was also flight in the Eleventh Dynasty, for the policeman Kay recorded recovering fugitives from the west,[26] and Sinuhe could expect the company of other exiles already in Asia at the court of Ammi-Nenshi after Amenemhat's assassination.[27]

One group of documents is somewhat difficult to interpret, since a number of dates are possible, but it most probably belongs to the time just before the Twelfth Dynasty conquered Lower Nubia. A series of three pharaonic rulers with names of the period are commemorated on the rocks of northern Nubia.[28] The third of this group had a personal name of Segersenti (or Zegerzenti) clearly related to Nubian names from the Old Kingdom execration texts.[29] Certain points are of interest. Not only was Nubia not isolated from Egypt with its traffic in soldiers and gold miners, knowledge of Egypt penetrated not only to give local rulers some Egyptian style, but also to support the full claim of pharaonic authority. They were persistent, and the last survived long enough to record a victory in battles to the north, or against Egypt. In addition, the Nubians so deeply penetrated the fabric of Egyptian life,[30] they became significant at court in the late Eleventh Dynasty.[31]

Perceived Sources of Disorder and the Twelfth Dynasty Resolution

Although there may be some questions about the succession in the last years of the Eleventh Dynasty,[32] it is clear that the dynasty was replaced by Amenemhat, most likely the vizier of that name who served Eleventh Dynasty's last ruler.[33] The occasion for this replacement was not made explicit, but that it was a deliberate break with the prior rule is made clear by a *serekh* name of Amenemhat, Repeating of Births, that announced an age of renewal, and his move of the capital to the region, if not the site, of the Old Kingdom capital. Its aggressive name, Itj-tawy, Seizing the Two Lands,[34] is evocative. The prophecy of Neferty is stark in its

[23] Faulkner 1944, pp. 61–63. The representations in tombs meant that sieges of this sort were considered a typical part of the local ruler's responsibilities. See Williams 2013, pp. 8–10, for the struggles in the reign of Amenemhat I.

[24] Baer (1963, esp. nn. 49 and 12, 16–17) was inclined to downplay this famine (also 1962, n. 70), but Hekanakht is actually bragging about his generosity in hard times.

[25] Waltraud Gugliemi in *LÄ* III, cols. 82–83, "Hunger," for example.

[26] The stele of the policeman Kay is well illustrated and discussed on the web page: http://www.hieroglyphen.net/andere/Sobekhotep/kay.htm.

[27] See n. 24.

[28] Williams 2013, pp. 6–7. The role of Nubian polities throughout the intermediate period is very obscure, although they certainly consolidated earlier, especially at Kerma. Rock inscriptions in Lower Nubia mention of a king Wadjkare who has been hesitatingly identified as one with the same prenomen alluded to in a Coptos decree. Second, there are rather frequent occurrences of an Inyotef who equipped himself with a full royal titulary, yet cannot be fitted into the Eleventh Dynasty as we know it from Egypt itself. Grajetzki (2006, pp. 27–28) discusses the problem.

[29] Osing 1976, pp. 160–70; Williams 2013, pp. 7–8.

[30] Junker 1920 published two cemeteries at Kubaniyya (pp. 1–107 generally; incised vessels pl 12:4 are Ib and IIa). A cemetery was recently found at Hierakonpolis (Interactive dig). Bietak 1985, pp. 87–98, discusses Nubians in Egypt more generally. Note Nubians from Wawat and Medjay at Hatnub (Anthes 1928, pp. 36–37, inscr. 16, 6, and Zibelius-Chen 1988, p. 118) and Beni Hasan (Hayes 1971, p. 471). Nubians were an essential part of Egypt's military establishment (Williams 1999, pp. 436–37). For Egyptian policing and control in Nubia, see Leprohon 1994. He notes that the "fighter" is above the rank of an ordinary soldier, but treats *šmsw* as a simple guardsman (p. 287).

[31] Meurer 1996, p. 97, discusses the Nubian (Medjay) women of Aashayet, and Zibelius-Chen notes that several of the women buried in the complex, including Aashayet, were Nubian (1988, pp. 118 and 161). Grajetzki (2006, p. 90) mentions the tombs, but not their Nubian characteristics. Hayes (1953, pp. 219–20) stresses their Nubian origin.

[32] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 23–26; Tidyman 1995.

[33] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 25–26, 28–30.

[34] Ibid., pp. 29–30. Amenemhat's change was major, but might not have happened immediately. Leprohon 1996, p. 167, notes the name change.

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description of conditions that preceded these events, but they must have been painful enough to make a change of dynasty and policy at least tolerable.

Although Amenemhat had a long reign, it was an age of struggle, and he did not have the loyal devotion, even of his court, to die quietly. As is well known, or widely accepted, while he was resting, he suffered a tumultuous assault that took his life and resulted in a manifesto of bitter suspicion.[35] His coregent and successor moved quickly and successfully to seize power, but it is difficult to believe that rebels with enough nerve to murderously assault their divine sovereign would simply melt away or submit without a fight to an execution at once extended and unpleasant. It may be asked if the last Beni Hasan siege scene did not result from it, as well as the burial of battle casualties at Thebes.[36]

By this time Egypt had been through centuries of disunity, disorder, incursion, and usurpation. Its rulers had certainly experienced danger, and they had developed policies to cope with the dangerous world they knew. The interesting fact is that they announced such policies, sometimes supported with stated motivations. This amazing tone, remarked so famously by Posener,[37] may have contrasted the painful past with a more prosperous present, but as noted above, the contrast was probably made because the present had its costs. The costs may have been more difficult to understand and bear, because this dynasty resolved to keep at least some of the dangers at a distance. Actual threats were supplemented or augmented by perceived ones.

A palpable cost was campaigns. The levies now had to march beyond Egypt, at least partly to keep foreign enemies off balance (to use Sadat's expression). Senwosret was in Libya when his father died. An Asiatic fortress was besieged and taken in the Eleventh Dynasty,[38] and fighting in Nubia was repeated.[39] The latter, at least, was strongly a security operation. Keeping in mind later events, the Nubian dynasty had at least the potential of being able to call on the Medjay with their vast radius of action, and its already powerful southern neighbor, Kush. On the other hand, Egypt could no longer afford to repeat the depopulation of Northern Nubia accomplished by its early dynasties. If the representations do not lie, Egypt now needed skilled and agile Nubian archers, even as Senwosret I fought Kush in his year 18,[40] and they had to keep them, and other foreign troops, out of the hands of potentially mettlesome warlord-nomarchs. Instead, they left the C-Group in residence, but placed great fortresses near the centers of occupation. With patrols as described in the instruction for Merikare, this would have effectively isolated northern Nubia from southern intervention — barring a major invasion — and kept tabs on local movements.

In securing the country, there were struggles, and lives were lost. Exiles were generated. While in Dynasty XI, some went west, by the late reign of Amenemhat I, they were collecting in southern Syria, apparently beyond the reach of Egypt. After being joined by the formidable fighter Sinuhe (so we are to believe), he was, after a time, approached to return.[41] Senwosret turned a potentially dangerous renegade into a harmless courtier (if his guard stayed awake), and Sinuhe got a tomb. The point of the story was a continuation

[35] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 33–34; Goedicke 1988, pp. 3–30, referring to Amenemhat's Instruction. Although now widely assumed to be a work of fiction, Amenemhat might have survived long enough with wounds to dictate his Instruction.

[36] The last Beni Hasan siege scene is less violent than the earlier examples. However, note the slain soldiers buried at Deir el Bahari whose names — Senwosret (Winlock 1945, pp. 28–31, pls. XXIX and XXX) and Kheper-ka (ibid., pl. XXXIII), an abbreviation of Senwosret I's throne names — most probably belong to early Twelfth Dynasty. The nature of the injuries was not too different from the illustrations of massacre at Beni Hasan (Winlock 1945, pp. 7–24). If the burials do belong to the Twelfth Dynasty, they would probably be loyalist troops killed holding Upper Egypt for Senwosret. The problem is detailed in Williams 2013, pp. 8–10.

[37] Posener 1956.

[38] Jaroš-Deckert 1984, folding-plate 1; also Ward 1971, pp. 59–60. See Ahlström 1993, pp. 132–33, for the end of the Early Bronze Age; pp. 135–36 for First Intermediate Period incursions; pp. 159–72 for relations normally assigned to the Middle Bronze Age (concordance, pp. 134–35, n. 3); and Grajetzki 2006, p. 20. It is probably best to consider both detailed descriptions and generalized references of this type as symbolic representations of a type of event the presenter expected to participate in during the normal course of events, or a type of event that was happening at the time.

[39] Zibellius-Chen 1988, discussed by Obsomer 1995, pp. 237–359.

[40] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 36–45.

[41] Parkinson 2002, pp. 149–68 (pp. 13–16 offer a discussion of texts as propaganda). Koch 1990 gives a comparative text generally. Parkinson (1997, pp. 21–26) interprets the tale in literary fashion. Sinuhe was a *šmsw*; for *ḥ3wty*, see the Semna Dispatches below. Griffith (1898 I.3, pp. 19–21) discussed officials at Kahun, and cited a row of draggers at Bersheh; see also p. 25. Griffith opined that grandfather and father died in quick succession, possibly in battle under Sekhemkare. Sinuhe generally is discussed and translated widely. See Parkinson 1997, pp. 21–53; Lichtheim 1973, pp. 222–35; and Simpson 2003, pp. 54–66.

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of Amenemhat's policy of conciliation; *wḥm-mswt* became *ʿnḫ-mswt*.[42] It is probable that most exiles in this period were candidates for severe punishment and thus possessed both energy and skills. Joined with soldiers returning from Egyptian service who had knowledge of Egypt, its people, topography, and military organization, one would have had the potential for a substantial military threat, one that later actually materialized.

Sinuhe tells us more than a little about the political and potentially military situation on the frontier. First in the north, we have heard of the largest and most characteristically Egyptian strategy for controlling security at that time, as foretold by Neferty, the Walls of the Ruler.[43] Something like it must have existed in Merikare's time, and the strategic methodology was well known.[44] From Sinuhe's experience, it is clear that this border complex was intended not just to keep Asiatics out; it, and the watch, were there to keep potential Egyptian exiles in.[45] Sinuhe knew this, of course, and not only found his way there without help (implying that he knew the route already), but also successfully sneaked by. For a panicky courtier, he was a man of resource. Subsequent events illustrate the purpose of the walls well, for Sinuhe met a herdsman at some distance *who knew exactly what to do with him*. He passed from land to land all the way to Byblos — *all without payment* — and was sought out and recruited by Ammi-nenshi, who already had a collection of exiles *who knew him,* with whom he could gossip, *or plot*. A well-coordinated set of arrangements picked up this lonely exile and put him in an advantageous position.[46] Do we now, or did any of the ancient audience of this text then, ever seriously believe this to be an innocent manifestation of Beduin hospitality? Remember, this was the *same* audience that read Amenemhat's harsh assessment of human character. Sinuhe was part of a perceived threat, and Senwosret's offer neutralized it. Was this magnanimous fable, or subtle *literature politique*? Note that Sinuhe almost certainly had family in Egypt, and we know what happened to the families of absconders later.[47] So fortification, and presumably patrolling, as well as border containment, conciliation, and diplomacy, joined military force and even political literature as supports of state security. There was one other, less modern measure they took. At Lisht and elsewhere, as in Nubia, were found a number of clay (and even stone) figurines (and bowls) inscribed with the names of accursed enemies.[48]

New Concrete Threats and the Rise of a New Political Order

Amenemhat II campaigned at least once in Asia and campaigned in Nubia as far as Webetsepat,[49] and it may be that the borders required more attention than we realize from remaining records, but the tombs of the Middle Egyptian nomarchs are no longer those of warlords, but magnates. Their teeth had been pulled. It was not, however, until the reign of Senwosret III that there was a drastic change.[50] He reduced, and then virtually

[42] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 26–35, discusses the reign, and Obsomer 1995, pp. 35–160, the chronology. Thèriault (1993) argues that the Instruction of Amenemhat I does not satisfy the criteria of a propagandistic text, but is rather a powerfully persuasive personal literary composition. She does not accept it as a posthumous political testament of king Amenemhat I composed under his successor Sesostris I to legitimize him, since as propaganda the text fails, but she assumes (p. 153) that Amenemhat's reign was an "anchor" (see p. 155, n. 13 for arguments about the date of composition). The highly personal and autobiographical nature of the instruction strongly suggests that Amenemhat was its author. Amenemhat, a seasoned soldier and usurper, realized that his son's succession would be challenged. Therefore, sometime in the coregency he composed the text as a private apologia for Sesostris, and at best, the latter redacted and disseminated it.

[43] Helck 1992, pp. 58–60; Papyrus Hermitage, lines 65–71.

[44] Helck 1977, pp. 37–39.

[45] Burkard and Thissen 2003, pp. 110–19, esp. p. 114.

[46] Gardiner 1916b, pp. 165–68, gave a view that preceded the excavations and saw Sinuhe located in Palestine. The text specifically locates him at Byblos, however. Ammi-nenshi would have to assume he did not leave Egypt voluntarily, although his reaction was not recorded.

[47] Hayes 1955, pp. 44–47.

[48] Ritner 2008, pp. 136–83; Osing 1976; Sethe 1926 (for Nubians, see pp. 32–43; for *Wbꜣts*, pp. 34 and 40); Posener 1940 generally; Hayes 1953, fig. 217, p. 329; Posener in *LÄ* I, pp. 67–68, "Ächtungstexte." See also Altenmüller 1991, p. 9, for tribute of Kush and *Wbꜣt-spt*. For peaceful arrival of Medjay at Thebes in the Thirteenth Dynasty, see Quirke 1990, pp. 19–20 and 22.

[49] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 31–32, 45–51, including Senwosret II. *Wbꜣts* appears in Execration Texts (note above; also Zibelius-Chen 1972, p. 104).

[50] Ibid., pp. 51–58. See also Wegner 1996, pp. 249–79, for evidence of a long coregency with Amenemhat III.

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eliminated, the Middle Egyptian nomarchs.[51] The field officer Khusebek reported an abortive campaign in Asia, while there were repeated and major campaigns in Nubia. This set of events was accompanied by the construction of the great Second Cataract chain of fortresses, the greatest complex of its kind remaining from the ancient world before the Romans. These forts have been discussed in detail elsewhere, and we can only reiterate that their specialized individual construction, attention to military detail, robust design, and careful siting must reflect both deliberation and a seriousness of military purpose. Senwosret made clear his intentions in his great stela in which he announced his intention to make this a boundary, which the Kushites, arriving by river, would not be allowed to pass.[52] He accompanied this announced policy by boastful-sounding words that first said the Nubians would retreat if pressed, but attack if one retreated, which was, of course, an appropriate style of battle for mobile archers, and one often used to deadly effect, as, say, at Manzikert.

Sometime thereafter officers wrote down a set of reports that had been delivered at Semna, the headquarters of the fortress chain, detailing a few days of contact activity by various forts and their patrols.[53] Nubians arriving by boat were, as Senwosret dictated, traded with and sent back, while those arriving by land, generally from the desert, were apprehended, interrogated, and returned. Among the interesting features of these documents is their economical, matter-of-fact, and professional style that recalls that of modern police contact reports. The reporters, the date, the time of day, contact narrative that identifies persons by sex and type but not name, and the recipients are all identified. The incursion of thirty-two men and three donkeys near Serra East must have been some kind of raiding party, or they would have been taken for one, and the use of seventy Medjay in a force from Iken is particularly interesting, for they indicate that these are military, not just police, patrols. Nubian pottery from a Middle Kingdom context at Serra indicates this garrison included Medjay also.[54]

The dispatches tell us only about attempts to get in, but there was another bleeding ulcer on the state. The rise of the bureaucracy in the later Twelfth Dynasty and its practical domination were accompanied by what appears to be an increasingly regimented regime of forced labor. Again, the dynamics behind it are arguable. Was the cause high Nile floods? Against that can be said that some of the assigned labor had nothing to do with hydrological controls. Could the drafts of manpower have called away so many troops for labor and combat that labor shortages arose, precipitating the removal of the Middle Egyptian middlemen as well? Against that it could be said that once the forts were built, the amount of labor needed to maintain them was substantial, but far less than construction, and after Senwosret III, we do not have records of campaigning on such a large scale. It may be that the major, and rising, power of Kush, and powers growing in Asia saw an opportunity in Egypt that precipitated emergency measures, and once in place, the administrators did not let go. In any case, the work exactions were severe enough that some, both men and women, absconded, particularly from agricultural labor assignments. They are not seen in the scanty frontier records, but some results appear in the rapid adoption of certain Egyptianizing crafts in Asia at Byblos, and in Sudan, at Kerma, which betray the presence of emigrants. Despite an official apparatus and well-defined procedures for dealing with them, some fugitives were able to remain undetected for many years, a condition that perhaps reflects both the venality of the institutions and the desperate reality of the shortage. However, their families were arrested, and when they were caught, the families were released and the fugitives enslaved, a condition which may have afflicted their descendents

[51] Grajetzki 2006, pp. 57–58, discusses the event, and pp. 97–116 discusses the nomes.

[52] Sethe 1924 pp. 83–85; Lichtheim 1973, pp. 118–20; and Parkinson 1991, pp. 43–46. The documents listing the fortresses (Gardiner 1916a; idem 1947, pp. 9–10) as well as the communications indicate that they were parts of a coherent strategy. O'Connor (1991, pp. 152–56) discusses Nubian organization and archaeology at this time.

[53] See Parkinson and Quirke 1995, pp. 76–77 for the condition, Wente 1990, pp. 70–73; and Smither 1945; Meurer 1996, pp. 105–07.

[54] Williams 1987, pp. 57–58, discusses Nubian pottery from Middle Kingdom Serra East. Despite Kraemer and Liszka's reading (2016, p. 35, n. a to Table 2), the number seventy is relatively clear and not the same as a *w*, determinative and plural.

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the best part of a century later.[55] It is anybody's guess how many escaped altogether. It certainly represents a major social hemorrhage, and it may be that the corrosive effects of such flight eroded Egypt's will to limit immigration and brought down its mud-brick curtain.[56] Egypt entered an age of calamity and heroism that generated a new policy which had, in its turn, fateful results for the ancient world.[57]

[55] Quirke (1990, pp. 127–54, esp. p. 129) interprets the papyrus as a collection of documents related only by their presence on one papyrus. There may be some reasons for treating the papyrus as a dossier. First, there is an administrative tendency to put marginal notes directly on a document, which would account for the letter and two decrees on the *recto*. Second, the list of absconders and their punishments, which is a summary of processes that took place many years before, was probably made in the early Thirteenth Dynasty (Quirke 1990, pp. 130–31). Each column of the list must have concerned some pending business (Quirke 1990, pp. 136–39), even if it dealt with events that took place more than a generation previously (from year 10 of Amenemhat III to the Thirteenth Dynasty). Although Quirke takes a letter (of unclear subject) and two decrees to the Vizier Ankhu to be random communications added to the document for more formal recopying later, the decrees concern fugitives and estate workers, deeply related matters (Quirke 1990, pp. 140–46). In any case (Quirke 1990, pp. 138–39), if the cases were truly closed and the overwhelming majority long discharged, it would be difficult to understand why this document was assembled and supporting documentation on these closed cases sent for. The Brooklyn Papyrus covers at most a month of this activity (Hayes 1955, pp. 43–44). The processes took place at the great "prison" at Thebes (*ḫr.t-wr*; note Quirke 1988, pp. 83– 06). Most of the fugitives (*wʿr.w* or *tš.w*) were male (Hayes 1955, pp. 90–91; occupations pl. 103–08), although there were women and one general's son. A ship's captain who aided the flight is noted. Most often the law applied was that of one who deserts for six months, and mostly the office was the Provider of People or labor department. On the reverse are summaries of other judicial appeals and notations that Hayes interpreted to mean that their descendents remained slaves generations later in the Thirteenth Dynasty (assigned to Senebtisy perhaps; for the interpretation see Hayes 1955, pp. 111–25). The seventy-six convicts are from about a third of the country from a brief time, which might be extrapolated to 4,000 a year.

Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 9 (UC32190 and 32315 reference to a servant there); 23 (UC32181 conscript stone haulers of Hetep Senusert); 41 (UC32174 name list for work crew of stone haulers of Hetep Senusert); 49 (UC32182 and UC32121 two name lists of enlisted); 57 (UC32168 roll call of enlisted stone haulers); 59 (UC 32269 recto, name list, with Asiatic); 77 (UC32189 farm dues); 92–95 (singers and dancers UC 32339, including Asiatics and Medjay); 225 (UC32127 name list of Asiatic and other servant women); 241 (UC32137H+32141Biii+32137Kii women, official, and dependant); 259 (UC32147G Asiatic women and labor women); 265 (UC32151B general of Asiatics and Asiatic); 273 (UC32275 stone haulers from Atfih who are absent); 275–76 (UC32278 D enlisted men).

Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 17 (UC32157, hymn, reference to walls); 107 (UC32098D Asiatic women given); 119 (UC32167 deed transferring Asiatic women); 123 (UC32295 deed transferring Asiatic women, possibly same ones).

Collier and Quirke 2002,pp. 9 (UC32092C); 21 (UC32109E the *ḫnr.t-wr*); 59 (UC32124 Asiatic stealing honey); 67 (UC32128 a servant girl fetched); 95 (UC32198 come for labor duty); 105–09 (UC32201 concerning various enlistees with provisions); 115 (UC32203 servant women who are weavers).

[56] Alternatively, Asiatics in the Delta could have been primarily slave-traders.

[57] Lahun Papyri from transcriptions in Collier and Quirke 2002 and Collier and Quirke 2004 (in addition to the servants above, see p. 121, UCC32286; Asiatics had become normal in Egypt); Parkinson 1991 nos. 28 and 29, pp. 88–93 and nos. 36–37, pp. 108–11.

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Abbreviations

FHN I	*Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. Volume 1: *From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC*. Tormond Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce, and László Török, eds. Bergen: University of Bergen, 1994.
FHN II	*Fontes Historiae Nubiorum. Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. Volume 2: *From the Mid-Fifth to the First Century BC*. Tormond Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce, and László Török, eds. Bergen:University of Bergen, 1996.
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptolgie*

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Eine neue demotische Lebenslehre (Pap. Berlin P. 13605)

Karl-Theodor Zauzich

Zu Beginn meines achten Lebensjahrzehnts hatte ich mir vorgenommen, keinerlei neue Pflichten mehr anzunehmen, sondern mich ganz darauf zu konzentrieren, so viel wie möglich von meinen eigenen angefangenen Arbeiten fertigzustellen. Aber dann gab es immer wieder Aufgaben, denen ich mich nicht entziehen konnte, ohne die Pflichten der Freundschaft und Kollegialität zu verletzen. So habe ich mich an den Festschriften für Heinz-Josef Thissen, Paul Frandsen, Bezalel Porten und für die Berliner Papyrussammlung gern beteiligt, mußte aber bei manchen Kollegen absagen, mit denen mich weniger Gemeinsamkeiten in der Arbeit und im Leben verbinden. Als ich die Einladung zur Festschrift für Janet Johnson bekam, war mir eine Absage schon deshalb nicht möglich, weil wir seit Jahrzehnten in Freundschaft verbunden sind und ich wie alle anderen Spezialisten für demotische Studien ihr zu großem Dank verpflichtet bin. Schon aus ihrer Dissertation *The Demotic Verbal System* (1976), die ich in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 35, 1978, 40–41 besprechen durfte, habe ich sehr viel gelernt. Später konnte ich dank ihrer Einladung ein paar Wochen am *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* mitarbeiten. Ich denke gern an diese Zeit zurück, nicht nur wegen der anregenden wissenschaftlichen Arbeit, sondern auch wegen eines Ausflugs in den Indian Summer und wegen eines guten Abendessens, zu dem Jans Mann einen Truthahn bestens zubereitet und fachgerecht zerteilt hat, was in mir die allergrößte Bewunderung erregt hat.

Bei unseren zahlreichen Begegnungen auf Kongressen und besonders während des zehnjährigen Programms des *International Committee for the Publication of the Carlsberg Papyri* habe ich mich immer über gute Gespräche mit Jan und ihr klares, nüchternes Urteil in allen Belangen gefreut. Mit meinen Schülern habe ich sehr profitiert von ihrer überaus klaren und für den Unterricht bestens geeigneten Grammatik „Thus wrote ‘Onchsheshonqy“. Meine Einführungskurse ins Demotische habe ich regelmäßig unter Benutzung dieses Werkes gegeben. Dabei ist der Wunsch entstanden, die Verfasserin möge einmal ein ähnliches Buch folgen lassen mit dem Titel „Thus wrote Peteese“ (nach P. Rylands 9 für das Frühdemotische) und vielleicht auch eines mit dem Titel „Thus wrote Satabus“ (nach P. Wien 10000 [Weissagung des Lamms] und anderen Papyri für das Spätdemotische). Den größten Dank schulden wir alle der Jubilarin für das Chicago Demotic Dictionary, das wir jetzt schon *online* benutzen dürfen und auf dessen Fertigstellung, auch in einer gedruckten Ausgabe, wir uns alle freuen.

Der Verfasserin einer Grammatik nach der Lehre des Anchscheschonqi wird hoffentlich eine neue Lebenslehre gefallen (Pap. Berlin P. 13605 A/B),[1] die ich ihr hier mit allen guten Wünschen vorlege, auch wenn sie vergleichsweise kurz und nur sehr schlecht erhalten ist. Inhaltlich gibt der Text leider nicht viel her, aber er ist schon deswegen interessant, weil er anders als alle bisher bekannten demotischen Lehren konstruiert ist. Er ist nämlich in einzeln numerierte Kapitel gegliedert, die jeweils mit der gleichartigen Überschrift beginnen: „Er sprach den ersten (zweiten usw.) Spruch. Setze dich (und) höre auf meine gute Lehre (*mtr nfr.t*), die ich sagen werde!“ Diese Formulierung ist das Neue, nicht die Zählung der Kapitel, die auch andere Lebenslehren aufweisen.

[1] Für die freundliche Publikationserlaubnis danke ich Frau Prof. Dr. V. Lepper. Die Fotos hat Frau Margarete Büsing im Jahre 2001 aufgenommen.

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Erhalten sind in den beiden Fragmenten folgende Sprüche:

Spruch 1: Überschrift + 17 Zeilen (P. 13605 A, Kol. 1.1–2.6)

Spruch 2: Überschrift + 6 Zeilen (P. 13605 A, Kol. 2.7–2.13) [+ x Zeilen verloren]

[Spruch 3: Überschrift + x Zeilen verloren (Kol. 3)]

[Spruch 4: Überschrift + x Zeilen verloren (Kol. 4)]

Spruch 4: 11 Zeilen (geringe Reste) vom Spruchende (P. 13605 B, Kol. 5.1–5.11)

Spruch 5: Überschrift + 7 Zeilen (P. 13605 B, Kol. 6.1–6.8)

Spruch 6: Überschrift + 9 Zeilen (P. 13605 B, Kol. 6.9–7.6)

Spruch 7: Überschrift (P. 13605 B, Kol. 7.7).

Wie man sieht, sind die einzelnen Sprüche unterschiedlich lang. Es ist daher auch nicht sicher bestimmbar, ob — wie hier angenommen — nur zwei Kolumnen zwischen den Fragmenten A und B des P. 13605 verloren sind.

Bevor ich den Text zu lesen versuche, sei der Papyrus beschrieben: Die beiden Fragmente wurden aus Kartonage gewonnen, welche aus den Ausgrabungen stammen, die Otto Rubensohn 1903 in Abusir el Melek im Auftrage des Deutschen Papyruskartells durchgeführt hat.[2]

Das erste Blatt (P. 13605 A) hat die Maße 27 cm breit, 15 cm hoch. Das zweite Blatt (P. 13605 B) ist 39 cm breit und 16 cm hoch. Beide Blätter sind Palimpseste und dadurch recht dunkel. Die Lesbarkeit der Texte leidet ferner unter Abreibungen, Lücken, Brüchen und Verlusten der Fasern des Rectos. Die Schrift des Rectos ist an sich von guter Qualität und vielleicht ins 3. Jh. v. Chr. zu datieren.

Auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehen Beschriftungen in demotischer und griechischer Schrift, die hier nicht publiziert werden, da sie nicht zum Text der Vorderseite gehören und nur wenige Wörter lesbar sind. Soweit erkennbar, handelt es sich um Folgendes:

13605 A verso

Zwei Kolumnen zu je etwa 11 Zeilen einer listenförmigen Abrechnung, in Kol. 2 ist das Wort *ꜣrgmn* „Purpur“ zu erkennen.

Die Beschriftung links von den beiden Kolumnen ist um 180° gedreht. Dabei handelt es sich zuerst um zwei Zeilen in griechischer Schrift, von denen mir nur einige Buchstaben lesbar sind. Darunter stehen etwa 10 Zeilen in demotischer Schrift, von denen unklar ist, ob sie alle zu einem einzigen Text gehören. Die lesbaren Spuren scheinen zu einer ptolemäischen *sḫ*-Urkunde zu gehören.

Z. 3: *mnḫ.w nꜣ ntr.w mr-ỉt*

Z. 5: *m-bꜣḥ*

Z. 6: *ḏd* (vor Partei A)

13605 B verso

Spuren von zwei Kolumnen einer abgewaschenen demotischen Beschriftung, nur wenige Zeichen erkennbar.

Danach (links) zwei Kolumnen mit lesbaren Zahlen, die anscheinend nicht abgewaschen wurden. Es handelt sich um Geldbeträge in Silberlingen, sofern in Kol. 1, Z. x+3 *17 qt 1/2* richtig gelesen ist.

[2] Rubensohn and Knatz, „Ausgrabungen bei Abusir el Mäläq“;
Salmenkivi, *Cartonnage Papyri in Context*.

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Umschrift

Kolumne 1 (P. 13605 A)

1 ***[ḫr=f pȝ rȝ mḥ-1] ḥms my stm r tȝi̯=(y) mtr nfr.t nti̯ i̯w=y ḏd-s***

2 *[.....] ⸢ȝyt⸣ nti̯ i̯w ⸢nkt pr=⸣f ṯȝi̯ ⸢i̯bt n⸣*

3 *[.....] ⸢ḫpr⸣=f m qty wˁ 2(?) tpi̯ tks s nb*

4 *[.....] ⸢t⸣ȝi̯=n ⸢ḫ.t i̯r=f⸣ m-sȝ i̯w=f ⸢n ḥi̯ȝ.t⸣ pȝ nti̯ i̯r*

5 *[..... ḫr(?)]-ti̯=w tni̯.t n s nb r ḫ.ṯi̯r=f | ḥi̯ȝṯ=⸢f r ḏd⸣ mtw=n*

6 *[.....] r-bw-i̯r-tw pȝ Rˁ i̯r=f | r ˁn=f nȝ nb.w r-bw-i̯r-tw*

7 *[..... r]-bw-i̯r-tw pȝ šny whtḥ ⸢ḥi̯ȝṯ⸣ n-i̯m=s*

8 *[.....] r-bw-i̯r-tw nȝ i̯r.tw ˁn=w r nw*

9 *[.....] ȝmḥ i̯i̯ n=w r-bw-i̯r-tw ⸢.....⸣*

10 *[.....] n šm r i̯ȝw(?) [.....]*

11 *[.....] nḥs nȝi̯=n ḫȝs.tw šˁ ḏ.t i̯w=s*

12 *[.....] ms ḏd swr wnm n-i̯mn i̯.i̯r hrw(?) nfr*

Kolumne 2 (P. 13605 A)

1 *m-i̯r ḏd ...[.....]*

2 *i̯wti̯ hp [.....] ḫny*

3 *m-i̯r ḫnṯ [.....]*

4 *swḥ(.t) i̯r ⸢i̯w=s i̯r ˁn⸣ bw-i̯r nȝi̯=f ḫrṯ.w [.....]*

5 *pȝ ḫry [.....] ⸢mn mtw=f⸣ [.....]*

6 *r ȝq [.....]*

7 ***ḫr=[f pȝ rȝ mḥ-2] ḥms my stm r tȝi̯ =(y) m[tr nfr.t nti̯] i̯w=y ḏd-[s]***

8 *i̯ [.....] ȝyt i̯w wn ⸢qt⸣ bn [.....]*

9 *rḫ [pȝ]=f | bw-i̯r=f tḫy n tȝi̯=f wnw.t mtw=f*

10 *[.....] ⸢ḥi̯ȝṯ⸣=f gw... n pȝi̯=f [.....]*

11 *pȝ nti̯ [.....] r-bnr n bh r ⸢mn =f⸣ [.....]*

12 *r ȝq..... ⸢i̯.i̯r=f ḥwn⸣ pȝi̯=f tmi̯ | ti̯=n wḫȝ=f n=f šr šr.t [.....]*

13 *snṯ=f ⸢i̯w⸣ nȝ-nfr nȝi̯=f ȝmḥ | mtw=f ti̯.t šp pȝi̯=f b..... [.....]*

[Kolumne 3 und 4 fehlen]

Kolumne 5 (P. 13605 B)

1 [.....]

2 [.....]

3 [.....]

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4 [.....]

5 [.....]

6 [.....] *ỉw=f ỉr ỉḫ ỉ͗w.t*

7 [.....] *ntm n=f*

8 [.....]

9 [.....] *ˁmym*

10 [.....] *ˁ-n wht͗ n-ỉmn*

11 [.....]

Kolumne 6 (P. 13605 B)

1 ***[ḫr=f p͗ r͗ mḥ-5 ḥm]s my stm r t͗ỉ=(y) mtr nfr.t ntỉ ỉw=y ḏd-s***

2 [.....] *r ỉ͗btỉ*(?) *n͗ ỉm nb* *r ỉḫy ˁn*(?) *p͗ hby*

3 [.....] *pr=f nb ͗q | mhw=f nb lḫy*

4 ⌜*m-ỉr*⌝ [*ḏd p͗*] *n Ḏḥwtỉ ḥr t͗ mḫy | ỉw=f tỉ Ḫmnw*

5 [.....] *mstm | ỉ.ỉr=f ḫnmy r p͗ sn tbˁ.wỉ*

6 ⌜*mtw*⌝*=f tỉ.t* [*h*]*p r p͗ mtr* [.....] *ḏd=f | ỉḫ p͗ wṯ th͗ r p͗ ͗yt͗*

7 *ỉḫ m-s͗=w | qt r p͗ ḫny* *rmt*(?)*ḥ | r p͗ ntr r ḥn p͗ỉ=f ḥn*

8 (*n*) *p͗ ntỉ šms.ṯ=f n* ⌜*sw nb*⌝

9 ***ḫr=f p͗ r͗ mḥ-6 ḥms my stm r t͗ỉ=(y) mtr nfr.t ntỉ ỉw=y ḏd-s***

10 *m-ỉr tỉ.t mšˁ ḫn p͗* ⌜*mtr ỉ.ỉr*⌝ *ˁš͗ n͗ỉ=f mt*(?) *swṯ.w | ỉ.ỉr=f wtn*

11 *p͗ t͗ r* *w | ỉ.ỉr=f wtn* ⌜*nšn*⌝

12 *ḥs | ỉ.ỉr=f wtn* [.....] ⌜*m͗ˁ.t ḥr p͗*⌝ *why*

Kolumne 7 (P. 13605 B)

1 *ỉ.ỉr=f* [*wtn*(?)]

2 *ỉ.ỉr=f wt*[*n*.....]

3 *n p͗ ntỉ ˁ* [.....]

4 *ỉns* [.....]

5 *p͗* [.....]

6 *ỉn pr-ỉmntỉ p͗ỉ=f* [.....]

7 ***ḫr=f p͗ r͗ mḥ-7 [ḥms my stm r t͗ỉ=(y) mtr nfr.t ntỉ ỉw=y ḏd-s]***

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Übersetzung

Kolumne 1 (P. 13605 A)

1 **[Er sprach den 1. Spruch:] Setze dich (und) höre auf meine gute Lehre, die ich sagen werde!**

2 [.....] Elend(?), welches Hausrat(?) vom Monat(?) des an.

3 [.....] es geschah in der Art eines auf(?) dem Schiff eines jeden Mannes.

4 [.....] unsere Art(?) es zu machen(?), außer, wenn er vor(?) dem, welcher handelt.

5 [.....] Man gibt den Anteil einem jeden Mann entsprechend dem, was er gemacht hat. Sein Herz wird mit uns sprechen.

6 [.....], bevor Re es gemacht hatte, indem es gut war für die Herren(?), bevor

7 [.....] bevor die Krankheit das Herz(?) damit betrübt(?) hat.

8 [.....] bevor die Augen gut(?) zum Sehen(?) waren

9 [.....] der(?) Vorfahren(?) [werden] zu ihnen kommen, bevor

10 [.....] des Gehens zum Alter(?) [.....]

11 [.....] Neger(?) unseren Fremdländern bis in Ewigkeit

12 [.....] Kind, sagend: Trink (und) iß täglich, feiere einen schönen Tag!

Kolumne 2 (P. 13605 A)

1 Sage nicht [.....]

2 zwischen Recht [.....] Bootsfahrt(?)

3 Streite nicht [.....]

4 (Das) Ei macht wenn es macht, können seine Kinder nicht [.....]

5 die Straße [.....] er hat keine [.....]

6 wird zugrunde gehen [.....]

7 [Er] sprach [den zweiten Spruch]: Setze dich (und) höre auf meine gute Lehre, die ich sagen werde!

8 [.....] Elend, indem es eine schlechte Art [.....] gibt.

9 Es kennt [der] seine [.....], er ist nicht trunken in seiner Stunde, und er [.....]

10 [.....] sein Herz(?) ist eng(?) in seinem [.....]

11 Der, welcher [.....] heraus aus fliehen, indem es nicht gibt seine(?) [.....]

12 wird zugrunde gehen(?), der jung(?) in seiner Stadt war, wir veranlaßten, daß er sich einen Sohn (und) eine Tochter wünschte [.....]

13 seine Gewohnheit, indem(?) seine Vorfahren(?) vollkommen sind, und er veranlaßt, daß sein empfängt.

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[Kolumne 3 und 4 fehlen]

Kolumne 5 (P. 13605 B)

1 [.....]
2 [.....]
3 [.....]
4 [.....]
5 [.....]
6 [.....] indem er welches Alter macht?
7 [.....] angenehm für ihn
8 [.....]
9 [.....] Spitzmaus
10 [.....] Größe(?) des Leidens(?) täglich.
11 [.....]

Kolumne 6 (P. 13605 B)

1 [**Er sprach den 5. Spruch: Setze dich**] (**und**) **höre auf meine gute Lehre, die ich sagen werde!**
2 [.....] nach Osten(?) alle Dortigen(?) zum Geist wiederum(?) der(?) Erniedrigung(?).
3 [.....] sein ganzes Haus ist zerstört, seine ganze Familie ist verwirrt.
4 [Sage] nicht: [Das] des Thot ist auf der Waage, während es hier in Hermupolis ist!
5 [.....] Augenschminke. Er machte Duft(?) auf seine 2 Finger.
6 Und er gab Recht der Flut(?) [.....], er sagte: Was ist der Unterschied (zwischen) Übertretung und Not?
7 Was ist hinter ihnen? Baue auf die Freundschaft(?) Mensch Gott wird seinen Befehl dem befehlen,
8 der ihm dienen wird zu [jeder] Zeit(?).
9 **Er sprach den 6. Spruch: Setze dich (und) höre auf meine gute Lehre, die ich sagen werde!**
10 Gehe nicht in der Mitte(?), wenn deren Bewachungen(?) zahlreich sind. Wenn er opfert
11 das Land nach Wenn er opfert Wut(?)
12 Mist. Wenn er opfert [.....] Gerechtigkeit auf die böse Tat.

Kolumne 7 (P. 13605 B)

1 Wenn er [opfert]
2 Wenn er opf[ert]
3 in dem, was groß [.....]
4 (das) Rote(?)[.....]

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5 der [.....]

6 Ist der Westen sein [.....]

7 **Er sprach den 7. Spruch: [Setze dich (und) höre auf meine gute Lehre, die ich sagen werde!]**

Philologischer Kommentar

Kol. 1,1: Der Anfang ist nach den anderen Überschriften ergänzt. Merkwürdig ist, daß nirgends gesagt wird, wer denn der Sprecher ist. Zweierlei ist denkbar: entweder begann die erste Zeile mit *ḫr=f n* und folgendem Namen und darauf *ḏd=f* (wie regelmäßig im Thotbuch). Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, daß eine ganze Kolumne vom Anfang fehlt, in der eine Rahmengeschichte mit dem Namen des Lehrers stand. Zur häufig diskutierten Konstruktion *ḫr=f* vgl. zuletzt Vittmann, *P. Rylands 9*, 365. Zu den dort fehlenden Stellen der Konstruktion in der Lehre des Anchscheschonqi s. Grandl, *Enchoria* 32, 2010/11, 5–8.

Das Wort, das „Spruch“ o.ä. bedeuten muß, ist in seiner Lesung recht unsicher. Man denkt zuerst an *ḥ.t* wie „Haus“ = „Kapitel“, doch ist diese Lesung schon wegen des maskulinen Artikels ausgeschlossen. Ob *r*ʾ die richtige Lesung ist, bleibt mir zweifelhaft; zur Bedeutung „Ausspruch“ die in Erichsens *Glossar* noch fehlt, s. Vittmann, *P. Rylands 9*, 512.

Die Verbindung „setze dich und höre auf meine gute Lehre“ erinnert ein wenig an Alttestamentliches, z.B. Jesus Sirach 6, 23. Während im AT oft die Aufforderung „neige dein Ohr und höre“ (z.B. Spr. 22,17) — auch an Gott gerichtet — steht, wird ein ähnliches Bild hier mit „setze dich“ eingeleitet. Man kann an Schreiberstatuen des Alten Reiches denken, die häufig den Kopf etwas schräg halten, weil die Schreiber ihr Ohr zu ihrem sprechenden Herrn neigen und damit ihre Aufmerksamkeit erweisen.

Zum Wort *mtr*(*.t*) vgl. die ausführliche Diskussion von Heinz-J. Thissen in der Einleitung zu „Die Lehre des Anchscheschonqi“. Die „gute Lehre“ (*mtr nfr.t*) erinnert an Alttestamentliches, z.B. Sprüche 4,2.

Kol. 1,2: In der Zeile ist so wenig sicher lesbar, daß sich kein Sinn erkennen läßt. *nkt pr* ist eine sehr unsichere Lesung, zumal die Wendung nicht mit einem Suffix verbunden sein sollte. Aber in Kol. 6,2 steht sicher *pr=f*. — Das letzte Wort der Zeile ist mir nicht lesbar.

Kol. 1,3: *s nb* ist hier ein wenig unklar, wird aber durch Z. 5 bestätigt.

Kol. 1,4: Der Zeilenanfang mehr geraten als gelesen. — Das klare Sonnenzeichen hatte ich zuerst als *R*ʿ gelesen, doch wird Re in diesem Text immer mit dem Artikel gebraucht, für den hier kein Platz ist. Es muß also ein Wort mit Sonnendeterminativ vorliegen, vgl. zu dessen Schreibung *n-ỉmn* in der letzten Zeile dieser Kolumne.

Kol. 1,5: Dies ist der erste verständliche Satz nach der Überschrift. Da man eine allgemein gültige Feststellung erwartet, scheint die Ergänzung am Anfang berechtigt zu sein. Der Satz erinnert an Biblisches, vgl. etwa Römerbrief 2,26: „Er wird jedem vergelten, wie es seine Taten verdienen“ (vgl. Offenbarung 2,23). Allerdings ist im demotischen Text m.E. nicht an Jenseitiges gedacht, sondern an den Erfolg auf Erden. In einem noch unpublizierten Fragment des P. Insinger heißt es ausdrücklich. „[Die] Leichen(?) und die Toten [können] ihren Teil nicht nehmen.“ Das entspricht der Auffassung des Predigers „Auf ewig haben sie (die Toten) keinen Anteil an allem, was unter der Sonne getan wurde“ (Kohelet 9,6). Es ist interessant zu sehen, daß auf diesen nüchternen Satz des Predigers unmittelbar die Aufforderung zum Lebensgenuß folgt: „Also, iß freudig dein Brot, und trink vergnügt deinen Wein!“ (Kohelet 9,7), die in unserm Text erst ein paar Zeilen später folgt (Kol. 1,12).

Das Suffix bei *ḥ*ʾ*ṯ=* ist merkwürdig unter das Determinativ gesetzt. *mtw=*(*n*) steht für altes *m.dỉ=*(*n*).

Kol. 1,6: Wenn die Lesung stimmt, muß der Satz in der nächsten Zeile fortgesetzt werden.

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Das Wort *ꜥn* besteht hier nur aus drei Zeichen: Ligatur *ꜥ* plus *n*, kleiner senkrechter Strich unten, großer Schrägstrich über die ganze Zeilenhöhe. Danach folgt unmittelbar das Suffix *=f*. In Zeile 8 hat das gleiche(?) Wort jedoch vor dem Suffix *=w* noch das Augendeterminativ, das mit dem Schrägstrich verbunden ist.

Kol. 1,7: Das unbekannte Wort *whtḥ* (oder *whtꜣ*?) steht auch in Kolumne 5,10 und ist dort deutlicher zu erkennen. Es ist mit dem sterbenden Krieger determiniert und muß die schlechte Folge einer Krankheit bezeichnen. Kann das Wort eine Zusammensetzung mit *tḥ* „leiden“ sein?

Kol. 1,8: Das Zeilenende ist beschädigt und nicht sicher lesbar. Man erwartet *n-ỉm=w* „mit ihnen“.

Kol. 1,9: Das erste erhaltene Wort ist vielleicht das Rectum einer Genetivkonstruktion. Es ist wie „Unterwelt“ geschrieben und erscheint in der gleichen Schreibung in Kol. 2,13, wo „Unterwelt“ anscheinend nicht möglich ist. Versuchsweise setze ich das Wort mit *ỉmỉ-ḫꜣ.t* (*Wb* I,74.19–21) gleich.

Das letzte, weitgehend zerstörte Wort endet mit den schlechten Determinativen des Vogels und des sterbenden Kriegers.

Kol. 1,10: In dieser Zeile sind die Fasern des Rectos bis zur nächsten Kolumne verloren. Dem letzten Wort fehlen die Determinative, so daß die Lesung *ỉꜣw* „Alter“ oder *ỉꜣw.t* „Amt“ fraglich bleibt.

Kol. 1,11: Der Anfang ist sehr fraglich. Statt *nḥs* sind auch andere Lesungen denkbar, z.B. *ṯꜣỉ=w s*.

Kol. 1,12: Das Wort *swr* ist wohl so geschrieben: hohes *s*, dann Schilfblatt-*ỉ*, danach *wr*-Zeichen und Krugdeterminativ. — Die Zeichen nach *wnm* hatte ich zuerst als *ḥnꜥ* „mit“ gelesen. Wegen der Ligatur zwischen dem vermeintlichen zweiten Zeichen von *ḥnꜥ* und dem folgenden *mn* wird dies verkehrt sein. Ich denke jetzt, daß man *ỉmn* mit Sonnendeterminativ lesen und dies als Schreibung für „täglich“ ansehen muß. Das kleine Zeichen vor dem Wort *ỉmn* könnte ein Füllpunkt nach *wnm* sein oder, eher, ein *n* (aus *m-ỉmny.t* (*Wb* I, 83.8). — Das Wort nach dem Imperativ *ỉ-ỉr* sieht aus wie *ỉrỉ* „Gefährte“, aber mit Sonnendeterminativ. Es muß wohl *hrw* gemeint sein, was einen vortrefflichen Sinn macht. Anscheinend liegt ein Fehler beim Kopieren vor, indem das *h* als senkrechter Strich und *ỉr* verkannt wurde. — Die Aufforderung zum bewußten Lebensgenuß entspricht der Mahnung des Predigers in Kohelet 9,7. Allerdings geht im trockenen Land Ägypten meistens das Trinken dem Essen voraus.

Kol. 2,1: „Sage nicht“ ist eine beliebte Einleitung in Lebenslehren, z.B. Anchscheschonqi 15,5; 15,18; 16,7 u.ö.

Kol. 2,2: Lesung der Wörter am Zeilenanfang nicht ganz sicher. — Die Bedeutung von *ḫny* ist ohne Zusammenhang nicht erkennbar.

Kol. 2,3: Die Zeile beginnt wie Anchscheschonqi 9,10 und dürfte einen ähnlichen Sinn gehabt haben.

Kol. 2,4: Das Determinativ des Eis hat eine merkwürdige Form mit einem Ansatz oben, etwa wie in Gallo, *EVO* 12, 1989, 123. Die ganze Zeile ist weitgehend unverständlich. Ein großes, winkelförmiges Zeichen in der Zeilenmitte muß wohl *ꜥn* „wiederum“ sein. Vielleicht ist die mehrdeutige Ligatur nach *ỉr* am Zeilenfang ebenfalls *ꜥn*.

Kol. 2,5: Lesung der Wörter am Zeilenende unsicher.

Kol. 2,8: Das einzelne Schilfblatt am Zeilenanfang läßt verschiedene Ergänzungen zu. — Die Lesung *qt* ist etwas unsicher, es ist aber wegen des fehlenden Determinativs „Mann mit Hand am Mund“ keineswegs *mt* „Sache, Wort“ zu lesen. Am Zeilenende lassen sich die Determinative „schlechter Vogel“ und „sterbender Krieger“ erahnen.

Kol. 2,9: Die Lesung *rḫ* ist unsicher. Ergänzung vielleicht in folgendem Sinne möglich: „[Der Trinker(?)] kennt seine [Grenze]; er wird nicht trunken in seiner Stunde.“ Ich nehme an, daß das *mtw=f* nur eine Verstärkung des Suffixes *=f* sein soll. Alternativ denkbar wäre etwas Ähnliches wie „[Der kluge Mann] kennt

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seinen [Wein]; er wird nicht trunken davon in seiner Stunde.“ (Das Possessivsuffix steht in unserem Text wiederholt statt des Possessivartikels.)

Kol. 2,10: *ḥꜣṯ* ist mehr geraten als gelesen. Das Zeichen nach *gw* ist mir nicht lesbar; es sieht aus wie die Ligatur *wṯ* im Wort *wt* „befehlen“ (*Glossar*, 104, letzte drei ptol. Schreibungen). Das Wort endet mit den beiden schlechten Determinativen (wie *bn* zwei Zeilen höher).

Kol. 2,11: Das Wort nach *r-bnr n* ist mir nicht lesbar. Es erinnert ein wenig an *pr.t* „Winter“. In der Zeilenmitte steht ein Wort, das anscheinend *bh* mit den schlechten Determinativen zu lesen ist. Es besteht wohl ein Zusammenhang mit *bhꜣ* „fliehen“ (*Wb* I,467.8–9).

Kol. 2,12: Am Anfang ist vielleicht wie in Zeile 6 der gleichen Kolumne zu lesen.

Kol. 2,13: Das Wort *ꜣmḥ* scheint nach Vergleich mit Kol. 1,9 in der Lesung sicher zu sein. Ob die Übersetzung „Vorfahr“ das Richtige trifft, bleibt offen. — Das ungelesene Wort nach *ꜣmḥ* beginnt vielleicht mit *ḥ*. — Das letzte, beschädigte Wort könnte *btw* „Frevel“ sein, aber das erwartet man hier nicht.

Kol. 5,9: Das mit dem Tierdeterminativ endende Wort ist wohl *ʿmym* (= *ʿmʿm*) zu lesen.

Kol. 5,10: Zu *whtḥ* vgl. die Anmerkung zu Kol. 1,7. Was davor steht, ist eher *ʿ-n* zu lesen als *i̯r=k*. Zur eigentümlichen Schreibung von *n-i̯mn* vgl. Kol. 1,12.

Kol. 6,1: Ergänzung durch Zeile 9 dieser Kolumne gesichert.

Kol. 6,2: *nꜣ i̯m nb* scheint in der Lesung sicher. Gemeint ist wohl *nꜣ i̯mi̯.w nb* „alle darin Befindlichen“ oder „alle Dortigen“. — Zu *hby* „erniedrigen“ s. *Enchoria* 6, 1977, 153.

Kol. 6,3: Merkwürdig sind die Suffixe bei *pr* und *mhwꜣ*, wo man Possessivartikel erwartet.

Kol. 6,4: Die Ergänzung ist etwas gewagt, aber *m-i̯r* ist gut möglich. — Leider ist nicht erkennbar, was nicht auf der Waage ist; es handelt sich um einen längeren Ausdruck, nicht nur um ein Wort. Das letzte Wort in der Lücke endet mit dem Hausdeterminativ in der gleichen Schreibung wie eine Zeile höher. — Die Schreibung von *ti̯* „hier“ entspricht etwa der 4. ptolemäischen Schreibung auf S. 604 des *Glossars*.

Kol. 6,5: Die Lesung *ḫnmy* ist nicht absolut sicher, da das *n* sehr klein und anscheinend nachträglich eingesetzt ist. Es scheint ein Wortspiel zwischen *Ḫmnw* und *ḫnmy* beabsichtigt zu sein.

Kol. 6,6: Das Wort [*m*]*tr* hat anscheinend das Wasserdeterminativ, so daß man an das Wort „Flut“ erinnert wird (*Glossar*, 192). Aber kann das hier gemeint sein? In der Lücke fehlt vielleicht nur der zweite Teil des Wasserdeterminativs. — Die Frage zielt wohl auf den Unterschied zwischen einem selbst verschuldetem Unglück (*thꜣ*) und einem schicksalhaften (*ꜣytꜣ*).

Kol. 6,7: Es gibt mehrere Wörter *ḫny*, deren Unterscheidung nicht immer sicher ist. Hier paßt vielleicht „Freundschaft“ am besten. — Da das nächste Wort ungelesen ist, kann auch *rmt* nicht sicher sein. Das letzte Wort des Satzes beginnt wohl mit einem *i̯*, durch das das Suffix *=f* der Zeile darüber hindurchläuft. Das Wort endet auf *ḥ*, Holzdeterminativ, Personendeterminativ (oder Buchrolle?).

Kol. 6,8: Nach *šms.ṯ=f* sind noch geringe Schriftspuren zu erkennen, die zu *n s*[*w nb*] „zu jeder Zeit“ passen könnten.

Kol. 6,10: Merkwürdig ist *m-i̯r ti̯.t mšʿ*, wo doch wohl kaum etwas anderes gemeint ist als „wandle nicht“. — Die Wörter *mt swṯ* sind problematisch in der Lesung (*mt*) bzw. der Bedeutung. Man erwartet eigentlich eine Bedeutung wie „Missetaten“ o.ä. Die Lesung *swṯ* mit Determinativ des Hirten ist jedoch annähernd sicher. Das dürfte eine phonetische Schreibung für das seltene demotische Wort *sꜣw.ti̯* „Wächter“ (*Glossar*, 403) sein. Ist „Bewachung“ die richtige Übersetzung? — Am Zeilenende hatte ich zuerst *i̯.i̯r=f wbꜣ=k* gelesen und als „die er (bzw. sie) gegen dich gemacht hat“ verstanden. Das vermeintliche Suffix *=k* ist jedoch ein langes *=f* von *i̯.i̯r=f*. Anscheinend wiederholt sich die Konstruktion fünfmal in den Zeilen 10,

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11 und 12 der 6. Kolumne und in den Zeilen 1 und 2 der 7. Kolumne. Nach Vergleich der Schreibungen erscheint eine Lesung *wtn* „opfern“ möglich, aber keineswegs sicher. Es muß ein 2. Tempus sein. Da man Mist nicht opfert (Z. 12), kann *i.ỉr=f* keinen Relativsatz einleiten, sondern muß ein zweites Tempus sein, vielleicht mit konditionalem Sinn.

Kol. 6,11: Nach *wtn* ist in der Zeile kaum etwas zu lesen, *nšn* „Wut“ ist unsicher.

Kol. 6,12: Die Lesung *ḥs* „Mist“ ist sicher, aber der Zusammenhang ist nicht erkennbar. — Das letzte Wort der Zeile ist als *why* „böse Tat“ lesbar. Davor kann man dann *mꜣʿ.t ḥr pꜣ* erahnen.

Kol. 7,1: Die für diese und die nächste Zeile vorgeschlagene Ergänzung beruht auf den drei vorhergehenden Zeilen.

Kol. 7,4: Lesung ganz fraglich. Ich sehe ein großes Schilfblatt, das Zeichen *ỉn* und ein *s*, also *ỉns*. Alternative Lesungsmöglichkeit *ỉmn*.

Versuch eines inhaltlichen Kommentars

Wenn in den Überschriften zu den einzelnen Abschnitten dieses so schlecht erhaltenen Textes nicht ausdrücklich *mtr nfr.t* „gute Lehre“ stünde, würde man wohl gar nicht gleich merken, daß eine Lebenslehre vorliegt. Die erste Kolumne erinnert vielmehr an einen kosmologischen Text mit der mehrfachen Erwähnung des Sonnengottes und den vielen Konstruktionen mit „bevor“. Der erste voll verständliche Satz steht in Zeile 5 der ersten Kolumne und paßt in einen moralisierenden Text: „Man gibt den Anteil einem jeden Mann entsprechend dem, was er gemacht hat.“ Das kann man als Aufforderung zu rechtem Handeln verstehen. Dagegen scheint der letzte Satz der ersten Kolumne jeder üblichen Lehre Hohn zu sprechen: „Trink (und) iß täglich, feiere einen schönen Tag!“ Das erinnert eher an lebensfrohe Texte wie die beiden in meiner Festschrift publizierten Ostraka in Depauw/Smith, „Visions“, und den in Jasnow/Smith, *Enchoria* 32, publizierten Florentiner Papyrus als an eine Lebenslehre. Aber die gleiche Aufforderung steht auch im P. Insinger 18,19, allerdings mit Bedingungen verbunden.

Anschließend folgen zwei Befehle, von denen leider nur der Anfang erhalten ist: „Sage nicht [.....]!“ und „Streite nicht [.....]!“ Nach drei unverständlichen Zeilen endet der 1. Spruch.

Der zweite Spruch beginnt nach der Überschrift mit Sätzen, die eher wie eine Erzählung als eine Lebenslehre klingen, z.B. „er ist nicht trunken in seiner Stunde“ oder „wir veranlaßten, daß er sich einen Sohn (und) eine Tochter wünschte“. Wie die Sätze des zweiten Spruchs sich in den Gesamttext einfügen, ist leider nicht erkennbar. Es ist vorstellbar, daß der Sprecher seine Belehrung mit einer kleinen Erzählung unterbricht.

Der Rest des zweiten Spruchs und der gesamte dritte Spruch sind mit dem Zwischenstück zwischen P. 13605 A und P. 13605 B verloren.

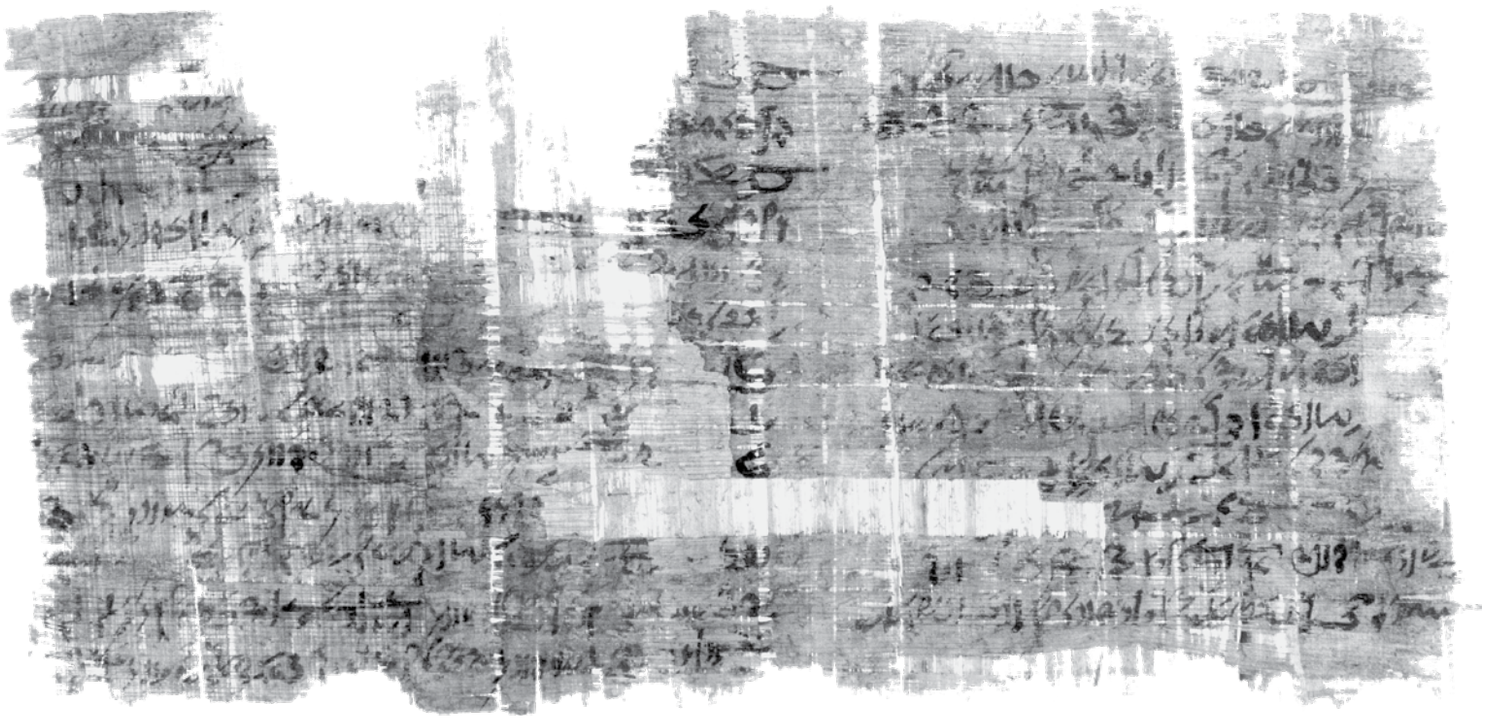
P. 13605 B beginnt mit sechs Zeilenenden vom Schluß des vierten Kapitels. Diese gehören vermutlich zu Kolumne 5 des ursprünglichen Textes.

Die vermutlich 6. Kolumne beginnt mit der Überschrift des fünften Spruchs, der insgesamt nur acht Zeilen umfaßt. Der Inhalt ist, soweit erkennbar, erzählenden Charakters, wie z.B. „sein ganzes Haus ist zerstört, seine ganze Familie ist verwirrt.“ Leider ist nicht erkennbar wer „er“ ist. Man kann nur vermuten, daß ein unbelehrbarer Missetäter gemeint ist. Der einzige Satz, der gut in eine Lebenslehre paßt, ist der letzte des Spruchs: „Gott wird seinen Befehl dem befehlen, der ihm dienen wird zu [jeder] Zeit(?).“

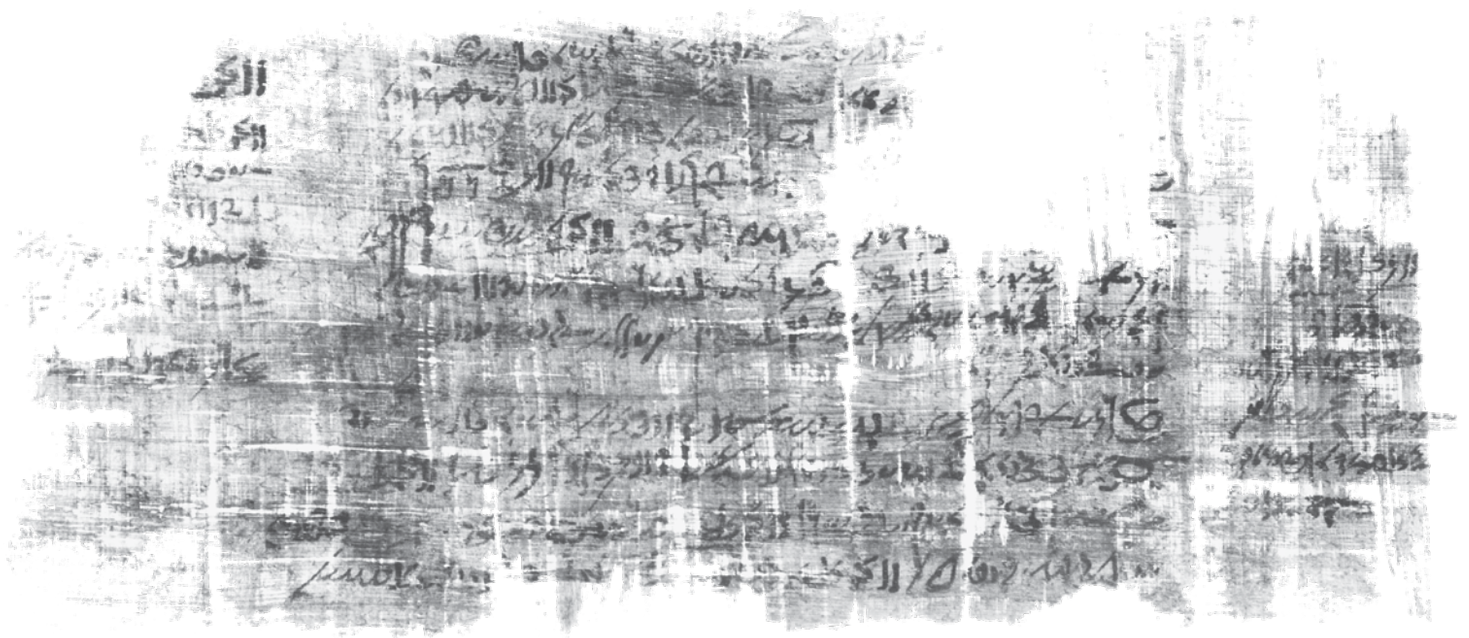
Der sechste Spruch beginnt in Kol. 6,9 und hat nach der Überschrift die Aufforderung, nicht inmitten(?) von Leuten zu wandeln, die irgend etwas häufig machen, leider ist der Satz nicht ganz verständlich. Alles folgende des sechsten Spruchs ist nur bruchstückhaft erhalten. Von Kol. 6 Z. 10 bis Kol. 7, Z. 2 wiederholt sich wohl fünfmal die gleiche Konstruktion, in der es vielleicht um die rechte Art des Opferns geht.

Der siebte Spruch hat die Überschrift in Kol. 7,7, aber es folgt kein weiterer Text, obwohl noch vier Zeilen auf den Papyrus gepaßt hätten. Aus irgendeinem Grund hat der Schreiber hier seine Tätigkeit plötzlich beendet, vielleicht war sein Tagwerk vollbracht. Ich mache es ihm gleich und schließe mit herzlichen Grüßen an Jan Johnson.

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A



B

Pap. Berlin (A) P. 13605 A, 27 × 15 cm; und (B) P. 13605 B, 39 × 16 cm

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Abkürzungen

EVO 12	Gallo, Paolo. *Ostraca Demotici de Medinet Madi*. *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 12 (1989): 99–123, Taf. 1–3.
Glossar	Erichsen, W. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954.
Grandl, *Enchoria* 32	Grandl, Christian. „Demotische Wellerismen“. *Enchoria* 32 (2010–11): 5–8.
Jasnow/Smith, *Enchoria* 32	Jasnow, Richard, and Mark Smith. „As for Those Who Have Called Me Evil, Mut Will Call Them Evil: Orgiastic Cultic Behaviour and Its Critics in Ancient Egypt“. *Enchoria* 32 (2010/11): 9–53.
Vittmann, *P. Rylands 9*	Vittmann, Günter. *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998.
Wb	Erman, Adolf, und Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.* 5 Bde. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982.
Zauzich, *Enchoria* 6	Zauzich, Karl-Theodor. „Urkunden 6: Pap. Berlin P 8139“. *Enchoria* 6 (1977): 151–80, Taf. 19–20.

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